GERALD T. ELMORE

ISLAMIC SAINTHOOD IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME

Ibn al-ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon

ISLAMIC SAINTHOOD IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME

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Texts and Studies

EDITED BY

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archegos

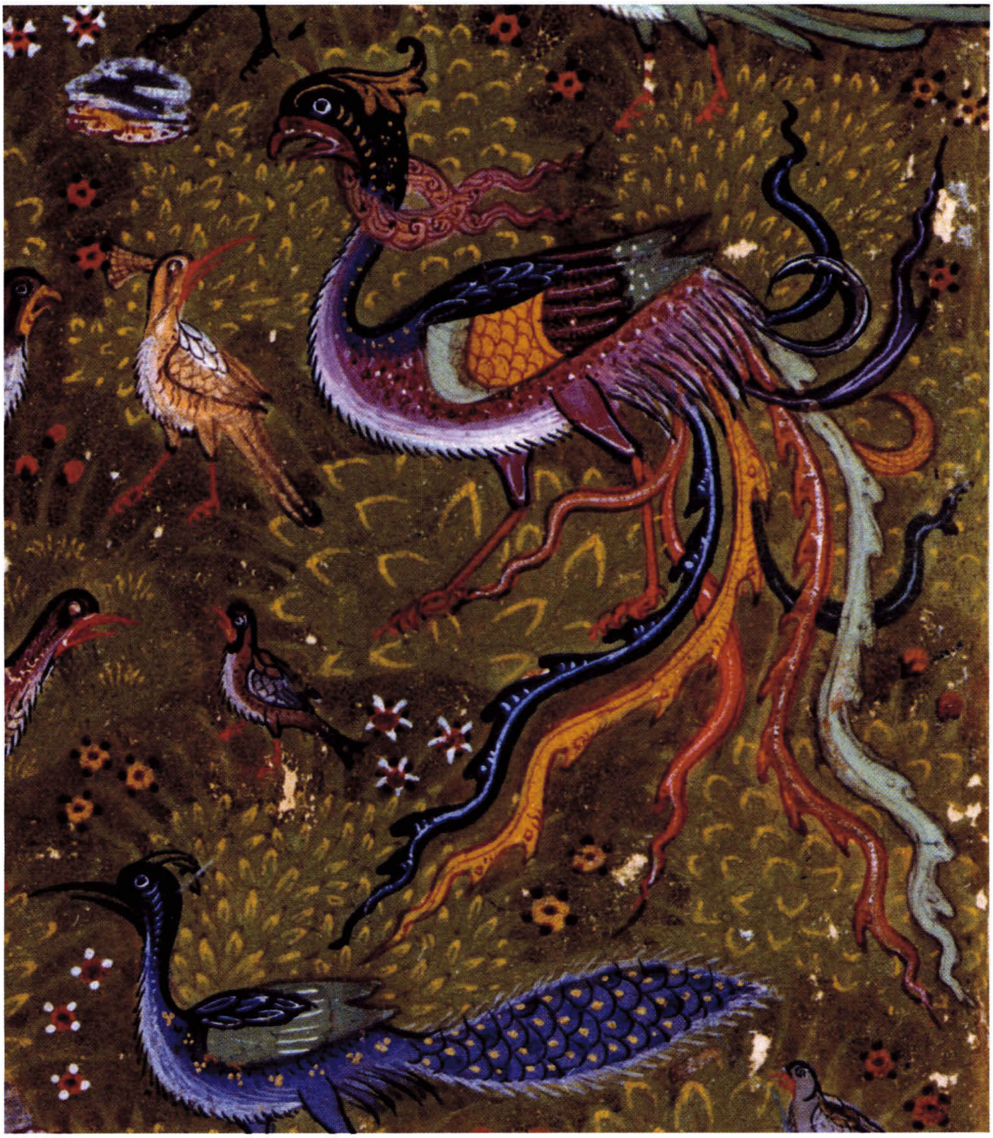

Figure 1: Detail of an illustrated page from Aṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (in *Ms. Elliott 246*, f. 25b), dated 899/1493, featuring *Sīmurgh*, the fabulous 'King of birds' (the Eastern version of the *ʿAnqā*'). Photo courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

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BY

GERALD T. ELMORE

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In memory of
GEORGES CHEHATA ANAWATI, O.P.
1905–1994

Ex occidente lux—

archegos

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* It goes without saying that I have profited from the published labors of many predecessors in the field, especially Osman Yahia, Claude Addas and those whose titles are represented by abbreviations in my footnotes (see *infra*). All of my work is dependent, of course, on the inspired lexicographical achievements of such scholars as Edward W. Lane and Hans Wehr, *etc.*

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New Haven, 1998

ABBREVIATIONS

Primary sources for the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (for full descriptions, see intro., pp. 197–211, *et seq.*):

B	*Berlin, Ms. 3266*/1	**P**	*Princeton, Ms. 2772*/1
B2	*Berlin, Ms. 2895*/1	**Q**	al-Qāhirah, 1934 (1st edn.)
C	*Carullah, Ms. 986*/8	**Q2**	al-Qāhirah, 1954 (2nd edn.)
D	Dublin, *Ms. Chester Beatty 5495*/9	**R**	*Ragib Paşa, Ms. 1453*/3
D2	*Dīwān Ibn ʿArabī* (Būlāq, 1855)	**S**	al-Saʿdī, *Al-Barq al-Lāmiʿ*
E	*Esad Efendi, Ms. 1453*/1	**V**	*Vatican, Ms. 292*/1
H	al-Ḥijāzī, *R. al-Aghrab*	**W**	*Wien, Ms. 1906*/1
M	al-Maqābirī, *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm*	**Z**	*Ẓāhirīyah, Ms. 5758*/1

Books by Ibn al-ʿArabī (for complete refs., see Bib. IA):

ʿAnqāʾ	*ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (Cairo, 1954)
Dhakhāʾir	*Dhakhāʾir wa-l-Aʿlāq* (Cairo, 1968)
Dīwān	*Dīwān Ibn ʿArabī* (Būlāq, 1855)
Fihrist	*Fihrist al-Muʾallafāt* (Alexandria, 1954)
Fuṣūṣ	*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Beirut, 1946)
Futūḥāt; Fut.	*Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, ed. anon. (Cairo, 1911)
Fut.-Y.	*Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, O. Yahia, ed. (Cairo, 1972–)
Ijāzah	*Ijāzah li-l-Malik al-Muẓaffar* (Madrid-Granada, 1955)
Inshāʾ	*Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir* (Leiden, 1919)
Isrāʾ	*K. al-Isrá* (Beirut, 1988)
Iṣṭilāḥāt	*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah* (Beirut, 1990)
Kutub	*K. al-Kutub* (Hyderabad, 1948)
Mawāqiʿ	*Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm* (Cairo, 1965)
Mashāhid	(*Mashāhid al-Asrār al-Qudsīyah*) *Ms. Manisa 1183*/6
Mishkāh	*Mishkāt al-Anwār* (Aleppo, 1927)
Mubashshirāt	*Ms. Yusuf Ağa 5624*/16
Muḥāḍarah	*Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār* (Cairo, 1906; 1972)
Rasāʾil	*Rasáʾil Ibnu ʾl-ʿArabí* (Hyderabad, 1948)
Rūḥ	*Rūḥ al-Quds* (Damascus, 1970)
Tadbīrāt	*Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah* (Leiden, 1919)
Turjumān	*Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (London, 1911)

Other works frequently cited (for full refs., see Bibs. IB and II):

Abū Dā’ūd	(*Al-Sunan* [by book and trad.])
Bezels	(*The Bezels of Wisdom* [of Ibn al-ʿArabī]) Austin, R.W.J., tr.
Blachère	Blachère, R., *et al.* (*Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*).
Bukhārī	al-Bukhārī (*Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* [by book and trad.])
Com. Vol.	(*Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi*: A Commemorative Volume) Hirtenstein, S., ed.
Concordance	(*Concordance et indices de la traditione musulmane*) Wensinck, A.J., *et al.*
Dozy	Dozy, R. (*Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*)
***E.I.* 1**	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn.
***E.I.* 2**	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.
G.A.L.	(*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*) Brockelmann, C.

G.A.L.S.	(*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Supplementband*, vol. I) Brockelmann, C.
G.A.S.	(*Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums*) Sezgin, F.
Ibn Mājah	(*Al-Sunan* [by book and trad.])
Illuminations	(*Les Illuminations de la Mecque*) Chodkiewicz, M., ed.
J.A.O.S.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
J.M.I.A.S.	*Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society*
J.N.E.S.	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
Kazimirski	de Biberstein Kazimirski, A. (*Dictionnaire arabe-français*)
Khatm	(*K. Khatm al-Awliyāʾ*, O. Yahia, ed.) al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
Lane	Lane, E.W. (*Arabic-English Lexicon*)
Muʿjam	(*Al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*) al-Ḥakīm, S.
Muqaddimah	(*The Muqaddimah* [of Ibn Khaldūn]) Rosenthal, F., tr.
Muslim	(*Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* [by book and trad.)]
Musnad	(*Al-Musnad* [by vol. and page]) Ibn Ḥanbal
Passion	(*The Passion of al-Hallāj*) Massignon, L.
Path	(*The Sufi Path of Knowledge*) Chittick, W.C.
Quest	(*Quest for the Red Sulphur*) Addas, C.
Seal	(*Seal of the Saints*) Chodkiewicz, M.
Sufis	(*Sufis of Andalusia*) Austin, R.W.J., tr.
Taʿrīfāt	(*K. al-Taʿrīfāt*) al-Jurjānī
Tirmidhī	al-Tirmidhī, Abū ʿĪsá (*Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* [by book and trad.])
Wörterbuch	(*Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen*) Ullman, M., *et al.*
Yahia	Yahia, O. (*Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*)

Technical abbreviations

A.H.; **H.** – *Anno hegirae* (the Islamic, lunar year)
acc. – according; accusative
act. – active voice
anon. – anonymous
ant. – antonym
App. – Appendix
art. – article [two senses]
attr. – attributed
b. – *ibn* (son of)
Bib. – Bibliography
Bk. – Book
bt. – *bint* (daughter of)
c. – (*circa*) around
C.E. – Common Era (Christian Era)
cent./s. – century/centuries
chap./s. – chapter/s
comm./s. – commentary/commentaries
comp. – comparative
cond. – condition, conditional
conj. – conjunction, conjunctive
d. – died, deathdate
def. – definition, defined; definite
dir. – direct
ed./s. – editor/s
edn./s. – editions
Eng. – English
esp. – especially
et al. – and elsewhere (*alibi*); and others (*alii*)
exc. – except
f. – folio. / **ff.** – folios
Fig./s – Figure/s
fl. – (*floruit*) flourished
foll. – following
Fr. – French
fut. – future tense
gen. – genitive
Ger. – German
Gloss. – Glossary
Gr. – Greek
Heb. – Hebrew
imp. – imperative
imperf. – imperfect (verb)
inc. – including, included
ind. – indicative; indirect; index
inf. – infinitive (*maṣdar*)
intrans. – intransitive
intro. – introduction
juss. – jussive
K. – *Kitāb* (Book)
l. – line. / **ll.** – lines
Lat. – Latin
lit. – literally
Muḥ. – Muḥammad
Ms. – *Manuscript* (*Codex*)

ms./s – manuscript/s
n. – note. / **nn.** – notes
n.d. – no date (of pub. given)
nom. – nominative
orig. – original, originally
o.s. – oneself
part. – particle; participle
pass. – passive voice
Per. – Persian
perf. – perfect (verb)
pers. – person
philos. – philosophical
pl.; **plur.** – plural
poss. – possessive
prep. – preposition, prepositional
pron./s. – pronoun/s
Pt. – Part
pub. – published; publication
R.**; **r. – *Risālat; risālah* (epistle)
ref./s. – reference/s
rep. – reprinted
rev. – revision; revised
s.; **sing.** – singular
s.o. – someone
s.th. – something
s.v. – (*sub voce*) under the word
Skt. – Sanskrit
Sp. – Spanish
ss. – sources
subj. – subject
sup. – superlative
syn. – synonym, synonymous
tr. – translated, translate, translating
tr./s. – translator/s
trn./s. – translation/s
trad./s. – tradition/s; traditional
trans. – transitive
unpub. – unpublished
v. – verse. / **vv.** – verses
voc. – vocalizes, vocalized, vocalizing; vocative
w/o – without

A NOTE ON THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

For the most part, the Romanization system that I follow in transliterating Arabic is that of the U.S. Library of Congress,[1] for at least having the advantage of being familiar in American libraries. In a few details I prefer the system used in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*e.g.*, "b." instead of "ibn"). I also provide a hyphen to separate pronominal suffixes from the words to which they are affixed (analogous to the separation of the article), thus:

kitāb-ī: "*my* book" [x *kitābī*: "written; literary; spiritual"].
al-kitāb: "*the* book".
makān-ī: "*my* place" [x *makānī*: "local; spatial"].
al-makān: "*the* place".

Similarly, with objects of verbs,[2] prepositions, and particles:

shakka-ka: "He pierced *you*" [x *shakkaka*: "he made (s.o.) doubt"].
ladun-nā: "chez *nous*" [x *ladunnā*: "we became soft, flexible"].
ladun-ī: "near *me*" [x *ladunī*: "mystical"].
a-lam: "not . . . though" [x *alam*: "pain"].

---

[1] Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), Cataloguing Service, Processing Department Bulletin 118 (1976).

[2] This would be a negligible technicality, exc. that it also alleviates the frequent need for the prime sign (') in the Library of Congress system (with the Romanization used) to separate the /t/ and the /h/ in 3rd-pers. fem. verbals in order to distinguish them from /th/ (*e.g.*, *akramat'hu*, *iqnaʿat'hā*, etc.).

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

I. THE RENEWAL OF RELIGION

Good arguments have been presented for regarding Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) as the most influential Muslim teacher after the Prophet Muḥammad.[1] In his monumental work of bringing new life to the religious sciences (*iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*), al-Ghazzālī married together Islamic theology (*kalām*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), fortifying religion for its epic struggle with *falsafah* and making Ṣūfism respectable. For better or for worse, this formula would set the course for the development of Islamic intellectual culture ever after. More typical of the Muslim worldview, however, is a less personal notion of the perpetual renewal (*tajdīd*) of the spirit, according to which it was commonly believed that a "reformer" (*mujaddid*) of religion would arise at the turn of each one-hundred years.[2] In this perspective, while al-Ghazzālī stood as the great Proof of Islam for the 6th/12th century, another Reviver of the faith was to be expected in the following, seventh century of the *hijrah*. For this honor the subject of our present concern, the *Shaykh al-Akbar*, Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), would arguably find the greatest number of advocates both in the East and the West, from early to modern times. Moreover, as we will see in the course of the particular book we are about to examine, Ibn al-ʿArabī very specifically nominated himself for this position, at the same time raising its significance to almost unprecedented heights.

It is well attested that Ibn al-ʿArabī (who was born in 560/1165 in Murcia) began his mystical career in the 580s/1180s in the region of Seville with a special devotion to the spirituality (*rūḥānīyah*) of Jesus, son of Mary (Īsá b. Maryam).[3] This fact might seem anomalous since, at the time, the remnant Muslim nation in southern Iberia was under the constant threat of relentless Christian incursions from the north which would ultimately prove to be its nemesis. What would become the special Muslim nostalgia (*gharām*) associated with the land of al-Andalus[4] had already gone beyond the fleeting hope of revival there under the Ghazzālī-inspired Almohad reforms, and, in Ibn al-ʿArabī, took shape as a vision of revolutionary new beginnings set in Gnostic terms of world-ending. The second coming of Jesus expected by Christians and many Muslims as a sign of the end of times appeared to be actually at hand for the Andalusians and, perhaps, indeed, for all of Islamdom, west and east.[5] But in the *Kitāb ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (The Book of the Fabulous Gryphon/Phoenix) the Ṣūfī-visionary cautiously proffers a bold theory of spiritual rebirth for Islam in a sacred *seventh* century of the Prophet's glorious mission.

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[1] See, *e.g.*, W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, pp. 14–15. This judgment is also implicit in Duncan Black MacDonald's art. on al-Ghazzālī in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn. [hereafter, *E.I.* 1], *s.v.*

[2] "Verily, God will send to this community at the head of each one-hundred years one who shall renew its religion (*yujaddidu la-hā dīna-hā*)" (*Sunan Abī Dā'ūd* [hereafter, *Abū Dā'ūd*], *Malāḥim*, 1). For examples of this popular belief attested in two commentaries of the *ʿAnqā' Mughrib* (by al-Maqābirī and al-Ḥijāzī), see below, pp. 422 (n. 138), 464 (n. 18), 475 (n. 16) and 570 at n. 21.

[3] "[Jesus] was our first master (*shaykhu-nā l-awwal*), at whose hands we returned [to God]. He has great concern for us, and does not forget us for a single moment.

Even as Muḥammad had appeared in 622 C.E. with a new revelation in Arabic liberating the Semitic peoples of the Near East from the moribund canons of Byzantine theology, so the seventh century following the rise and full development of Islamic religion would bring *its* revitalization in the spirit of the preceding, Christic dispensation.[6] This reckoning expressly (but obscurely) figures in the

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I hope that we might attain the time of his descent (*zamān nuzūli-hi*), God willing!" (*Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* [hereafter, *Fut.*], vol. III, p. 341, ll. 22–23; and *cf.* p. 35 [at nn. 116–17], below). For further refs., see James W. Morris, "The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ʿArabī and the *Miʿrāj*," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 107: 4 (1987), p. 637, n. 42. On Ibn al-ʿArabī's conversion to Ṣūfism in 580/1184, see my art. cited on p. 21 (n. 54), below.

[4] Américo Castro has given many instances of Andalusian pessimism and the irrepressible foreboding of the end of their Muslim state dating from the late-3rd/9th cent., which had developed into anguish with the fall of Toledo in 478/1085, when "offsetting their faith in the certain eternity of what they were promised by God was their doubt as to the stability, durability and tangibility of earthly things" (*The Structure of Spanish History* [1954], p. 86). Apropos of Ibn al-ʿArabī's wistful poem on the *Madīnat al-Ẓahrāʾ* (in his *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Akhyār*, vol. I [1972], p. 328), see Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Maqqarī's evidence of widespread nostalgia for the glory of Cordoba in Almohad times in *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* [= *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*] (P. de Gayangos, tr.), vol. I, pp. 31–32.

[5] At a time when the Crusaders were still a constant menace along the coasts of the Mediterranean, tribal alliances were being formed beyond the Gobi Desert which would soon unleash a tidal wave of destruction on eastern Islam.

[6] The full historical dynamic of this paradigm, involving Christianity's relation to Judaism (and Christ's to Moses and the prophets), would not have been lost on Ibn al-ʿArabī, a student of Ibn Ḥazm's works. It is true, however, that our author does not commit to the binary scheme implicit in my interpretation here (which correlates with the *nabī/walī* debate treated in Chaps. 5 and 6 of our intro., below),

opening pages of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* in the keynote poem, "The Sealed Vessel" (*al-Wiʿāʾ al-Makhtūm*), where the *hijrī* date of the coming of the Expected One, the rightly-guided Mahdī, is hinted at in a verse featuring the three Arabic letters, خ, ف and ج, the numerical value of which totals 683.[7] This figure is arrived at by adding 40 (the number of years of the Golden Age of Islam till the murder of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib)[8] to the above-mentioned 622 of the Christian era, the sum of which (= 662), when added again to 622, yields 1284—the Christian (solar) year corresponding to the Islamic (lunar) year, *683*. Thus, the advent of a new spiritual Revelation which would be to the Muslims what Islam was to the real followers of Jesus—the salvific Truth—was about to dawn forth in the fullness of time.

These septicentennial speculations are further elaborated in the final chapter of the book[9] in an ingenious theory of the correspondences of the sacred months, the last of which, the *seventh* month, *Rajab*, is made to symbolize the "Seal of the saints" (*khatm al-awliyāʾ*) as "the Last in body" who yet "precedes the First in authority."[10] After this, Ibn al-ʿArabī quotes a putative saying of the Prophet to his incredulous companions to the effect that the Latter-day saints—that is, the Ṣūfīs of Ibn al-ʿArabī's time[11]—shall each receive the

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and it is, of course, overtly a septenary system, similar to that of the *adwār* (cycles, ages) of the *Ismāʿīlīyah*. On all of this, more later.

[7] See the trn., below, p. 233 at n. 42 (and *cf.* also p. 532 at n. 51). The *Maghribī* historian, Walī al-Dīn Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), discusses this passage in a sceptical spirit in his famous *Muqaddimah* (tr. by Franz Rosenthal, vol. II, p. 190; see also p. 189). The verses which follow make clear that the ref. is, indeed, to the Mahdī (or, as Ibn Khaldūn styles him, "the Fāṭimid"), the Islamic messianic figure associated with/identified as the eschatological Jesus (see p. 233, after v. 27 of the poem).

[8] The only problem with this reckoning is that the 40 here would represent the number of *lunar* years of the reigns of the Prophet and the *khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*, whereas the 622 are longer, solar years. Hence, the death of ʿAlī occurred in 661 C.E., not 662. Therefore another solution to the problem may be called for: Perhaps the number stands for the canonical age of the Expected One at the time of his *ẓuhūr*, since, acc. to Muslim theologians, all prophets-to-be receive their apostolic commissions after the age of forty (though Jesus and John the Baptist were sometimes recognized as exceptions to the rule).

[9] See pp. 527*sq.*, esp. at n. 21.

[10] *Cf.* Jesus's argument with the Jews in *John* 8: 31*sq.*

[11] In his *K. al-Isfār ʿan Natāʾij al-Asfār* (in *Rasāʾil Ibnu ʾl-ʿArabī* [1948], *r.* 24 p. 7) Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote that the Ṣūfīs of his day enjoyed more spiritual insights than earlier generations because of their closer proximity to the (eschatological manifestation of the) Afterworld.

wages of *seventy* of them.[12] If it be objected that the prognosticated date, 683 A.H., could not feasibly have been applied by our author to his own lifetime (and, therefore, was not intended to refer to himself), in the final paragraph of the book Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to further specify—albeit in riddles—that the *real* nativity of the Seal/Mahdī would come to pass sometime in the seventh century, *after* his natural birth in 560 (= 1165 C.E., Ibn al-ʿArabī's own birthdate) and the complete unfolding of his human potential.[13] As for the year, 683/1284, that is when the true identity of sainthood's consummate Seal would be discovered to the worthy.[14]

In this connection it is not without interest to note that, according to the French historian, Nicole Grandin, the present-day followers of the northern Sudanese Mahdī-pretender, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1302/1885), specify the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* as the main source of the Mahdī's doctrine, adding that the book is still preserved today among the literate remnant of the Mahdist *Anṣār* in Sudan.[15] As Michel Chodkiewicz (to whom this information was conveyed) points out, Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad had been a member of the *Sammānīyah* Ṣūfī order, the founder of which was a disciple of Muṣṭafá b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī,[16] who, in turn, had been a student of the important Akbarian commentator, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731). Dr. Chodkiewicz is rightly cautious regarding any real familiarity with Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings on the part of the Sudanese Mahdī,[17] but in this case the license may be sound since al-Nābulusī undoubtedly knew the *ʿAnqāʾ*, and it perhaps would not have escaped his notice that another 622 solar years after the above-mentioned date of 683/1284, minus the extra 40, would fall in 1283/1866.[18] Perhaps a tradition of expecting the "Mahdī"[19] in that year was passed down to the Ṣūfī ascetic on the Nile—in whose time a deliverer was sorely sought. Though Muḥammad Aḥmad did not openly proclaim himself to be the Expected One until 1881 C.E., according to his grandson and reviver of the brotherhood, Imām al-Hādī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī, he had revealed to his nearest confidant his inner feelings about being the Mahdī as early as 1860.[20] Recall that, elsewhere in North Africa a generation earlier, an even more important Arab liberation movement was lead by another charismatic heir of Ibn al-ʿArabī's spirit, Amīr ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1300/1883).[21]

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[12] See p. 530 at n. 29.

[13] Represented by the letters, ص and ث, acc. to the Maghribine values of 60 and 500 (see p. 531 at n. 45). At around the same time (*c.* 1162–67 C.E.) in central Asia was the birth of the steppe warrior, Temujin, who would later be known as Chingiz Khān.

[14] His true birth is his *ṭulūʿ*, or *ẓuhūr* (appearance); his discovery, or epiphany, is his *wujūd*. All of this, of course, is simply my interpretation of the very abstruse symbolism of the final pages of the present trn., part of which remains somewhat doubtful to me. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that at some time in the 1280s C.E., the "ecstatic" Spanish Qabalist, Ibrāhīm Abū l-ʿĀfiyah (Abraham Abulafia)—who was born in the year that Ibn al-ʿArabī died (which happens to be the year, 5000 after the creation, acc. to the Rabbinic calendar)—proclaimed himself the Messiah of God in Rome (see Moshe Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, p. 15).

[15] According to private correspondence with Dr. Michel Chodkiewicz (29 November, 1988), cited in the latter's *An Ocean without Shore*: Ibn ʿArabī, the Book and the Law (Eng. trn., 1993), pp. 11 and 134 (n. 36).

[16] D. 1162/1749. He was a Syrian *Khalwatī* shaykh who frequently visited Egypt. The founder of the Sammānīyah, Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (d. 1189/1775), was but one of several influential disciples of his (see J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 77).

It is important to realize, however, that the ordinary, uninitiated student of the *ʿAnqāʾ* was surely not meant to recognize the specific insinuations in the book as to the real identity of the Seal of the saints. Even in his later writings Ibn al-ʿArabī was equivocal to the point of dissimulating when it came to his own existential role as special *Muḥammadan* Seal.[22] But beyond that, even what we might call the "screen doctrine" of Jesus as the Universal (*sci.*, theoretical; essential) Seal of sainthood (*khātam al-walāyah al-muṭlaqah*) was dangerous enough that it had to be concealed from casual readers in the present, relatively early work. Hence, in the *ʿAnqāʾ* Ibn al-ʿArabī avails himself of an especially allusive, elusive style, wrapping mystery inside an enigma with his employment of a secret, coded script[23] in the passages specifically relating to Jesus as the Seal. Significant as these facts are for appreciating all the implications of the Akbarian doctrine of sainthood, however, the main burden of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, the recurrent message of its ceaseless dialectical rhythms, is *the transcendent Immanence of spiritual authority*: The Word of God is *received* in the heart of man; the Revelation of the prophet is *revealed* in the saint's Inspiration.

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[17] See *An Ocean without Shore*, p. 11.

[18] "New Age" readers may appreciate the fact that the Persian fire-worshipper, Zarathustra (Zoroaster), was supposed to have been born 620–30 years before Christ, and the reign of the Egyptian heliolater, Ikhnaton (Akhenaton), ended another 620–30 years before the latter period. Also, Moses has been assigned to the 14th cent. B.C.E., and Abraham to the 21st.

[19] Al-Nābulusī identified the Mahdī with the Seal of the saints (see below, p. 184, at n. 126).

[20] See B. Farwell, *Prisoners of the Mahdī*, p. 11.

[21] Concerning whom, see Chodkiewicz's *The Spiritual Writings of Amir ʿAbd al-Kader* (Eng. trn., 1995), and my review of that book in *J.A.O.S.*, 118: 2 (1998).

[22] Compare, *e.g.*, *Fut.* I, 185 (9–13), and II, 49 (22–23), where Ibn al-ʿArabī speaks of meeting the Muḥammadan Seal (in 595 [and/or 594?] H.), on the one hand; and, on the other, *Fut.* I, 244 (26), and the *Dīwān Ibn al-ʿArabī* (1855), p. 259, *et al.*, where he claims the title for himself. One plausible explication of this material has been ably presented by Michel Chodkiewicz in his *Seal of the Saints*: Prophecy and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī (Eng. trn., 1993), pp. 116–46. For the sake of convenience I have provided trns. of most of these passages in Appendix IV (pp. 589–615).

The essential subject-matter of the book we are about to examine, then, is the nature of Islamic sainthood (*walāyah*) and the proposition of its ultimate sufficiency in man's search for knowledge and salvation. Students of Islam will be well aware of the possible implications of this position *vis-à-vis* the broader, crucial debate between the custodians of a literal-legal, *ex post facto* prophecy (the *ʿulamāʾ*, "religious scholars") and the proponents of a living, life-giving insight thereinto (the Ṣūfīs)—a dispute which has, perhaps inevitably, been reduced to a stand-off between "monotheism" and "mysticism".[24] While the controversy is liable to even further generalization as a confrontation of "Abrahamic" West with "Brahmanic" East, the scripture-based religiosity of the *nābīʾ* (Heb., "prophet")—or, rather, his organized followers—*versus* the more personal, experiential spirituality of the *sādhu, yogin, arhant* (Skt., = "saint"), *etc.*,[25] in the context of Islamic mystical studies it must be understood at the outset that, not only is this basic polarity itself absolutely integral to the genuine Ṣūfī experience in its wholeness, under ideal conditions it will also be perfectly equilibrated, so that there is no legitimate question as to which aspect, the exoteric or the esoteric, prophetic or mystic, shall predominate. This is the salient theoretical message of Ṣūfism,[26] and cogent appeals have been made to regard Islamic religiosity as a whole in this light.[27]

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[23] See App. III, pp. 574*sq.*

[24] In this work I understand the term, Ṣūfism, to be syn. with "(Islamic) mysticism". The contention of Jacqueline Chabbi that mystical movements other than *taṣawwuf* (by that name) occurred in the earlier history of Islam would not seem to apply to the 6th/12th cent. Maghrib (see "Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurâsân," in *Studia islamica*, 46 [1997], pp. 5–72). As for the vexed expression, "monotheism", we will not have occasion to employ it here again.

[25] *E.g.*, as in the theme of the papers pub. as *The Other Side of God*: A Polarity in World Religions (P.L. Berger, ed.).

[26] An expression of this underlying truth may be appreciated in the last chap.

But advocates of this refined, synthetic view of Islam tend to fall into the untenable position of disenfranchising the great mass of practicing Muslims today who are more or less accurately described as "fundamentalist" (though the real significance of the fact be misapprehended by most nonbelievers).[28] While this may seem no great loss to the élite—and the Shaykh was himself a dyed-in-the-wool élitist[29]—there must be something wrong with a picture of Islam which cannot accommodate the spirit of an Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328), whom Ibn al-ʿArabī would have admired,[30] I think, despite the renown he was to gain as implacable critic of "monistic" Ṣūfism (the so-called *madhhab waḥdat al-wujūd*).[31] The truth is that, while

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of William C. Chittick's *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, "Seeing with Two Eyes," pp. 356–69, *et seq.* For a more succinct statement of the principle, see the intro. of W. Stoddart's booklet, *Sufism* (1985), pp. 19–21.

[27] Most notably in the quite thought-provoking publications of the Swiss writer, Frithjof Schuon.

[28] It has been suggested that the term, "fundamentalist," is inappropriate for use in ref. to Muslims since it denotes a militant American Protestant movement beginning in the early 20th cent., and, in any case, it has become a mark of derogation, connoting "reactionism, intolerance, bigotry" *etc.* But the first contention is invalid since the word, in fact, is almost invariably employed in the generic sense of a principle or attitude, and the second point is irrelevant inasmuch as it is only true of the liberal/secular enemies of fundamentalism in academia and the western media. As I use the expression, "fundamentalism" properly signifies belief in the plenary inspiration of scripture by God, along with the tendency to oppose those more "modern" attitudes which are not consonant with that orientation. As such, the term may only apply to a large minority of Jews and Christians today, but it remains particularly descriptive of the great majority of Muslims.

[29] See his remarks, *e.g.*, on p. 509 (at n. 10) of the present trn. But, as pointed out in the next note, Ibn al-ʿArabī's élitism is not exclusive of contrary types.

[30] And *did*, as it were, vicariously, in his own great compatriot, the Ẓāhirite, Abū Muḥ. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who was also highly critical of Ṣūfism. Similarly, Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to have esteemed Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal above the other imāms of the schools (see the unpub. *K. al-Mubashshirāt*, in *Ms. Yusuf Ağa 5624*, f. 355b). For his deep appreciation of Ibn Ḥazm, see below, p. 41, *et seq.* As for the Muslim's ready capacity to receive both Ibn al-ʿArabī (= *ḥaqīqah*) and Ibn Taymīyah (= *sharīʿah*), Osman Yahia's account of the young *Naqshbandī* Ṣūfī of Aleppo in his *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī* (pp. 18–19) is admirably illustrative. I would suggest that Ibn Taymīyah might well be considered the *mujaddid* of the cent. foll. Ibn al-ʿArabī's as his dialectic antithesis (rather as Ibn Ḥazm foreshadowed al-Ghazzālī).

[31] Otherwise known as the "school of the unificationists [with God]" (*madhhab al-ittiḥādīyīn*). But this is a label far more applicable to the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī's disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), than those of the master himself (see Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Rasāʾil wa-l-Masāʾil*, vol. IV, pp. 1–101; and vol. I, pp. 61–120). *Cf.* also M. Memon, *Ibn Taimiyah's Struggle against Popular Religion* (1976).

al-Ghazzālī succeeded to some extent in uniting Muslims, the Shaykh al-Akbar has become something of a divisive factor, with admirers and detractors agreeing only on his greatness (for good or for evil).[32]

Admirers of Ibn al-ʿArabī who live in the West should begin by acknowledging that his teachings pose a very serious challenge to Muslim believers, one which will not be tolerated by some, although, with the patient moderation characteristic of Islamic culture over time, they are likely to continue to stimulate many and, perhaps, to lead to the enlightenment of a few. The scholarly advantage to admitting our Shaykh's uncertain credibility as a doctor of Islam lies in freeing us completely for the difficult prerequisite of understanding and assessing precisely what is intended in his text. Ibn al-ʿArabī repeatedly gives the reader fair warning that he does not always say exactly what he means,[33] often putting his *mutarjim* in the dubious position of having to choose between a literal and a more revealing reading. The work which I present here is, thus, an interpretation, and I should make it clear that my own opinion of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine of sainthood is such that it is not necessarily consonant with Islamic orthodoxy. There is, no doubt, a point beyond which the "renewal" of Revelation comes perilously close to what Jesus Christ meant by its *fulfilment* in the Sermon on the Mount[34]—or so wary Muslims might be forgiven for suspecting.

In the contemporary Arab world (if the Egyptian People's Assembly can be viewed as somehow representative thereof) the ongoing state-sponsored publication of Ibn al-ʿArabī's voluminous *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* (The Meccan Revelations) since 1972[35] has been the occasion of a political show-down between the liberal partisans of "free speech" (pro) and the religious conservatives (contra)—neither of whom, be it noted, have gone to much trouble to familiarize themselves with what they are fighting over.[36] Notwithstanding, there is perhaps a certain justice in Ibn al-ʿArabī's lot falling among the westernizing secularists: he actually lived in western Europe in the midst of the golden age of medieval Christian humanism.[37] Moreover, there is a quite legitimate, even compelling case to be made for characterizing the Akbarian doctrine of sainthood as essentially anthropocentric. In the pages immediately following a *caveat lector* such as we alluded to earlier, Ibn al-ʿArabī speaks on his method of writing and its object:

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[32] But few Muslim teachers unite Sunnīs and Shīʿites, Arabs and non-Arabs (and, today, even Muslims and non-Muslims) to the extent that Ibn al-ʿArabī has.

[33] See, *e.g.*, pp. 238–40 of the present trn., and p. 287 (n. 55), *et al.*

[34] See *Matt.* 5: 17–18.

[35] Osman Yahia's critical edn. [= *Fut.-Y.*] (14 vols. to date), pub. under the auspices of the Egyptian ministry of culture in collaboration with the Sorbonne (Cairo, 1972–). [This was written prior to the lamented passing of Dr. Yahia in Nov., 1997].

[36] See Th.E. Homerin, "Ibn Arabi in the People's Assembly: Religion, Press and Politics in Sadat's Egypt," *Middle East Journal*, 40 (1986), pp. 462–77. For the opposing view, see K.A. ʿAwn, *K. al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah wa-Mā warāʾa-hu min Ayād^{in} Khafīyah* (1989).

> Whenever I discourse on such [recondite matters as the Seal of Sainthood and the Expected Mahdī], I speak in terms of the *Two Worlds* [the Macrocosm and the Microcosm, or Nature and spiritual Man] in order to clarify the issue for the listener by referring to the "more extensive" [*sci.*, the *external* World] which he knows and comprehends, after which I draw comparisons between that [outer World] and its inner Secret (*sirru-hu*)[38] deposited in Man—who yet denies and does not comprehend it. For my purpose in everything which I write is never that which appears in phenomenal existence (*al-kawn*), but, rather, the Gnosis of That which is found in this Human Essence and Adamite Individuality (*al-ʿayn al-insānī wa-l-shakhṣ al-Ādamī*).[39]

Elsewhere he restates his approach and goes on to further specify the ultimate goal:

> So whenever I mention in this or any of my other books an instance of a phenomenal event, my purpose is to fix it in the hearing of the listener and compare it with its *likeness* in Mankind. So let us turn our contemplation to our [own human] Essence (*dhātu-nā*), which is the Way of our Salvation (*sabīl najāti-nā*)! I tread that Way in its entirety at this human Level of being,[40] in accordance with whatever the Station confers, corporeal or spiritual.[41]

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[37] That is, about a cent. after St. Anselm (d. 1109) and a cent. before Meister Eckhart (d. 1327–28), the two most original articulators of medieval Christian humanism (acc. to R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 1970). Although there can be no question of Ibn al-ʿArabī's having been affected by Latin scholasticism, Miguel Asín Palacios has made a brilliant study of the Great Shaykh's indirect influence on Ramon Lull and Dante (the latter in his *Islam and the Divine Comedy* [Eng. trn., 1968]). When Petrarch ascended Mt. Ventou to find himself alone, the spirit of Ibn al-ʿArabī had already been there.

[38] The distinction is between the "gross" and the "subtle", the perceptible and the supersensual, *etc.*

[39] *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (Cairo, 1954 [= Q2]), p. 6, ll. 10–15 (*n.b.*, the printings of this edn. sometimes vary in their lines), tr. on p. 240.

[40] *Fī hādhihi l-nashʾati l-insānīyati* could also be rendered: "in this human form." On the word, *nashʾah*, see the Glossary, *s.v.*, below.

[41] Q2, p. 7 (ll. 1–5), tr. on p. 242. (Hereafter, citations of the *ʿAnqāʾ* text generally refer to the present trn. where, in the right margin, bold numerals give the page-numbers of the Cairo, 1954 [Q2] edn. of the Arabic text).

Later we shall see that there is an important sense in which *The Fabulous Gryphon* is to be understood as a personal testament and an existential expression of one man's presentation of himself to the world. Who, then, is Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī—or, more precisely, what do we know about his early life in the *Maghrib* (the Islamic Occident) at the time that the *ʿAnqāʾ* was written, before his fateful emigration to the East (the *Mashriq*) where he would gain lasting fame after a long career of literary and spiritual achievement?[42] Actually, there is a great deal of information on this period, for the very reason that we have touched upon: Ibn al-ʿArabī quite consciously viewed his life-experiences as the raw material or distillation of his personal realizations, and in volume after volume of his vast literary output are scattered biographical data in the form of poignant reminiscences or detailed anecdotes—more often than not, it seems, dating from his seminal years in Andalusia and North Africa. With her recent, ground-breaking *Quest for the Red Sulphur*,[43] Claude Addas has rendered the field of Akbarian studies the inestimable service of gathering together in one volume the bulk of the most important of these miscellaneous references. In the following section I have found little to expand upon the sound factual basis of her research, but shall focus on a few particulars only, where my own study in connection with the *ʿAnqāʾ* has occasionally suggested a somewhat different picture of its author.

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[42] Al-Maqqarī quotes Abū Jaʿfar Ibn Khātimah (d. after 770/1369) as stating that "it is quite obvious that [Ibn al-ʿArabī's] station (*maqām al-shaykh*) was magnified after his removal from the Maghrib" (*Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb* [Iḥsān ʿAbbās, ed., 1968], vol. II, p. 176).

[43] Subtitled: The Life of Ibn ʿArabī (Eng. trn., 1993).

II. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ IBN AL-ʿARABĪ

Our pending task shall be to explicate the text of the *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* and extrapolate therefrom Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine of sainthood as it stood in 595–97/1199–1201,[1] long before the production of his great masterpieces, the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom), by and in which the Akbarian teachings would attain final definition. Although I had initially assumed (as H.S. Nyberg found of the three brief treatises by Ibn al-ʿArabī which he edited)[2] that the *ʿAnqāʾ* text had probably undergone later redaction, my subsequent work with a microfilm of the very valuable manuscript owned by the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, numbered *3266*[3]—which was copied in Fez in 597/1201 and certified by Ibn al-ʿArabī—has since made clear that it is both the earliest and the best source of the book known to exist. Hence, we are afforded an excellent opportunity to examine at a definitely early stage seminal notions which would continue to evolve (at least in expression) through the reworkings of the *Futūḥāt* to their flowering in the *Fuṣūṣ*.[4] Before proceeding to that investigation, however, it would be well to attempt something similar with respect to the author himself: Apart from all that the Shaykh al-Akbar has since become for us, what do we know about the man who wrote *The Fabulous Gryphon*, probably at the age of thirty-six in his native Andalusia?[5] By way of preparation for a portrait sketch, let us begin by drawing back some of the veils that have concealed our subject's genuine lineaments.

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[1] The *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ* is given in the book itself (see pp. 281, n. 2; 282, n. 9; and 288, n. 2): Rabīʿ I, 595, corresponding almost exactly to Jan., 1199. The *terminus ad quem* is Jumādá I, 597 (= Feb.–Mar., 1201), the date when *Ms. Berlin 3266* (= B) was copied in Fez.

[2] Acc. to Nyberg, Ibn al-ʿArabī later reworked his writings, making additions (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, p. 18). This is true of at least two of the works which he edited (the *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir* and *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah*), and, no doubt, of others, but it does not seem to have been the case with many of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings. The *ʿAnqāʾ*, for instance, was in its final form within a year or so of its orig. composition.

[3] See p. 197–99, below, where I have described this ms., which forms the basis of the present trn.

[4] I refer, esp., to the concept of *walāyah* (sainthood) and its association with the Seal (*khatm*) and Mahdī motifs (though the same would certainly apply, *e.g.*, to the *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah* and other metaphysical notions). I have attempted to give a provisional outline of this development in the series of prooftexts tr. in App. IV (pp. 589–613).

[5] As explained below, I think that the *ʿAnqāʾ* was written in 596/1199–1200, in southeast Andalusia (probably Almería).

In the first place, he certainly was not yet known by the honorific (*laqab*), *Muḥyī l-Dīn* (Reviver of the religion), by which we have already referred to him, before his departure from the Maghrib, where such extravagant epithets were not customary at that time.[6] Nevertheless, there is evidence that Ibn al-ʿArabī may have acquired the title by which he would best be known (especially among Turks and Persians) fairly early in his career, since an apparent reference to it occurs in a poem toward the beginning of his *Dīwān*:[7]

> I am "the Reviver", *al-Muḥyī*[8]—
> I speak not allusively nor foolishly[9]
> —I am "the Ḥātimite Arab,"[10] *Muḥammad*!
> To every age is One who is its Essence,
> and I alone am now that Individual.[11]
> For people come only one after another;
> there cannot be two "Individuals" in one age. . . .[12]

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[6] That is, not by the 6th/12th cent. (see R. Dozy, *The History of the Almohades*, p. *v*, n. 1; I. Goldziher, "The Spanish Arabs and Islam," *The Muslim World*, 53 (1963), p. 14; and A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, p. 60). The legend that Ibn al-ʿArabī was named *Muḥyī l-Dīn* by his father in honor of the great eastern Ṣūfī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, who had the *laqab* (and who happened to die in the year after Ibn al-ʿArabī's birth) is patently apocryphal. Similarly, the honorary title, *al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (Doctor Maximus), was undoubtedly made current by generations foll. the master's death; nor was Ibn al-ʿArabī generally referred to as the "Seal of the saints" during his lifetime.

[7] On pp. 44–45 of the 1855 edn. of the *Dīwān Ibn ʿArabī*. The eighty poems up to p. 40 are arranged in roughly chronological order and were probably all composed in the Maghrib—that is, prior to Ibn al-ʿArabī's departure thence in 598/1202. I am inclined to believe that the poems on pp. 44–45 were written in Malatya or Aleppo in the second decade of the 7th/13th cent. (see my art., "The Būlāq *Dīwān* of Ibn al-ʿArabī: Some Addenda to a Tentative Description," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 29:3 [1998]. *Alqāb* such as *Muḥyī l-Dīn* were common in Saljūqid and Ayyūbid society (see H. Busse, "ʿIzz al-Dīn," in *E.I.* 2, *s.v.*). The metre of the poem is *al-ṭawīl.*

[8] For *Muḥyī l-Dīn*. Otherwise, *al-Muḥyī* is a name of God (in *Qur.* 30: 50 and 41: 39). At the end of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fihrist al-Muʾallafāt* in *Ms. Feyzullah 2119* (f. 176) is inscribed the verse: "I am the Reviver of engendered existence (*muḥyī l-kawn*). I am the Veil of the Treasure; not the Treasure am I."

[9] *Lā uknī wa-lā ataballadū*. This could also be read: "I have no *kunyah* and no *nisbah*" (qualifying names, relating to an offspring and a place of origin).

[10] *Al-ʿarabīyu l-Ḥātimīyu*. Franz Rosenthal has rendered this verse differently in his art., "Ibn ʿArabī between 'Philosophy' and 'Mysticism'" (*Oriens*, 1988), p. 5. The ref., of course, is to the poet's names, *Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ḥātimī*.

[11] *Wa-innīya dhākā l-shakhṣu fī l-ʿaṣri awḥadū*.

[12] *Ḥarām^{un} ʿalá l-adwāri shakhṣānī yūjadū*: "It is forbidden to the ages that two individuals be found [in the same age]." This resonates to the Qur'ānic argument against polytheism (23: 91), to the effect that there could not be two supreme Deities since Their interests would inevitably conflict and bring destruction upon the world.

In another, very important poem which we have had occasion to note and shall again, he may be alluding to the same *laqab* in the opening verse:[13]

> I was appointed to deliver God's Religion
> (Deliverance is from *Him*, as the Scriptures say),[14]
> For I am Ḥātimite in race, he of Magnanimity,
> of the Arab tribe of Ṭayyiʾ down the generations![15]

As for the other name appearing in these verses, the cognomen, *al-Ḥātimī*, it is well attested in some of the oldest manuscript evidence,[16] including autographs, which sometimes end with *al-Ṭāʾī al-Ḥātimī al-Andalusī* (though usually one or two of these will be omitted, and the first two may be inverted).[17] As in the last line quoted above, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself frequently related this appellation to that of the proverbially magnanimous Arab knight and poet, Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī.[18] At least in some cases, however, the verses in question are presented as examples of *fakhr* (vainglory, or "tribal pride", as a literary conceit),[19] and it is not necessary to suppose that they were intended as a literal genealogy.[20] Moreover, except by virtue of such "creative"

It is also reminiscent of the *Ismāʿīlī* "ages", *adwār* (s., *dawr*), each of which is initiated by one of the seven major prophets—exc. that there the system expressly allows for two "individuals" (the *nāṭiq*-prophet and his *ṣāmit-waṣī*) in each age.

[13] See *Dīwān Ibn ʿArabī* [hereafter, *Dīwān*], p. 259 (*cf.* below, pp. 56–57). The metre is *al-basīṭ*.

[14] *Cf. Qur.* 3: 126 and 8: 10: "There is no deliverance (*al-naṣr*) except it is from God."

[15] *Min Ṭayyi*$^{\text{ʾin}}$ *ʿarabīy*^{in} *ʿan ab*^{in} *fa-abī.* The ref. is to Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, renowned for his *karam* (see n. 18, below).

[16] *E.g.*, in *Ms. Yusuf Ağa 4868*, f. 38b, copied *c.* 602/1205. Scribes often miswrote *al-Khātimī* (sigillary, of the Seal) for *al-Ḥātimī.*

[17] See, *e.g.*, his signature in *Ms. Istanbul Univ. Lib. 79A*, f. 103, in the plate facing p. 32 of Ralph W.J. Austin's *Sufis of Andalusia* (1971).

[18] See also *Dīwān*, p. 47 (ll. 3 & 14; and *cf.* l. 18 on p. 308); and the same poem in *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār* [hereafter, *Muḥāḍarah*], vol. I (1972), pp. 342–43. On Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī (al-Jawād), who died *c.* 605 C.E., see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. [= *E.I.* 2], *s.v.* Al-Maqqarī specifies in his biography of Ibn al-ʿArabī that he was actually the scion of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥātim, brother of ʿAdī, the more famous son of Ḥātim (see *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* [1968], vol. II, pp. 161–62; for numerous trads. relating to ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, see A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, vol. VIII [ind.], *s.v.*).

[19] Ibn al-ʿArabī explicitly says so in *Muḥāḍarah*, vol. I, pp. 342–43; and the *Dīwān* rubrics, likewise, indicate this on pp. 44 and 46–47. In "The Būlāq *Dīwān*" (cited in n. 7, above), I have speculated that the section of the *Dīwān* in which these instances occur may have orig. been part of the (lost) early anthology entitled *Inzāl al-Ghuyūb ʿalá Marātib al-Qulūb* (see n. 33 therein).

[20] As *I* might, only half-seriously, claim descent from St. Thomas More. It is perhaps not too significant that Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporary, the historian, ʿIzz

etymology, there is really no reason to understand the name, *al-Ḥātimī*, by itself, as actually deriving from the Arabian hero at all.[21]

Be that as it may, if we are to credit the attribution, membership in the *Ṭayyiʾ* tribe would tend to indicate a pro-Umayyad (= Marwānid, Kalbite) affiliation in the perennially divisive Arab clan-organization.[22] In the particular circumstances of Maghribine society, however, the volatile racial factor served to unite the Arabs, and when widespread Berber revolts threatened to exterminate the handful of Arab colonists (called *baladīyūn*) in the final decade of the Umayyad dynasty, numerous divisions of Syrian military reinforcements (*ajnād, Shaʾmīyūn*) were dispatched westward by the central government in Damascus, many of whom found their way to Andalusia, where they managed to seize power and acquire great landholdings.[23] Hence, any actual substance to Ibn al-ʿArabī's occasional claim to a pure Arab descent would probably be owing to the influx of these Syrian newcomers.[24] In reality, however, some admixture of native European blood in our mystic's make-up is much more than likely,[25] and a Berber element is apparently certain.[26]

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al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), does not mention him among the notable *Ḥātimīs* or *Ṭāʾīs* in his genealogical study, *Al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb* (see vols. I, pp. 325*sq.*, and II, 271*sq.*).

[21] When Ibn Khaldūn, for instance, refers to Ibn al-ʿArabī as *al-Ḥātimī* (in the *Muqaddimah*, vol. II, p. 187), if he failed to make the connection between that name and Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, then, with his intimate knowledge of *Maghribī* political sociology, he might have attr. the ***nisbah*** to the ***Banū Ḥātim*** which was the family of the powerful leader of the Andalusian Qaysites, al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim (d. 142/759), at the time of the Umayyad takeover of Cordoba.

[22] The Southern (Yemenite) tribe of the Banū Ṭayyiʾ was actually "northern" in that it had long been located north of Khaybar (east of Taymāʾ), and later became closely allied to the Syrian party of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680), the fifth caliph and founder of the Umayyad dynasty.

[23] *Cf.* Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 502. For details of the various divisions of Arab settlement in the Maghrib, see Dhanūn Ṭāha, *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain* (esp. pp. 110–82).

[24] The Ṭayyiʾ were among the Syrian *jund* from Egypt that settled in the province of Murcia (which, hence, was nicknamed *Miṣr*, "Egypt"), Ibn al-ʿArabī's birthplace (see *ibid.*, pp. 148–49; and Bernard Lewis's trn. from Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his *Islam*, vol. I, pp. 118–20). Note that in our present text, Ibn al-ʿArabī states that he is "neither purebred Arab nor non-Arab" (see p. 252 at n. 54).

[25] Few Arab women are known to have emigrated to Andalusia at any time.

[26] His mother's family was at least partly Berber, with relations to a ruler (*malik*) of Tlemcen, Yaḥyá b. Yughān al-Ṣanhājī, acc. to *Fut.* II, 18 [15*sq.*], and *Muḥāḍarah*, vol. II (1906), pp. 67–68. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī mentions that Murcia was colonized by Berbers (see M. de Slane, tr., *Al-Mughrib fī Dhikr Bilād Ifrīqiyā wa-l-Maghrib* [rep., 1965], p. 128).

Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī was born in the sacred month of Ramaḍān, 560 A.H. (= July–August, 1165 C.E.), in the beautiful township of Murcia, inland from the Mediterranean *Costa Blanca* between Valencia and Almería, in the *qiblah* of al-Andalus.[27] After seizing Toledo in the preceding century, Christian conquistadors under the king of León and Castile, Alfonso VI, had pushed far south to capture the fortress of Aledo which commanded the fertile countryside around Murcia.[28] It was at this juncture that the desperate "party kings" (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) of Muslim Spain petitioned Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn, leader of the Berber Almoravids (*al-murābiṭūn*),[29] to come to their defense against the looming threat from the north. The Moroccans proved easier to admit than to dismiss, however, and soon the people of Andalusia had lost their liberty to their liberators. When, in the following century, a rival Berber regime, the Almohads (*al-muwaḥḥidūn*),[30] arose and the North African civil strife spread to the peninsula, a gallant, ex-Christian warlord named Ibn Mardanīsh[31] was able to carve out an independent enclave based in Murcia, in which Ibn al-ʿArabī was born. As Ibn Mardanīsh was conveniently allied to the Almoravids (the better to stave off the Almohad advance), Ibn al-ʿArabī would later recall among his earliest childhood memories hearing the invocation of the ʿAbbāsid caliph's name during the Friday sermon.[32]

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[27] The region was known as Tudmīr (after its former Visigothic ruler, Theodemir). While Muslims built very few towns *de novo* in Andalusia, *Mursiyah* does seem to be one such, although it was apparently constructed with materials taken from a nearby Roman site (perhaps the *Murgi* of Pomponius Mela; or else *Myrtia*, a name for Diana, patroness of nearby Denia-Artemision). Murcia's port, Cartagena (New Carthage), was established as the *point d'appui* of Hannibal's great march on Rome.

[28] These were the heady days of the celebrated Castilian knight, Rodrigo Díaz, *mio Cid* (*sayyid-ī*).

[29] The name denotes "the residents of a frontier military-retreat (*ribāṭ*)". Specifically, it refers to the reform-movement founded by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Yāsīn al-Jazūlī (d. *c.* 450/1058) among the nomadic Ṣanhājah Berbers of the western Sahara, which, under Yusūf Ibn Tāshufīn (d. 500/1106), became the first great Berber empire in history.

[30] "The asserters of Divine unity (*al-tawḥīd*)". This movement was founded by Muḥ. Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), called the *Mahdī* by his followers, among the more sedentary Maṣmūdah Berbers, but its fortunes were extended under the capable leadership of the Mahdī's *khalīfah*, ʿAbd al-Mu'min, and two generations of the latter's descendents (the reigns of whom were coextensive with Ibn al-ʿArabī's life in the Maghrib). For a good study of Ibn Tūmart's mahdism, see M. Fletcher's art., "Al-Andalus and North Africa in the Almohad Ideology," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (S.Kh. Jayyusi, ed.), vol. I, pp. 237–58.

[31] Muḥ. b. Saʿd b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad Ibn Mardanīsh (< Martinez). He ruled *sharq al-Andalus* from 541/1146 until his death in 567/1172, when Murcia was under leisurely seige by the Almohads. Al-Maqqarī, who treats Ibn Mardanīsh as an exemplar of Andalusian valor, quotes a war-story concerning him which took place in 560 H., Ibn al-ʿArabī's birthyear (see *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* [de Gayangos, tr.], vol. I, pp. 123–24; and vol. II, p. 413). Recent archeological investigations of the Castillejo of Monteagudo near Murcia have concluded that this complex was constructed under Ibn Mardanīsh (see M. Barrucand and A. Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia*, p. 225, n. 147).

The precise day of his birth in Ramaḍān has been a matter of some uncertainty. In recent times most scholars have followed the lead of Miguel Asín Palacios and the latter-day Moroccan compiler, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), who quotes the 7th/13th-century historian, Muḥammad Ibn al-Najjār,[33] as claiming that Ibn al-ʿArabī himself informed him in Damascus that he was born on "a Monday evening, the seventeenth of Ramaḍān" (= 28 July).[34] But the 17th of Ramaḍān is the traditional date of the "Day of Decision" (*yawm al-furqān*) of *Sūrah VIII*: 41–42, when the fledgling Muslim community won its fateful first military victory at Badr. Beyond that, Henry Corbin was impressed by the fact that this day in 560 A.H. marked the first lunar anniversary of "what is perhaps the most crucial event in Iranian Ismāʿīlism: the proclamation of the Grand Resurrection at Alamūt."[35] Unfortunately, the datum as given is inherently suspect, however, since 17 Ramaḍān seems to have fallen on a Tuesday in that year.

Ahmed Ateş was the first modern researcher to call this date into question when he published a note evidently written by Ibn al-ʿArabī's chief disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274),[36] during the Shaykh's lifetime which reads: "My Lord, the Master, Imām to the world, Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī, was born in the month of months, Ramaḍān, on *the twenty-seventh* [day] . . . in the year, 560,[37] in the town of Murcia in the land of al-Andalus. . . ."[38] But what Ateş (and, after him, Austin)[39] fails to mention is that after "the twenty-seventh" is plainly written in the same hand: "*or the seventeenth* [day] of [the month]"; but this has been crossed out, presumably by a later editor, and صح (correct) has been inscribed above the first option, the 27th.[40] As the latter happens to be the traditional date of the holiest moment in the Islamic calendar, *Laylat al-Qadr* (the "Night of Power", or "Decree,"[41] when the Qur'ān was first revealed), there would appear to be compelling reasons to doubt the accuracy of this, as well as the other, putative birthdate.[42] In Ibn al-ʿArabī's poetic *Dīwān* is another example of *fakhr* which could be taken as a taunt to the historian trying to fix the Shaykh's time-frame.[43]

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[32] He was al-Mustanjid bi-Llāh (555–66/1160–70; see *Muḥāḍarah*, I, 128). Unlike the Almohads who later claimed the caliphate over all Muslims, the Almoravids nominally recognized the ʿAbbāsid central authority in faraway Baghdad.

[33] Muḥ. b. Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī (d. 643/1245). See *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 163 (quoting al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī bi-l-Wafāyāt*, vol. IV, p. 178). Ibn al-Najjār was wrong about the date of Ibn al-ʿArabī's departure from Andalusia (see *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, pp. 162–63).

[34] See *ibid.*, p. 163; M. Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado*, p. 33; and T.H. Weir, "Ibn [al-]ʿArabī," in *E.I.* 1. A.E. Affifi, who hounded Asín for his every flaw, has even tailed the latter in giving the wrong C.E. birthdate (in *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dín-Ibnul ʿArabí*, p. *xv*).

[35] *Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī* (Eng. trn., 1969), p. 25 (*cf.* also pp. 38–39).

[36] In *Ms. Yusuf Ağa 5624*, p. 675 (= f. 347). See A. Ateş, "Anadolu kütüphanelerinden mühim yazma eserler," in *Tarih vesîkları dergisi*, 1 (old series, 16), pp. 157–59 (and plates XXIII–XXXI), pub. in 1955. The information was later inc. in Ateş's art., "Ibn al-ʿArabī," in *E.I.* 2 (see p. 707b).

Each moment I behold You is my "Night of Decree";[44]
  while that which for mankind in the month of Ramaḍān

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[37] Corresponding to Aug. 7, 1165. Corbin would not be surprised to learn that this date was one day before the *solar* anniversary of the Nizārīte *qiyāmah*.

[38] See *ibid.*, plate XXV (*no.* 7, mispaginated 673 instead of 675). Another Turkish scholar, Nihat Keklik, later drew attention to a colophon (in *Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 1340*) which specifies "Friday evening, the 27th" as the birthdate (see his *Muhyiddîn İbn'ül-arabî* [1966], p. 171); but, although I do not know the provenience of the ms. concerned, it is safe to assume that its ultimate source may be al-Qūnawī's note. As for the day of the week given, the Near Eastern "evening of the 27th" fell on a *Saturday*, if I am not mistaken (although, by our reckoning, it would be Friday evening, p.m., from sunset to midnight).

[39] In his *Sufis of Andalusia* [hereafter, *Sufis*], p. 21, n. 2.

[40] This is clearly discernible in the plate cited in n. 38, above. Of course, it is possible that al-Qūnawī himself made this emendation in his own text at a later date, but it is certainly at least as likely that another, later hand is responsible. At any rate, this passage alone, interesting as it is, should not be taken as firm evidence for the correct date, since, if it were really based on word of mouth testimony from Ibn al-ʿArabī to his disciple, there would not have been such ambiguity in its statement.

[41] See *Sūrah 97.*

[42] Either birthdate would make Ibn al-ʿArabī's "sun-sign" to be Leo. In 1175 C.E., Gerard of Cremona defended his belief in astrology (against Daniel of Morley's objection that a prince and a pauper may be born under the same star) by observing that, as a Leonine, although he himself did not become a king, yet he never submitted to the domination of any mortal, so that he, nathless, was a king of the mind.

[43] *Dīwān*, pp. 47–48. The metre is *al-khafīf.*

[44] In fact, as a result of a dream that he had in 631/1233, Ibn al-ʿArabī came to share the view of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah that *laylat al-qadr* falls on a different calendar date each year (see *ibid.*, 280).

> Is "better than a thousand months"[45]—verily, I
> —*I* am better than that without any time [-limit]![46]
> Its Graciousness depends on *me*,[47] while my own Grace
> belongs to Him Who made me in His [Image]. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> All the pride of any man is something which is lent,
> except *my* pride in the Image of the Merciful![48]

As a final note on the matter, Michel Chodkiewicz has indicated that the enormous edifice of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* is based on a plan of five-hundred and sixty chapters, matching the *hijrī* year of the author's birth (which, as we have seen, is also memorialized in the present work).[49] The implicitly *apocalyptic* dimension of these calculations is spelled out in an interesting passage from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Akhyār* (The Conference of the Righteous and the Converse of the Excellent) which—although it ostensibly relates to the year, 561 A.H.—tells of a prediction of "amazing things which would come to pass in the third and fourth climes by the decree of the Almighty, the All-Knowing,[50] Who placed the knowledge of [those things] in the course of the stars and motions of the spheres."[51]

In the event, however, the year must have passed quietly in Murcia, since no particularly "amazing things" are recorded in the local histories until the surrender of the town to the second Almohad caliph, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, in 567/1172, after which Ibn al-ʿArabī's father found it expedient to move his family to Seville which had become the provincial capital of the new Berber empire. As an only son,[52] nothing would have been spared the young Muḥammad b. ʿAlī for the advancement of his upbringing and early education. But the impression has developed in most biographical treatments composed since the 9th/15th century of Ibn al-ʿArabī's family as "noble, rich and very religious"[53] to a degree quite unwarranted in the primary sources. This characterization appears to have arisen first in the polemical hagiography, *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Manāqib al-Shaykh Muḥyī l-Dīn*, written by ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qāriʾ al-Baghdādī (*fl.* 784/1382), who fancifully depicts the juvenescent Ibn al-ʿArabī as one of "the sons of the kings, notables and leaders of that time."[54]

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[45] *Qur.* 97: 3.

[46] *Bi-ghayri zamānī.*

[47] *Faḍlu-hā rājiʿun ilayya.*

[48] *Bi-ṣūrati l-Raḥmānī.* "Something which is lent" (in the first hemistich): *muʿār.*

[49] See his art., "The *Futūḥāt Makkiyyah* and Its Commentators: Some Unresolved Enigmas," in L. Lewisohn, ed., *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Ṣūfism*, pp. 230–31; and *cf.* above, p. 6, n. 13).

[50] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 96, *et al.* Acc. to Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955), al-Andalus was at the western extremity of the fourth geographic clime, North Africa of the third. Of course, Ibn al-ʿArabī is not presenting the passage as a prediction.

[51] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 429. This chap. of the *Muḥāḍarah* was tr. and discussed by Richard Hartmann in "Eine islamishe Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit," *Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft* (1924), pp. 86–116.

[52] As Addas observes, this is to be inferred from the available evidence (see *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 18, n. 31). We know that Ibn al-ʿArabī had (at least) two siblings, sisters, named Umm Saʿd and Umm ʿAlāʾ (see his *Mubashshirāt* [= *Yusuf Ağa 5624*], f. 353). I say "at least," since the word used in *Fut.* I, 222 (12) to refer to his father's daughters is plur. (rather than dual).

The same very dubious source is evidently responsible for the mistaken belief that Ibn al-ʿArabī's father, Alī b. Muḥammad, served as *wazīr* (minister) to the Almohad regime in Seville.[55] Other than the casual remark in the *R. Rūḥ al-Quds* (The Epistle of the Holy Spirit) that his father was "one of the Sultan's adherents" (*min aṣḥāb al-sulṭān*),[56] however, there is no early testimony that can be adduced to substantiate the claim. On the contrary, the near total absence of documentary information regarding Ibn al-ʿArabī *Senior* should have strongly suggested that his career, in whatever field, had been without particular distinction. Inasmuch as he was counted as a friend

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[53] *El Islam cristianizado*, p. 34. This view even remained largely intact in Addas's critical biography (see *Quest*, p. 30).

[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 22. Al-Qāriʾ al-Baghdādī's work of pious fiction features a conversion story (pp. 22–23) reminiscent of the popular Ṣūfī legend of Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham (d. *c.* 160/776), which was itself modeled on that of the Buddha, as Goldziher showed (see T. Duka's summary of his study in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 132–34*sq.*). I have tr. and discussed al-Qāriʾ al-Baghdādī's account in the context of the Ibn Ad'ham legend as well as that of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own reputed ancestor, the Berber king-*cum*-ascetic, Yaḥyá Ibn Yughān, in "New Evidence on the Conversion of Ibn al-ʿArabī to Ṣūfism," *Arabica*, 45: 1 (1998), pp. 53–57. The same topic was later summarized in my art., "On the Road to Santarem: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Conversion to the Path of Peace," *J.M.I.A.S.*, 24 (1998).

[55] See *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, p. 22. R.W.J. Austin evidently mistook *ṣāḥib Ishbīlīyah, sulṭān al-gharb* to refer to Ibn Mardanīsh (in *Sufis*, p. 21) and, thus, began the since-repeated assertion that Ibn al-ʿArabī *Senior* may have been the minister of Ibn Mardanīsh. Later, in his intro. to *The Bezels of Wisdom* (1980), the error was compounded when the father was described as "clearly a well-known and influential figure in the fields of politics and learning" (p. 1)—for none of which is there a shred of evidence.

[56] *Op. cit.* (1970), p. 108; tr. by Austin in *Sufis*, 114. The word, *ṣāḥib*, here could denote anything from a minister to a minor retainer (see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, s.v.*). By Almohad times the wazīrate itself had degenerated to a merely honorary title (the chief minister was the *ḥājib*). On all of such terms, see J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary until the Sixth Century of the Hijra*, ind.; and *Muqaddimah*, II, 12–16*sq.*

(*ṣadīq*) of the great philosopher and judge of Cordoba, Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averroes),[57] it may be assumed that he reached a certain degree of accomplishment or taste in learning.[58] There is no indication of any pretense to nobility, however,[59] and the family does not appear to have been especially wealthy, either.[60] On the contrary, the early years following their move to Seville were probably not very comfortable, but life would have steadily improved in the exciting new surroundings of a thriving capital and cultural center.[61]

As for ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī's attitude toward Ṣūfism, at least as measured by any objective standards, it could only be characterized as antipathetic,[62] despite the eloquent testimonial of his loving and dutiful son.[63] Evidence of this may be found in an open letter addressed by Ibn al-ʿArabī in 590/1194 (probably only shortly after his father's death) to a cousin of his who was a disciple of his Ṣūfī mentor-friend, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Mahdawī, with whom he had sojourned in Tunis earlier that same year:[64]

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[57] See below, pp. 50*sq*. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) transferred from Seville to his hometown of Cordoba just prior to the Ibn al-ʿArabīs' move to the former city, but he is known to have made a number of trips to the Almohad provincial capital thereafter. He was again appointed *qāḍī* of Seville *c.* 575/1179–80, and three years later became chief justice of Cordoba and private physician to the caliph, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (succeeding Ibn Ṭufayl in the latter post).

[58] Although, it must be emphasized, there is not a trace of concrete evidence to support the assumption.

[59] As there clearly is, for instance, in the case of Ibn Ḥazm (despite his evident *muwallad* pedigree). But I cannot concur with Addas that expressions such as that used by Ibn al-ʿArabī's spiritual preceptor to urge his impetuous young charge not to stoop to carry in public a foul market-basket reeking of dried fish (something that, acc. to the prevailing social norms, only a lowly servant should do) constitutes "ample proof—if proof were needed—of the prestige and high social standing" of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his family in Sevillean society (*cf. Quest*, 48–49, with regard to *Fut.* I, 506 [23–27] and 588–89). While it is true that *ahlu manṣibi-ka min arbābi l-dunyā* means, lit., s.th. like "the people of your standing among the great ones of the world," there is no cause to suppose that this really signifies here anything more than the élite (*al-khāṣṣah*) as distinguished from the common folk (*al-ʿāmmah*), *hoi polloi.*

[60] Their house in Seville was in the neighborhood of two brothers (surnamed "the Tailor" and "the Potter") who were very dear to the young Muḥammad, one of them serving as his instructor in the Qur'ān (see *Sufis*, 91–95, for their story, which does not suggest affluence). If little can be proven by such anecdotes, it is perhaps significant that, apart from several courses in the religious sciences (Qur'ān, *ḥadīth, Sīrah* and *fiqh*), Ibn al-ʿArabī nowhere names any private tutor (though we hear of many tutors of Ibn Ḥazm, by contrast). And although servants (*ghilām*) are mentioned in connection with a memorable hunting expedition taken with his father in *Fut.* IV, 540 (4–8), they may have simply been hired for the trip (see G. Elmore, "New Evidence," pp. 67–68).

[61] In the year preceding Ibn al-ʿArabī's arrival, construction began on the great mosque of Seville (of which all that remains is the exquisite Moroccan-style minaret, now transformed into a campanile topped by the famous *Giralda*); and the oldest part of the Alcazar (*al-qaṣr*, "the palace") was built in the years just foll. Ibn al-ʿArabī's departure from his homeland.

[62] Besides the passage given below, see the *Rūḥ al-Quds* [hereafter, *Rūḥ*], pp. 108–09 and 115, tr. by Austin in *Sufis*, 114 and 123. Like his friend, the qāḍī, Ibn Rushd, Ibn al-ʿArabī's father probably subscribed to the *Mālikī* rite, which was generally opposed to the Ṣūfī movement.

> [As an instance of Shaykh al-Mahdawī's] way of comportment (*sīratu-hu*): He turned to me one evening to suggest that I go with him to the baths (*al-ḥammām*), which is something that I really used to enjoy very much. Along with us that evening was the pious hermit[65] and watchman, Shaykh Abū Muḥammad Jarrāḥ (May God have mercy on him!), who was the watchman at the harbor of Laqīṭ, where he would later be buried.
>
> The Servant [Ibn al-ʿArabī] continues: When we arrived at the baths, [Shaykh al-Mahdawī] (May God be pleased with him!) laid towels in front of him and called the disciples up one by one, wrapping one towel over the shoulders of [each one] and another around their waist. After that, he undressed each of them, down to the last one; then he did the same for me and, finally, himself. [The towels] were very ample so as to conceal more. And we spent the most enjoyable evening ever, serving the Shaykh in the finest ambience, "in a lofty Garden, its clusters nigh to gather,"[66] until the early morning hours, [when] we repaired to [Shaykh al-Mahdawī's] blessed house where

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[63] On his death, see *Fut.* I, 222 (4–13), tr. by Addas in *Quest*, 19. Virtually nothing is known about Ibn al-ʿArabī's mother, who evidently died shortly before her husband, in the late 580s H., if we may credit Austin's rendering of the foll. data from the unique ms. of the *Durrah al-Fākhirah* (= *Esad Ef. 1777*, f. 80b): Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to date a particular prediction made by a Berber Ṣūfī whom he had known since his youth, Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawī, at 580/1184 when he states with ref. to it "at that time I had just begun following the Way. . . ." (*Sufis*, 74–75). Further into the same passage he adds: "Six years later my mother died" (*ibid.*, 75). This implies that she passed away in 586 or '87, around three or four years before Ibn al-ʿArabī's father (I realize that this interpretation also implies that al-ʿAdawī's prediction did not turn out to be correct in all details). Also, there is no indication that Ibn al-ʿArabī's mother "assiduously frequented" an old Ṣūfī woman that her son had befriended (*cf. Quest*, 25), but only that she visited her a few times or occasionally (see *Fut.* II, 348 [9–10], tr. in *Sufis*, 25–26).

[64] This letter was later prefixed to Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. Mashāhid al-Asrār al-Qudsīyah* as a kind of prolegomenon. My trn. was made from *Ms. Manisa 1183*/6, ff. 59–59b. The text of the *risālah* has been ed. by Ḥāmid Ṭāhir in "Sainthood and Prophecy: A Study and Edition of an Epistolary Manuscript by Ibn ʿArabī," *Alif*, 5 (1985), pp. 7–38 (Arabic text). The above passage occurs on p. 30, and was tr. by Addas in *Quest*, 122. Ibn al-ʿArabī's cousin, who was the specific addressee of the letter, was named Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥ. Ibn al-ʿArabī. On the peculiar relationship between Shaykh al-Mahdawī (a disciple of Abū Madyan) and Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *Quest*, 113–17, *et al.*

[65] *Al-munqaṭiʿ al-mutabattal.* On the first word, see Dozy, *Supplément*, *s.v. inqaṭaʿa.*

[66] *Qur.* 69: 22–23 (A.J. Arberry's trn.).

> [everyone] recited their supererogatory prayers (*awrādu-hum*) until the break of dawn.
>
> [Later, when I had returned home to Andalusia,][67] my father queried me (May God have mercy on him!): "What happened with the Shaykh in the baths?" So I told him the story, and he was amazed at what he heard, condemning "such [behavior] as this in these times, and in that country."[68] [But] may God benefit us with their [*sci.*, the Ṣūfīs'] service and join us to them![69]

The only other family member of whom it could be said that he may have been a role-model in the way of spirituality during Ibn al-ʿArabī's boyhood was his paternal uncle, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ṭāʾī. His story is given in the *Rūḥ al-Quds* and repeated in (the synopsis of) the *Durrah al-Fākhirah fī Dhikr Man Intafaʿtu bi-hi fī Ṭarīq al-Ākhirah.*[70] There we learn that he did not even enter the Ṣūfī path until he was in his eighties,[71] at which time he had a sudden anticipation of approaching judgment and mended his ways. After three years he died, but not before attaining a high spiritual station through perseverance in reading the Qurʾān, self-discipline and seclusion. All of this was when Ibn al-ʿArabī was still quite young, however, and even before his own conversion to the path, so it would be inadvisable to read much into the relation. The same is even more the case with a maternal uncle, Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī, briefly described in the *Futūḥāt* as a kind of Ṣūfī.[72] As for a third "uncle," the legendary Berber prince-turned-ascetic, Yaḥyá Ibn Yughān, whatever the nature of Ibn al-ʿArabī's precise relationship to him, there can be no question of "influence" since he is reported to have died in 537/1142–43,[73] over twenty years before our Ṣūfī's birth.[74]

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[67] That is, still in the same year, 590/1194. There is surely no reason to suppose that Ibn al-ʿArabī's father was with him in Tunis (*cf. Quest*, 122).

[68] Tunis, in Ifrīqiyā (the Roman *Africa*), was associated in the minds of conservative Andalusians both with its Christian and its (heretical) Fāṭimid past—not to mention the pagan Graeco-Roman heritage still preserved in the baths.

[69] This is a recurrent theme in Ibn al-ʿArabī's elaboration (*takhmīs*) of a poetic eulogy of the Ṣūfī brotherhood by the great 6th/12th-cent. Ṣūfī teacher (and master of al-Mahdawī), Abū Madyan Shuʿayb (see my art., "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain' (*Taḫmīs*) on a Poem by Abū Madyan," *Arabica*, 46 [1998]).

[70] *The Magnificent Pearl concerning the Remembrance of Him from Whom I Have Profited in the Way of the Hereafter* (see Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī* [*répértoire géneral, no.* 105]). Both passages are tr. by Austin in *Sufis*, 99–100. The one in the *Rūḥ* is found on p. 98. For an account of the situation concerning the *Durrah al-Fākhirah* and its only extant ms., see *Sufis*, 18–20. The uncle is briefly mentioned also in *Fut.* I, 185 (25–26).

[71] Incidentally, since this uncle, who was a full brother of ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī, was well into his eighties *before* 580/1184, we may assume that Ibn al-ʿArabī's father was quite advanced in years, as well.

[72] See *Fut.* II, 18 (9–12). *Al-Khawlānī* is the Arab surname of the distinguished fourth (pre-Raḥmānid) *amīr* of Andalusia, who first moved the capital to Cordoba,

The account of Ibn al-ʿArabī's elementary education and a roster of his first teachers in Seville has been ably presented in the studies of Asín, Austin and Addas, upon which I have based my own approach in this chapter. Likewise, his early travels, encounters and mystical experiences in the Maghrib have been extensively treated (especially in the Addas biography), although gaps remain in the record of the former and question-marks over our understanding of the latter. As for the young man's vocational ventures, it has been alleged that he worked as a secretary (*kātib*) for a provincial governor (*wālī*),[75] but the evidence for that, again, does not inspire confidence. All in all, there appeared to be few clear indications of Ibn al-ʿArabī's social background in late-6th/12th-century Andalusia that could withstand scrutiny—and none, I think, that substantiate the view that the family were noble, wealthy, or especially influential, either politically or spiritually. But with the 1990 publication by Fuat Sezgin of the facsimile edition of Ibn al-Shaʿʿār al-Mawṣilī's *Qalāʾid al-Jumān fī Farāʾid Shuʿarāʾ Hādhā l-Zamān*,[76] containing a previously

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and who later fell in battle at Toulouse (in 721 H.). An Abū Muslim ʿAbd Allāh b. Thuwab al-Khawlāmī (d. 62 H.) was a *tābiʿī* who was also an *ʿābid* and ascetic (see Kh.-D. al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, vol. IV, p. 75). Also, Ibn Ḥazm wrote a critique of an Abū *Marwān* al-Khawlānī (see Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-Nubalāʾ*, ed. by S. al-Afghānī in *Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq* [1941], p. 435).

[73] Acc. to Yūsuf b. Yaḥyá al-Tādilī, *Al-Tashawwuf ilá Rijāl al-Taṣawwuf*, pp. 123–25 (*no.* 19).

[74] I have given a full account of Yaḥyá b. Yughān's story in "New Evidence," pp. 56–57. There I suggested that Ibn al-ʿArabī's mother, whose maiden-name was *al-Khawlānī*, must have been related to Ibn Yughān on her own mother's side at some remove (see n. 30 there).

[75] *E.g.*, in *El Islam cristianizado*, p. 37 (and *cf. Quest*, 31). Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) wrote: *Wa-kataba li-baʿḍi l-wulāti* (*Al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah*, vol. II, p. 652, *no.* 1673). But this compiler also wrongly stated Ibn al-ʿArabī's birthplace and his deathdate, and it is worth noting that he did not inc. any mention of him in his collection of *kātib* biographies, the *Iʿtāb al-Kuttāb*. On the office of secretary in the Maghrib, see Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, pp. 11–14.

[76] *Necklaces of Pearls: Precious Verses from Poets of the Present Age* (1990), inc. annotated selections from the verse of poets and men of letters, *etc.*, who lived from the middle of the 6th/12th to the middle of the 7th/13th cents. Each entry begins with a biographical description which frequently, as in the case of Ibn al-ʿArabī's, provides first-hand information on both the subject and the author—of the latter of whom is otherwise known quite little. By name, Abū l-Barakāt al-Mubārak b. Abī Bakr Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān Ibn al-Shaʿʿār al-Mawṣilī (Kamāl al-Dīn), he was born in

unknown and presumably reliable biographical sketch of Ibn al-ʿArabī, we now know what no western scholar had guessed before—that his father and other relatives or ancestors were professional soldiers (*ajnād*) in the service of the Almohad empire in Seville (and before that, perhaps, in the regime of Ibn Mardanīsh in Tudmīr), and that Ibn al-ʿArabī himself had served in the imperial army (*al-jundīyah*) for some time in his youth.

Ibn al-Shaʿʿār came by this priceless information when he interviewed the celebrated mystic in Aleppo in 635/1237, toward the end of the latter's life. After noting some particulars of his *curriculum vitae* and giving a short list of his earliest teachers, Ibn al-Shaʿʿār offers the following account of Ibn al-ʿArabī's conversion to the Ṣūfī path when the humble piety of his earthly master, the Almohad caliph, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (reigned, 558–80/1163–84), inspired in him a sudden realization of the true orientation of his own life while on a doomed military campaign against the Christians at the age of nineteen. The story is all the more poignant for having apparently come from the Shaykh's own lips:

> [Ibn al-ʿArabī's] family (*ahlu-hu*) were soldiers in the service of those who controlled the country,[77] and he [himself] remained for some time [in his youth] a soldier (*jundī*). Then, in the year, 580 [= 1184],[78] he dropped out of the army. He told me, saying *verbatim*:
>
> The reason for my withdrawal from and repudiation of the army, as well as my following this path and my propensity towards it, was [as follows]: When I went out in the company of my Lord (*makhdūm-ī*), the [Almohad] Commander, Abū Bakr Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b.

Mosul in 593/1197, moved in scholarly circles in Mosul, Baghdad and elsewhere, and died in Aleppo in 654/1256 (see the refs. in Sezgin's intro., p. *vii*, n. 2). His first book, the (no longer extant) *Tuḥfat al-Wuzarāʾ*, a sequel to the *Muʿjam al-Shuʿarāʾ* of Muḥ. b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994), was completed in 631/1234 (see Kâtib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī l-Kutub wa-l-Funūn*, vol. II, p. 1734), about four years before he met Ibn al-ʿArabī in Aleppo. For a complete trn. with Arabic text and discussion of Ibn al-Shaʿʿār's biography of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see G. Elmore, "New Evidence," pp. 57–60*sq.* (the trn. only appeared in *J.A.O.S.*, 117: 2 [1997], pp. 347–49).

[77] This may be taken to refer both to Ibn Mardanīsh (based in Murcia until his demise in 567/1172) and, thereafter, to the Almohad caliphate, with its regional headquarters in Seville, to which the Ibn al-ʿArabīs moved after the annexation of Tudmīr.

[78] The Muslim investment of Santarém (on the River Tejo, north of Lisbon), began in mid-Rabīʿ I, 580 (late June, 1184), so Ibn al-ʿArabī's departure from the army ranks at Cordoba was probably in the month of Ṣafar (May–June) of that year.

> ʿAlī,[79] to the Cathedral Mosque in Cordoba,[80] and I saw him bowing and prostrating and humbly abasing himself in supplication to God (To Him belong Might and Majesty!), an idea (*khāṭir*) stirred in me to say [to myself]: "If this, the ruler of the land is so humbly submissive and does this before God (Be He Exalted! To Him belong Might and Majesty!), then this world is worth nothing!" So I left him from that day, and I was never to see him again.[81] Thereafter, I followed this path.[82]

Ibn al-ʿArabī never saw the Caliph again because within three months or so of his hopeful prayer at the great mosque of Cordoba on that late-spring day he would be dead on the Tagus River outside the walls of Santarém. This tragic turn of events must have had quite an effect on the young *mujāhid.* Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf, whom ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrakushī (*fl*. 621/1224) called the only true king of the scions of ʿAbd al-Mu'min,[83] reigned over a great and expanding empire since before Ibn al-ʿArabī's birth. Never the equal of his father on the battlefield,[84] yet his skills in negotiation and management carried him through many internal and external challenges to his authority and shaped the Almohad state into a well-financed and disciplined organization. It was due to the ruler's enlightened policy of patient diplomacy over military force that the eastern territory of Tudmīr (including Murcia) was eventually won over to Berber control without bloodshed after the natural death of the old warlord, Ibn Mardanīsh. At the time of the Ibn al-ʿArabīs' move to Seville the state economy was expanding under Yūsuf's efficient tax-system, and opportunities for government employment were readily available. But more importantly for the budding mind of a seven-year-old boy, a dynamic spirit of intellectual ferment pervaded the realm at precisely that moment—a bold, even dangerous *Zeitgeist* that was embodied in the Caliph himself:[85] A devout Berber Muslim from the High Atlas Mountains enamoured of the gay Andalusian culture of Seville since his princely days as governor there, it was Yūsuf who shocked Ibn Rushd when he demonstrated *in camera* his familiarity with questions of Greek metaphysics, and who later proposed (through another protégé of his, Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭufayl)[86] that the philosopher undertake the commentaries of Aristotle's works for which he would achieve lasting fame.[87]

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[79] His *kunyah* is usually given in the ss. as *Abū Yaʿqūb* (since his son and successor was named Yaʿqūb), but Ibn al-ʿArabī calls him "Abū Bakr," by which he was presumably known during his lifetime. ʿAbd al-Mu'min, Yūsuf's father, had been the right-hand man and successor to the founder of the *Muwaḥḥid* movement, Ibn Tūmart, the Mahdī. The title, *al-amīr*, here is short for *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the faithful), the canonical title of the Islamic caliph, which the Almohad rulers had arrogated to themselves since the time of ʿAbd al-Mu'min.

[80] The Almohad force led by Yūsuf had come from North Africa to relieve Cordoba and other Andalusian towns under threat from Castile in alliance with the Portuguese.

[81] In the campaign which followed the Almohad's relief of Cordoba, Yūsuf led a large, unwieldy force to Santarém, where the Portuguese were well dug in. After an ineffectual siege of a whole month, the caliph died on 18 Rabīʿ II, 580 (29 July, 1184), either from wounds received in battle or disease.

[82] Ibn al-Shaʿʿār, *Qalā'id al-Jumān*, pt. VII [= vol. VI], p. 280. In *Fut.* III, 425 (13), Ibn al-ʿArabī states that he entered the Ṣūfī path (*al-ṭarīqah*) in 580/1184.

[83] See ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Al-Muʿjib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib* (1949), p. 243.

[84] For A. Huici Miranda's negative assessment of Yūsuf's military abilities, see his *Historia política del imperio almohade*, vol. I, pp. 290–312.

The fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī's people were of the military class in Andalusian society is, indeed, a stunning revelation. As J.F.P. Hopkins explains, the *jund* in Almohad times "tended to consist of heterogeneous, unassimilated elements" drawn to the urban centers,[88] a description quite applicable to the Ibn al-ʿArabī family as immigrants to the capital in 568/1172, uprooted by power politics from their Hispanic Levantine homeland. It is uncertain whether or not Ibn al-ʿArabī's father had been a soldier, also, in Ibn Mardanīsh's Tudmīrian regiment (the mainstay of which, by the end of the siege of Murcia, were Christian mercenaries),[89] but the fact that this East Andalusian *émigré* was enlisted in the Berber-dominated imperial army should call into question any assumption that he was of the nobility. While it is possible, of course, that Ibn al-ʿArabī *Senior* may have been an officer or official at court and that he even achieved high rank or wealth, we now have a more likely idea of what Ibn al-ʿArabī meant when referring to his father as "one of the King's men":[90] The Almohad *jundīyah* was a permanent, standing army of paid, professional soldiers, not aristocratic chevaliers or part-time volunteers, and, in effect, they were closely identified with the sovereign's personal bodyguard.[91]

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[85] See al-Marrākushī, *Al-Muʿjib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, pp. 236–43*sq*. Below the surface, however, the contradictory mandate of the Almohad polity—founded upon *Muwaḥḥid* ideology but sustained by Mu'minid dynastic monarchy—led to the restless stirring for an ultimate principle of authority which characterizes the intellectual life of the Maghrib in the 6th/12th cent.

[86] Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185) was the author of the allegorical novel, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, tr. into Lat. as *Philosophus autodidactus*.

[87] The Almohads also patronized the illustrious Jewish medical family of the name, Ibn Zuhr (Lat., Avenzoar), from the time of ʿAbd al-Mu'min, whose *wazīr* was the most celebrated member of the clan, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Zuhr (d. 557/1162). The latter's son, Abū Bakr Muḥ. (d. 595/1198–99), was an accomplished poet and trusted confidant of the caliph, Yaʿqub al-Manṣūr. Other Jews found the Almohad regime much less hospitable, however: The great philosopher and physician, Mūsá b. Maymūn (Maimonides), who was born in Cordoba, left the Maghrib for Cairo around the time of Ibn al-ʿArabī's birth.

[88] On the Almohad *jund*, see Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, pp. 99–102.

[89] See al-Marrākushī *Al-Muʿjib*, p. 249.

That Ibn al-ʿArabī had himself been a recruit in the army is obviously a very significant fact. Though he left the service when he was barely nineteen years old,[92] this still would allow for a full year, at least, of enlistment in the formative period of his life. Could Ibn al-ʿArabī's stint with the military constitute what he refers to in the *Futūḥāt* as his "period of ignorance" (*zamān jāhilīyat-ī*)?[93] After all, in the *Qalāʾid* passage he speaks not only of his withdrawing from the army, but also his repudiation of it (*nabdh-ī la-hā*).[94] In principle, of course, a military profession would in no wise jeopardize one's spiritual credentials—at least from the classical Islamic perspective. But, beyond that, I doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī's *jāhilīyah* could simply be identified with the brief period of his enlistment in the army, or even with any political or monetary ambitions that may have been tied to it (there would not have been much room for promotion along either of those avenues in the Almohad *jundīyah*). Surely it would have been more natural for a young Andalusian of Ibn al-ʿArabī's qualifications seeking advancement in the current regime to pursue a legal or diplomatic-secretarial career before a military one.[95] Rather than being itself the causal mode of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *jāhilīyah*, then, I would suggest that his martial experience should be viewed as merely the occasion or period of its virulence in the final years of his adolescence.

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[90] See above, p. 21, at n. 56. The suggestion that the Ibn al-ʿArabīs may have been part of the irregular, or auxiliary, volunteer force levied to accompany expeditions against the infidel does not seem to suit the context of the passage from the *Rūḥ* where the expression occurs, since the Ṣūfī accuser of ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿArabī, the irascible Cordoban, Shaykh al-Qaṭṭān, was himself renowned as one of those *mujāhids* (see the end of the entry in *Sufis*, 114).

[91] See Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government*, p. 100. It is for this reason, I think, that the caliph (either Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr, Yūsuf's son, or his grandson, Muḥ. al-Nāṣir) later acknowledged the obligation to find suitable husbands for Ibn al-ʿArabī's sisters, one of whom had actually at one time been betrothed to an Almohad *amīr* (see *Sufis*, 75-76, tr. from the *Durrah*). Another plausible view would be to take this as proof of the Ibn al-ʿArabī family's putative nobility. Incidentally, the caliph's attempt to recruit Ibn al-ʿArabī to his service, which is described in this same entry, took place well over a decade after the events of our present concern (see n. 95, below).

[92] That is, *lunar* years. He was probably a few months short of being nineteen solar years old (see above, n. 78).

[93] *Fut.* I, 185 (26).

[94] This expression may, however, be primarily intended as merely a rhetorical counter to *mayl-ī* (my propensity) in the parallel colon, in which case it would simply signify "my turning away".

The specific nature of his pre-Ṣūfic "nescience" was undoubtedly of that variety naturally associated with the irrepressible energies of teenagers, for we learn in the *Rūḥ* that the young man used to spend the night with a "bad crowd" (*al-jamāʿah al-sawʾ*), dancing and giving his soul over to the delights of profane—that is, erotic—music, so that by morning he was often too wasted to attend the communal prayer.[96] There is no reason to doubt that the revellers partook of wine with their song, since that had long since become (if it had not always been) a practice quietly tolerated in merry Seville. The chauvinistic al-Shaqundī (d. 629/1232) compared the esplanade of the Guadalquivir (*Wādī l-Kabīr*) to a riparian paradise:

> For not only are the districts watered by it the most delightful regions that can be imagined, but the inhabitants on both of its banks are the merriest people on earth, always singing, playing on various instruments and drinking wine, which among them is not considered forbidden, as long as it is used with moderation and does not cause intoxication, which leads to perversity and vice.[97]

In the important *Risālah* published by E. Lévi-Provençal as *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle*, the *ḥisbah*-writer, Muḥammad Ibn

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[95] Indeed, one of the successors of Yūsuf—either Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr or Muḥ. al-Nāṣir—later tried to recruit Ibn al-ʿArabī into the government, presumably in a legal (Ẓāhirite) or secretarial capacity (see below, pp. 45–47).

[96] See *Rūḥ*, 53 (tr. in *Quest*, 31–32). The datum is set in the context of an imaginary dialogue between the author and his soul (*nafs*), who frankly confesses her religion and her devotion (*dīn-ī wa-daʾb-ī*) ever to be moved and possessed by her spiritual-psychological condition (*ḥāl*) when hearing poetry recited.

[97] Al-Shaqundī continues: "It is true that there have been at times in Seville governors and sulṭāns, who, being firmly attached to religion, and the strict observance of its ordinances, have done everything in their power to check the evil; but all their attempts have been vain, and they have never succeeded in eradicating it entirely" (*The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, de Gayangos, tr., vol. I, pp. 57–58; E. García Gomez has tr. al-Shaqundī's *Risālah* under the title, *Elogio del Islam español*, 1934). Apropos of this, see the charming story told by Ibn al-ʿArabī in the *Rūḥ* of a shaykh's encounter with a saucy Sevillean woman on the riverbank (p. 97; tr. in *Sufis*, 97–98).

ʿAbdūn, complains about the Sevillean cemeteries (*al-maqābir*) where women set up tents in which to meet their paramours.[98] Perhaps it was not without this country custom in mind that one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's shaykhs was scandalized when he heard that the young Ṣūfī had taken to secluding himself among the tombs (*al-qubūr*), communing with the dead instead of the living.[99] If so, he had nothing to fear since, by that time, the mystic neophyte had died to the flesh and was living in the spirit-world. As he later wrote:

> No man of God's creation was more averse to women and sex than I was at that time I entered the path [of Ṣūfism—that is, in 580/1184]; and I remained in that state for about eighteen years [that is, until 598/1202, when he departed his homeland for the East].[100]

I take this to imply that before and after the eighteen-year period Ibn al-ʿArabī was *not* "averse to women and sex," and, just as we know that he enjoyed connubial relations with women after emigrating to the East (where he married at least twice and probably three or even four times, having at least four sons and a daughter),[101] so he appears to have experimented with sex before his conversion to the path. Who the woman or women were will probably never be discovered, of course.

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[98] See *op. cit.*, pp. 57–61 (*cf.* also pp. 127–28, *no.* 205). For the Arabic text of the *risālah*, see E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un Document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII^{e} siècle: Le Traité d'Ibn ʿAdbūn," *Journal asiatique*, 1934.

[99] See *Fut.* III, 45 (15–21), tr. in *Sufis*, 24–25.

[100] *Fut.* IV, 84 (29–30).

[101] From a note written by Ibn al-ʿArabī in 630/1233 in a book by Ibn Rushd which he bequeathed to his son, Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥ., we can deduce that the latter had at least three brothers and one sister (see A. Ateş's expanded version of his art. on Ibn al-ʿArabī in *E.I.* 2, "Muhyi-d-Din Arabi," in *Islâm ansiklopedisi* [1960], p. 541a; and his "Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar," pp. 67–68, in *Belletin*, 16 [1952]). ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥ. (d. 667/1268–69) was born *c.* 600 H. to Fāṭimah bt. Yūnus b. Yūsuf Amīr al-Ḥaramayn, whom Ibn al-ʿArabī married in Mecca (see *Fut.* IV, 554 [1–2]; and *Dīwān*, 53). Another son, Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥ. (d. 656/1258), was born in 618 H. (see *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 170) to another wife, of whose identity there are several possibilities (see *Quest*, pp. 86–87). A third son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥ., also called *Jawbān*, is specifically identified by al-Qūnawī as the child of Maryam [bt. Muḥ. al-Bijāʾī?] in a note appended to his transcription of the *Mubashshirāt* (see n. 107, below). Maryam, then, is the *Khātūn Umm Jawbān* mentioned by Ibn al-ʿArabī in the *Mubashshirāt* itself (see below, and *cf.* Addas's trn. of the passage in *Quest*, 85). To add to the confusion, however, Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥ. is called "Ibn al-ʿArabī *al-Jawbān*" by C. Brockelmann in *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Supplementband*, vol. I, p. 802, *no.* 27. Could *ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn* simply be a variant *laqab* for the son better known as Saʿd al-Dīn? Or, rather, are the two siblings, both having Maryam for mother? If so, did ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn die as an

It is conceivable that, as Asín Palacios conjectured, Ibn al-ʿArabī had already married the woman named Maryam bt. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn al-Bijāʾī[102] when he was still an adolescent in Seville. The name is certainly *Maghribī*, and the Ibn ʿAbdūn family were prominent in West Andalusian society.[103] Since she is known to have been with her husband in Aleppo as late as 630/1233,[104] Asín's assumption would necessitate the young couple's having at some point—specifically, at the time of Ibn al-ʿArabī's climactic conversion in 580/1184—mutually agreed to renounce their conjugal rights upon each other in order to pursue a more perfect servanthood (*ʿubūdīyah*) to God.[105] Although we should not rule out this possibility, it would appear much more likely that Ibn al-Arabī met his wife-to-be, Maryam, in the expatriate Maghribine community somewhere in the Mashriq after 598/1202.[106] It is worth noting, however, that this same Maryam

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infant (since we otherwise know nothing of him)? And as for the *Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* also mentioned in that passage from the *Mubashshirāt*—who is she? Since an ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was one of the ancestors of Maryam (see next note), one might have guessed that that *kunyah*, also, was hers. Could there be *two* Maryams? (see n. 113, below). (Note that Ibn al-ʿArabī named two of his sons after the *kunyahs* of his sisters, Umm Saʿd and Umm ʿAlāʾ). Finally, his daughter, Zaynab, was evidently born *c.* 607 H. She died some time after 631/1234, but apparently not before having a daughter named Ṣafiyah (see *Fut.* IV, 117 [14–20]; *Dīwān*, 53, 59 & 340–41; and my discussion in a forthcoming art., "The Būlāq *Dīwān*").

[102] He refers to her as his "pious wife" (*al-marʾah al-ṣāliḥah*) in *Fut.* I, 278 (25–28), where he recounts a dream of hers, and as "my wife" (*ahl-ī*) in III, 235 (14–16), where her full name is given as Maryam bt. Muḥ. b. ʿAbdūn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bijāʾī (*cf.* also n. 104, below).

[103] In addition to Muḥ. b. ʿAbdūn, the writer of the *ḥisbah* tract ed. by Lévi-Provençal (cited in n. 98, above), the poet-*wazīr* to the last independent "party ruler" of Badajoz (in Estremadura) was an Ibn ʿAbdūn.

[104] Her name appears in a *samāʿ*-notice on the last folio of a unique ms. of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Naẓm al-Futūḥ al-Makkī* (in the Damascus Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭanīyah, *no.* 14067). It is written in Ibn al-ʿArabī's own hand and is dated Dhū l-Ḥijjah, 630 (Sept., 1233), in Aleppo. A reproduction of the autograph appears in the Hyderabad, 1913, edn. of Ibn Ḥajar's *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. V, plate 1154 (plate 1155 contains another autograph colophon mentioning her name, written in 626/1229).

[105] "Every servant of God over whom someone exerts a right falls short in his servanthood to the extent of that right" (*Fut.* I, 196 [9–10]). A zealous early companion of the Prophet, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, took a vow of chastity even though he was married, but, needless to say, it was not favorably regarded in the Muslim community. Although celibacy (*ʿuzūbah*) was theoretically not recommended to Ṣūfīs in general (and never when they were married, of course), there was always a tendency toward it in Ṣūfism (see, *e.g.*, the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb li-Arbāb al-Qulūb* of ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Hujwīrī [R.A. Nicholson, tr.], pp. 360–66). From what little we know of her, it would appear that Maryam bt. Muḥ. shared her husband's spiritual aspirations (see the passages cited in n. 102, above).

[106] Addas suggests this in *Quest*, 40 (but *cf.* p. 86 therein). It may be significant that Maryam's surname, *al-Bijāʾī* (from Bejaya in present-day Algeria), is the same

is apparently called *Khātūn Umm Jawbān* by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his collection of *Mubashshirāt* (Annunciatory Dream-Visions),[107] using a title for "lady" patently associated with the Saljūqid (or Ayyūbid) aristocracy of the East. As such, she would seem to be the wife commemorated in the following, interesting passage from a relatively late, little-known work of Ibn al-ʿArabī entitled *K. al-Ishārāt al-ʿArabīyah fī Sharḥ al-Naṣāʾiḥ al-Yūsufīyah*:[108]

> An intimation of [Shaykh Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm's] dictum, "Do not behold yourself in [any particular] measure (*qadr^{an}*)," because you go beyond measure (*al-miqdār*): The phenomenal form (*al-ṣūrah*) which attends you is not precisely measured (*mā tanḍabiṭu*)—rather, each time you become manifest in a [given] phenomenal form, some other form altogether will start playing around nearby;[109] and the whole [of all such manifestations] is your real Essence (*ʿaynu-ka*)—which is unbounded since it is not precisely measured. And that which is not measured cannot be comprehended by measure.
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> Every ignoramus who looks to himself "in measure" just stays with that. I have never seen anyone of the common people who knew the

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as that of Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Naṣr al-Bijāʾī (d. 656/1258), whom Aḥmad al-Ghubrīnī has saving Ibn al-ʿArabī from a Ḥallājian fate in Egypt (see his *ʿUnwān al-Dirāyah fī Man ʿUrifa min al-ʿUlamāʾ fī l-Miʾah al-Sābiʿah bi-Bijāyah* [1969], pp. 157–58 and 137*sq.*). This Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī Naṣr was a teacher of Ibn al-Abbār, who relates that he also instructed Ibn al-ʿArabī in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 606/1209–10 (see *Al-Takmilah li-Kitāb al-Ṣilah*, p. 652). There are many reasons for doubting al-Ghubrīnī's information, however (*cf. Quest*, 191–93), as well as Ibn al-Abbār's, for that matter (see above, n. 75).

[107] In the very valuable *Ms. Yusuf Ağa 5624*, her name is so written by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī himself on f. 353 (= p. 687) of his appended *nawādir* (anecdotes), whereas in later ss. the last name sometimes appears as جونان (instead of جوبان). Further, on f. 359b (p. 700), al-Qūnawī specifically identifies this hitherto unknown personage in a note in his own hand (not found anywhere else): "The name of [Ibn al-ʿArabī's] wife concerning whom he had this vision [recounted in the *Mubashshirāt*] is Maryam b. ʿAbd Allāh [*sic*], the mother of his son, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥ., known also as *Jawbān*. . . ." Although this note raises more questions than it answers (*cf. Quest*, 85), for our present purposes it serves to sustain our suspicions that Maryam may have been, in effect, a lady of the Mashriq rather than the Maghrib. (I am currently preparing an edn. and trn. of the *Mubashshirāt* and its attendant material).

[108] Which I have rendered as "The Intimations of Ibn al-ʿArabī, being a Commentary on the *Counsels* of [ʿAlī al-Kurdī, as transmitted by] Shaykh Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm" in my art., "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Personal Study-List of Books by Ibn al-ʿArabī," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 56: 3 (1997), pp. 176 and 180. On this interesting tract, *cf.* Yahia, pp. 143–44, *no.* 9. The passage is tr. from *Ms. Ẓāhirīyah 1553*, ff. 118–118b (not cited by Yahia), for a photocopy of which I am indebted to Stephen Hirtenstein.

[109] Or, perhaps: "will distract you." Ibn al-ʿArabī's point here is rather obscure, but would seem to have its explanation in a kind of occasionalism in which discrete phenomena are somehow associated in one imponderable noumenon.

> measure of this [matter] except in that sense—other than a wife I used to have.[110] When I desired a contract of marriage with her, the marriage-broker [whom I commissioned] asked her: "Would you care to specify to us something for [your] marriage dower?"—to which she answered: "May that which marriage makes due be brought nigh." Then he said to her, not knowing what she meant by that: "You are a woman of honorable rank (*jalīlat al-qadr*), the sister of a great ruler,[111] and it is necessary that your dower be commensurate with your rank. . . ."
>
> Then she replied: "[The suitor] who acts thus is one who has worth and standing (*qīmah wa-ʿizzah*) in his own Soul (*nafsu-hu*). [As for] the woman, if she is alloted anything beyond that which marriage makes due, she must have been granted the measure that *she* has [in her Soul]. And *my* Soul—God knows best!—in my view, is too lofty than that This world and the Next could provide the equivalent of its measure. For I am not something insignificant in my Soul. So if in my dower there be nothing but "what marriage makes due", then let it be known most certainly that that is *not* my "measure"! On the contrary, I mean to claim high honor, but my measure will remain unknown." The broker and the jurists were astonished by the nobility of her high-mindedness (*sharaf himmati-hā*).
>
> Likewise she told me in person just as you have heard. And this was [only] a woman of the common run of people,[112] upon whom an existential, Divine Breath (*nafkhah ilāhīyah wujūdīyah*) had been wafted, and she was unaware of the full measure of what she had uttered. For she spoke in accordance with the style of a great noblewoman (*ʿazīzah kabīrah*) at the level of her own Soul—she did not speak out of knowledge in the sense of that such as we relate concerning issues like this. Thus, this Shaykh [Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm] counseled that one not look to his Soul "in measure."

While most of this information would be quite inconsistent with an Andalusian background for Maryam, enough ambiguity appears in the evidence at this point[113] to oblige us not to dismiss the evident

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[110] Note that he speaks of her in the past tense. This could mean that she had died, but then one might expect some kind of benediction (such as the *tarḍiyah*). Another possibility is that they were divorced.

[111] *Ukhtu malik*^{in} *kabīr*^{in}. "Sister" here need not be taken literally; it may denote simply any female relative, such as a cousin or niece.

[112] *Min al-ʿāmmah.* Though she had "royal" blood, she was apparently not well educated in the religious or secular sciences.

[113] The above passage indicates that the noble wife was no longer with Ibn al-ʿArabī (see n. 110) by the time the *Ishārāt al-ʿArabīyah* was written, and yet we know that Maryam bt. Muḥ. was still with her husband at least as late as 630/1233 (see n. 104), just seven years before his death. It would seem that the *Ishārāt* may, indeed, have been composed as late as 631 H. (see Elmore, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's

Maghribī provenance of her name. But in any case, to return to the scope of our present concern, it is clear that Ibn al-ʿArabī was sexually active prior to his nineteenth year, and it was undoubtedly, in part, the aversion that he developed for such carnal pursuits during his wayward youth that moved him to embrace the Ṣūfī vocation with its marked tendency towards continence.

All biographers, early and late, have recognized that Ibn al-ʿArabī experienced advanced states of spiritual awakening long before his formal "conversion" in 580/1184. The best-known instance is that which was investigated by no less competent an observer than Ibn Rushd in Cordoba when Ibn al-ʿArabī was still a beardless youth.[114] Typically, these experiences of breakthrough or ecstatic vision (s., *fatḥ, wāqiʿah*) are described as having taken place spontaneously during spiritual retreats (s., *khalwah*) of one form or another.[115] As we have mentioned, Ibn al-ʿArabī credited the prophet, Jesus, his "first shaykh," with bringing him to repentance (*tawbah*):[116]

> I have met [the Seal of the Saints, Jesus] many times in ecstasies (*al-waqāʾiʿ*) and through him I have turned [from sin],[117] as he prayed for me that I might persevere in Religion in This life and in the Next. And he called me [by the name] "Beloved" (*al-ḥabīb*), and enjoined upon me asceticism and self-abnegation (*al-zuhd wa-l-tajrīd*).[118]

Thus, it is easy to imagine that during a turbulent adolescence Ibn al-ʿArabī experienced an interior struggle between the unbridled passions of youth (represented by wine, women and song) and the spirit of repentance and renunciation as preached by the evangelistic Jesus.[119] The outcome of such a trial could never really be in doubt:

Personal Study-List," p. 176), but this is leaving very little margin for likelihood. Moreover, note that al-Qūnawī actually calls Khātūn Umm Jawbān "Maryam *b. ʿAbd Allāh*" (see n. 107), which, if correct, might suggest that she was not the same Maryam!

[114] See below, pp. 50–51.

[115] See *Quest*, 35–38, *et seq.*

[116] See above, pp. 3–4, n. 3; and *Quest*, 39, n. 21.

[117] *Wa-ʿalá yadi-hi tubtu.* The first recorded commandment of Jesus is *Matt.* 4: 17, taken over from John the Baptist: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

[118] *Fut.* II, 49 (32–33), tr. in App. IV (p. 597).

[119] That is to say, between the serpent of *Genesis* and the "child of the woman" (see *Gen.* 3: 15). Note that the *ʿAnqāʾ* opens with an allusion to the classic Gnostic dichotomy of the struggle between intellect (*ʿaql*) and passion (*hawá*), a theme previously treated by the 3rd/9th-cent. theosopher, Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (see pp. 238*sq.* [and n. 11 therein]).

Passion would succumb to Reason; human existence would be shaped in the image of the Divine-creative Essence.

Ibn al-ʿArabī described his first formal Ṣūfī shaykh, or *murshid* (spiritual guide), named Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿUryanī in the *Rūḥ al-Quds*,[120] as being of the spiritual heritage of Jesus (*ʿĪsawī*) toward the end of his career as he himself was at the beginning—that is, at the time of their meeting in Seville.[121] This illiterate steppe-wanderer (*badawī ummī*) from the Algarve frontier, who could neither read nor use figures but was known as an adept in the practice of *dhikr* (invocation of the Divine name, *Allāh*),[122] was only the first of a long line of teachers of Ibn al-ʿArabī who would end up by learning as much from the *Wunderkind* as he from them.[123] An instance of this ambivalent relationship is to be found in the *Futūḥāt*, where Ibn al-ʿArabī tells how on one occasion he declined to accept the assertion of Shaykh al-ʿUryanī regarding someone whom the latter thought to be the expected Mahdī.[124] After parting in disagreement, Ibn al-ʿArabī was accosted in the street (for but the first time) by none other than al-Khaḍir, the mysterious, immortal esoterophant of Moses in the Qur'ān,[125] who advised him to obey his rightful pedagogue even though he happened to be wrong about the Mahdī (as al-ʿUryanī would later admit).[126] In doing so, this archetypal "anti-*nabī*" figure was showing the future Seal of the saints how to deal with the exoteric legal representatives ("for thus it becomes us to fulfill all righteousness").[127] Ibn al-ʿArabī's real attitude toward these authority figures is indicated in some early counsel which he received from yet another mysterious preceptor, called the "Imām of the Left" (who, I have argued elsewhere, in *this* case was actually Jesus).[128] In the *Futūḥāt* he writes of this personage whom he met in the imaginal interworld of the *barzakh*:[129]

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[120] Both the earliest edn. of the *Rūḥ* (that of Asín Palacios, 1939, pp. 9–12) and the latest (B.Ṭ. ʿAllām, Cairo, 1989, pp. 88–91) give the *nisbah* surname thus, as it is in the 1911 edn. of the *Futūḥāt* (III, 539 [26]) and in other texts; whereas, instead of العُرينى , the 1970 edn. of the *Rūḥ* and Yahia's *Futūḥāt* (III, 181) have العُريبى , voc. as "al-ʿUryabī" by Addas and "al-ʿUraybī" (a dim. of *al-ʿArabī*) by Yahia. The name, al-ʿUryanī (Oriani), is related to the region of Loulé (al-ʿUlyā), near the southern coast of Portugal. The shaykh's *kunyah* is given as *Abū l-ʿAbbās* in the *Futūḥāt*, and he is called *Aḥmad* and *ʿAbd Allāh* elsewhere. Some of the many refs. to al-ʿUryanī (a.k.a. "al-ʿUryabī") are given in *Quest*, 61, n. 133. See also J.D. García Domingues, *O Místico Louletano, al-ʿOriani, e o pensamento filosófico-teológico do Islão ocidental* (1954), and "Os Mestres luso-árabes de Ibn ʿArabī," in *Orientalia hispanica*, 1974.

[121] See *Fut.* I, 223 (20–21).

[122] See *Ruḥ* (1970), 76; and *Fut.* I, 329 (2–4), *et al.*

[123] At least, acc. to Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, and it hardly seems unlikely. Al-ʿUryanī is the first of some fifty-plus saintly subjects affectionately portrayed in the biographical portion of the *Rūḥ al-Quds*, effectively tr. by Austin as *Sufis of Andalusia* (see pp. 63–67*sq.*). It is remarkable that hardly any of these individuals left any writings or are otherwise known to history, and many appear not to have been recognized as especially notable by their own acquaintances.

[124] *Shakhṣ*^{un} *kāna qad bashshara bi-ẓuhūri-hi rasūlu Llāhi* (*Fut.* I, 186 [2–3]). Ibn al-ʿArabī had never met the man concerned but had once seen his cousin (paternal aunt's son), which was apparently enough to cause him to have a negative insight regarding the nominee.

[125] See *Qur.* 18: 65–82 (and the next note).

> This [Personage] has blessed me with Glad Tidings (*bishārah*) by which he announced to me good news concerning my State (*ḥāl-ī*), of which I had not been aware. But he notified me of it and forbade me from affiliating myself with any of the masters (*al-shuyūkh*) that I had met, enjoining me: "Do not affiliate yourself with anyone except God. None of those whom you have met have authority over you in what you have attained; rather, God will take you into His care. So mention, if you wish, the merit of those whom you have met, but do not attach yourself to them; attach yourself to your Lord."
>
> The State of this Imām [of the Left] was like my own:[130] None of those whom he had met had authority over him in the Way of God except God [Himself].[131]

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[126] See *Fut.* I, 186 (2–11), and III, 336–37. In the latter passage the full name of [al-]Khaḍir is given: Balyā b. Malakān b. Fāligh b. Ghābir b. Shālikh b. Arfakhshad b. Sām b. Nūḥ (*cf. Gen. X* and *XI*, and *Luke* 3: 35–36). He had been in the army (*al-jaysh*) and was sent by his commander to fetch water, which they had neglected to provide. When, unwittingly, he chanced upon the fabled Fountain of Life and drank thereof, he became immortal—and so he remains to this day.

[127] *Matt.* 3: 15.

[128] In "Ibn al-ʿArabī's Cinquain' (*Taḥmīs*) on a Poem by Abū Madyan", pp. 67–69. Addas suggests that the Imām of the Left here is Abū Madyan (see *Quest*, 65–66; and her art., "Abū Madyan and Ibn ʿArabī," in *Muhyiddīn Ibn ʿArabī*: A Commemorative Volume [S. Hirtenstein and M. Tiernan, eds., 1993], p. 178), but in the art. cited I have given my reasons for believing that the Imām is Jesus in this case. Indeed, I suspect that the man whom al-ʿUryanī wrongly thought to be the Mahdī may have been Abū Madyan.

[129] *Fut.* II, 573 (10–13).

[130] In the prologue to the *Futūḥāt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī is described by no less an authority than the Spirit of Muḥammad as the "counterpart" (*ʿadīl*), "son" and "friend/lover" (*khalīl*) of Jesus (see *Fut.* I, 3 [2], tr. in App. IV, below, on pp. 590–91). The identity of their "states" is indicated in their sharing the function of the *khatm al-walāyah*.

[131] That no teachers had authority over Jesus even as a child is reflected in the story of his conversing on equal terms with the rabbis in the Temple (see *Luke* 3: 46–49). The whole question of Ibn al-ʿArabī's status as an *Uwaysī* initiate (one having no human initiator) will be treated further, below (see pp. 102–08).

Let us now continue with an examination of the elements of our author's name. To begin with the most important—which has yet, I think, proved the most intractable to understanding—his surname, Ibn al-ʿArabī, has come to be conventionally represented as "Ibn ʿArabī," without the article. The reason for this is frequently said to be the need to distinguish him from the great Sevillean scholar and Mālikite judge with the same family-name, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī (d. 543/1148)[132]—but this would hardly represent the normal practice in Arabic scholarship, which has many devices at its disposal short of falsifying the data.[133] Rather, the altered form is due to the circumstance of the Shaykh's having been enthusiastically adopted early on by many Iranian-born Ṣūfīs and, later, Ottoman Turks, who were less chary of using the Arabic article.[134] As for the meaning of *Ibn al-ʿArabī*, while the name is sometimes naively assumed to give evidence of pure Arab descent,[135] it might as well be taken to evince, on the contrary, a more dubious, *muwallad* background.[136] Whereas today family-names with the component, *al-ʿArabī*, are fairly common in Tunisia, Egypt and Trans-Jordan,[137] the Palestinian families of that name are probably comparatively recent arrivals *via* Egypt, and the Egyptians and North Africans, in turn, may have originated in Andalusia. I know of no early instance of the name, Ibn al-ʿArabī,[138] except in Andalusia, and none of *al-ʿArabī* or *ʿArabī* outside of the Maghrib.[139]

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[132] See *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 175. Al-Maqqarī recognizes that the form, "Ibn al-ʿArabī," was current in the Maghrib but states that the people of the Mashriq used the name w/o the art. (In al-Maqqarī's day, however—the 11th/17th cent.—the "East" was completely dominated by Ottoman Turks and Ṣafavid Persians). The entries on Ibn al-ʿArabī in both edns. of *E.I.* also make this assertion, though Ateş notes that the name sans art. is incorrect. Addas has shown that Ibn al-ʿArabī received *ḥadīths* from a cousin of the famous judge and traditionist, Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (see *Quest*, 25–26), but the families were not closely related. The qāḍī had been an avid proponent of al-Ghazzālī's doctrine in Andalusia (and a rabid opponent of Ibn Ḥazm's).

[133] It is not my intention to criticize the usage today, however, since, as I explain below, there are legitimate historical reasons for it, and it is now conventional. The fact is that, speaking generally, the Shaykh al-Akbar has been more appreciated (and, therefore, presumably, better understood) in recent times by Indians, Iranians, Turks and Franks than by Arabs.

[134] Subsequently, most Arab scholars have also endorsed the adapted name since it is, after all, an acceptable form in Arabic onomastics. (Of the modern edns. of biographists whom I have consulted, only Ibn Khallikān's and Ibn Ḥajar's give the name with the art., though Ibn al-ʿImād has it as a variant).

[135] See above, p. 14 at n. 10. The name of the early historian of al-Andalus, Ibn al-Qūṭīyah (Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar, d. 367/977), means "the son of the Gothic woman." There the ref. is to a specific Visigothic princess, however.

[136] Rather as in the case of the great Arab governor of Basra, Ziyād Ibn Abīhi (d. 56–57 H.), whose obscure origin is disarmingly addressed in his very name, "the son of his father". The *nisbah*, al-ʿArabī, does not refer to an Arab tribe or any eponymous individual, however, contrary to what Muḥ. Ibn al-Zubayr appears to imply in his *Muʿjam Asmāʾ al-ʿArab* (vol. II, p. 1145).

[137] See *ibid.*

As Asín Palacios notes in his Arabic toponymy of Spain, the place-name, Arabi, occurs in the present-day province of Murcia, as well as on the nearby Balearic island of Ibiza (Yābisah < Ebyssah), where a peninsula by Santa Eulalia is so-denominated.[140] In the rugged region of the mainland opposite the Balearics, Arabi is the name, not only of a small mountain[141] and village northwest of Yecla (near the border between Murcia and Albacete provinces), there is also a *Peñas de Arabi* and a *Rambla* (= *wādī*) *del Arabi* there (somewhat north of Yecla).[142] This latter expression could be significant, since the appellation undoubtedly derives from the name originally given a spring or stream in the region: *ʿarib*, or *ʿarab*, "having abundant or clear water".[143] A man associated with such a locality might be called *al-ʿAribī* or *al-ʿArabī*, and his descendents, *Banū l-ʿArabī* (of which an individual would be *Ibn al-ʿArabī*). It is plausible to conjecture, then, that Ibn al-ʿArabī's immigrant ancestors became established landowners in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, where the rich, irrigated *vega* of the Rio Segura valley produced wheat, olives, almonds, sugar cane, pepper and oranges in exportable quantities.[144]

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[138] An *Ibn al-ʿArabī*, author of several books, who died in Baghdad at the early date of 431/1040, is mentioned by T.W. Beale in (the posthumously pub.) *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 167, but no source for the information is offered.

[139] Mulay al-ʿArabī Darqāwī, the celebrated Ṣūfī *mujaddid* of the 13th/19th cent., is a descendant of the Idrīsid Sharīfs of Morocco.

[140] See his *Contribucion a la toponimia arabe de España*, p. 76.

[141] 1,063 metres. The elevation is actually a faint continuation of the Sierra de Oliva, south of Almansa, almost exactly midway between Murcia and Valencia.

[142] A *castillo* in Murcia is named *Arabinego* (see *ibid.*), which is a dim. of *Arabi* (corresponding to the Arabic, *ʿUraybī*); and there is also a *Rio Alhárabe* in the region.

[143] An *ʿarabah* is a swift river (see N. Groom, *A Dictionary of Arabic Topography and Placenames, s.v.*), seasonal or perennial, such as would produce a *wādī* strewn with boulders. Like the word, *wādī*, the Sp., *rambla*, denotes both a running torrent and a dry riverbed.

[144] Though the date-palm was transplanted by the homesick Arabs to many regions of Andalusia, it was only in the idyllic *huerta* of Murcia that the fruit was edible. Mulberries for sericulture were also cultivated, and bees were kept. Besides the silk industry, the region was known for its woolen, linen, cotton and leather goods, as well as the manufacture of brass and iron works (especially weapons and armor). Nearby Valencia appears to have been an early site of the new paper-making industry.

His *kunyah*, or agnomen, presents yet another curious problem. In most biographical compilations this is said to be *Abū Bakr*,[145] whereas in manuscript colophons it is almost invariably given as *Abū ʿAbd Allāh*. The inevitable assumption is that the biographists (who generally were not well-versed in Ṣūfī studies) have fallen into the very trap of which they seemed to be so wary, confusing the younger Ibn al-ʿArabī with his homonymous compatriot, the qāḍī of Seville, whose *kunyah* was Abū Bakr. Ateş is not entirely accurate when he writes that "in autograph notes [Ibn al-ʿArabī] refers to himself only as Abū ʿAbd Allāh,"[146] however, since (in all of the genuine signatures that I have seen) Ibn al-ʿArabī does not use any *kunyah* at all,[147] but signs his name simply "Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad) Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ṭāʾī (al-Ḥātimī al-Andalusī)." It is true that early and late representations of his full name by *other* hands in manuscript title-pages, colophons, *samāʿ* -certifications, *etc.*, usually include the honorific, Abū ʿAbd Allāh—frequently beginning with it. But in at least one notable example, in a codex dated 600–601/1203–05 and reproduced as the second plate in Ateş's article in the *İslâm ansiklopedisi*, the *kunyah* is clearly given as "Abū Bakr," and this statement has actually been certified by Ibn al-ʿArabī.[148]

As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī answered to both agnomens, since he describes himself being addressed by his shaykh, al-ʿUryanī, as "Abū Bakr" in the *Rūḥ al-Quds*,[149] and as "Abū ʿAbd Allāh" by the same teacher in the *Futūḥāt*.[150] The *Rūḥ* was written before the latter passage, and one gets the impression that Ibn al-ʿArabī may have had to clarify for his Tunisian correspondent, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī (to whom the *Rūḥ* was addressed), that the "Abū Bakr" reference was to himself—as if al-Mahdawī might not otherwise have been aware of the identification. Hence, we could speculate that Ibn al-ʿArabī was known as Abū Bakr in his youth in the conservative *Maghrib al-Aqṣá* (where this was probably the most common *kunyah* of all), and that he later acquired the more auspicious epithet, Abū ʿAbd Allāh,[151] with his first liberating travels "abroad" to Tunis in 590/1194.[152]

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[145] An exception is Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448), who gives it as *Abū ʿAbd Allāh* (in *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. V, p. 311 [*no.* 1038]).

[146] *E.I.* 2, *s.v.* Ibn al-ʿArabī (vol. III, p. 707b).

[147] Both the *kunyah* and the *laqab* are honorary titles which, as such, are established by the usage of others—disciples, copyists and biographists.

[148] See the lower part of the plate. The name, Abū Bakr, occurs in the middle of the page, even though "Abū ʿAbd Allāh" is given in a previous entry (by the same hand?) at the top of the page. I have found a similar situation in *Ms. Nafiz 384* (copied in 959 H.), where the *kunyah* is given as "Abū Bakr" on f. 236b, and "Abū ʿAbd Allāh" elsewhere, by the same scribe.

[149] *Op. cit.*, p. 78 (tr. in *Sufis*, 66). As noted earlier, Shaykh al-ʿUryanī is also referred to by two *kunyahs*: "Abū Jaʿfar" in the *Rūḥ* and "Abū l-ʿAbbās" in the *Futūḥāt*.

[150] *Fut.* I, 186 (8); and *Fut.-Y.* III, 181. It was not uncommon for people to have more than one *kunyah*, sometimes using one in a particular region, period or context (*cf.* I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 242).

Before concluding this chapter, there is yet one matter of Ibn al-ʿArabī's early biography that merits our consideration, particularly as it appears to bear upon the circumstances under which he decided to leave his homeland for the more sophisticated East, and, hence, as we will see, to compose the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* as a kind of manifesto heralding his débu there. From a unique manuscript in the Gotha Bibliothek, Ignaz Goldziher long ago drew attention to a significant passage describing a dream-vision (*manām*) which Ibn al-ʿArabī must have had in his early youth:[153]

> I saw myself in the village of Sharaf near Seville; there I beheld a plain on which rose an elevation. On this elevation the Prophet stood, and a man, whom I did not know, approached him; they embraced each other so violently that they seemed to interpenetrate and become one person. Great brightness concealed them from the eyes of the people. "I would like to know," I thought, "who is this strange man." Then

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[151] This could be understood to signify "the servant of God *par excellence*" (*cf.* below, p. 522 at n. 79), where the Seal of the saints is said to be named *ʿAbd Allāh*.

[152] He may have gone by both *kunyahs* in the Maghrib, then gradually dropped the older one after his emigration to the Mashriq. Addas has explained how the erroneous assertion that Ibn al-ʿArabī was known as *Ibn Surāqah* in Andalusia arose (see *Quest*, 191–92). As for Asín's calling him *Ibn Aflāṭūn*, "the son of Plato," there would appear to be no evidentiary basis for it in the primary literature (see Rosenthal, "Ibn ʿArabī between 'Philosophy' and 'Mysticism'," p. 4, n. 16).

[153] *The Ẓāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History* (W. Behn, tr., orig. pub., 1884), pp. 170–71. *Ms. Gotha 640* contains Ibn al-ʿArabī's summary (*mulakhkhaṣ*) of Ibn Ḥazm's *Ibṭāl al-Qiyās wa-l-Raʾy wa-l-Istiḥsān wa-l-Taqlīd wa-l-Taʿlīl* (see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. I, p. 400). The ms. is briefly described by W. Pertsch in *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vol. II, pp. 1–2, *no.* 640. An Arabic edn. of the *Ibṭāl al-Qiyās* based on a ms. said to have been transcribed in Damascus by the historian, Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), from a copy in the hand of Ibn al-ʿArabī, was pub. by S. al-Afghānī in 1960, but it does not have the prologue described by Goldziher in the Gotha codex. As for the vision itself, a shorter version of it occurs as the second dream of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mubashshirāt* (*Yusuf Ağa 5624*, ff. 354b–355). The additional material in the Gotha version appears to be authentic, and the passage was probably written after the *Mubashshirat*, in the 630s H.

> I heard someone say: "This is the Traditionist, 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm."[154]—"So great," I thought after I woke up, "is the value of Traditions!"
> I had never heard Ibn Ḥazm's name before. One of my shaykhs,[155] whom I questioned, informed me that this man is an authority in the field of the science of Tradition [*'ilm al-ḥadīth*].

Thereafter, we know that Ibn al-'Arabī diligently studied the works of this singular scholar-intellectual, since, in addition to the epitome of the *K. Ibṭāl al-Qiyās* (from the prologue to which the above quotation was taken), he includes an incomplete abridgement (*ikhtiṣār*) of another Ḥazmite monument of traditionary *fiqh*, the enormous *Muḥallá bi-l-Āthār* toward the top of the list of both of his auto-bibliographies.[156] Already by the first quarter of the 6th/12th century Ibn Ḥazm's reputation for erudition, clarity and sincerity had quite replaced the more peeved view of most of his contemporaries—who had known the lash of his tongue and feared the disconcerting originality of his ideas—and under the Almohads his many voluminous works were sought out and studied, so that a veritable school of "Ḥazmism" (an idiosyncratic brand of Ẓāhirite legal theory and ideology) came to form the avant-garde of thought in Andalusia. It is certain that the young Ibn al-'Arabī was deeply affected by this trend, and indications are that he actually affiliated himself with the movement, being known as a Ẓāhirite (inasmuch as all Muslims subscribed to one or another of the legal rites, or *madhhabs*) throughout his adult life, both in the Maghrib and, later, in the East. Thus, the Grenadan *muḥaddith* and pietistic *faqīh*, Muḥammad Ibn Musdī (d. 663/1265),[157] wrote that "[Ibn al-ʿArabī] was a Ẓāhirite [a literalist] in matters of ritual practice, but a Bāṭinite [an esoterist] as to beliefs"[158]—a rather too facile formulation with which many have, rightly, taken issue. In doing so, however, some recent scholars have gone to the extreme of denying that the Shaykh was a Ẓāhirite at all—which is really not supported by the evidence, internal or external.[159] The poem often cited to indicate his lack of affiliation with the Ḥazmite *madhhab* actually testifies to the quintessentially Ẓāhirite position on *taqlīd* (imitation) and the *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Therein Ibn al-ʿArabī proclaims:[160]

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[154] Abū Muḥ. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), called *al-Fārisī* (the Persian) by Ibn al-'Arabī in deference to the pretended genealogy which disguised his family's recent conversion. Ibn Ḥazm became the most distinguished exponent of the nearly defunct eastern *madhhab* of Ẓāhirism (the juridical-ideological school of "literalism"), which, in the Maghrib, is therefore commonly called "Ḥazmism."

[155] This shaykh may be the Sevillean, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī (d. 622 H.), whom Ibn al-'Arabī names in his *Ijāzah li-l-Malik al-Muẓaffar* (= "Autobibliografía," ed. by 'A.-R. Badawi, pp. 114–15) as his source for Ibn Ḥazm's writings. He, in turn, had them from Abū l-Ḥasan Shurayḥ b. Muḥ. Ibn Shurayḥ [al-Ru'aynī] (concerning whom, see below, at n. 178).

[156] Ibn al-'Arabī's *Ijāzah li-l-Malik al-Muẓaffar* and *Fihrist al-Mu'allafāt*. See the former (Badawī, ed.), p. 122 (*no.* 5); and the latter, A.E. Affifi, ed., "The Works of Ibn 'Arabī," p. 194 (*no.* 4), and G. 'Awwād, ed., "Fihrist," p. 356 (*no.* 4). The *Muḥallá bi-l-Āthār fī Sharḥ al-Mujallá bi-l-Ikhtiṣār* was pub. in eleven vols. in Cairo, 1932. Ibn al-'Arabī's abridgement, entitled *Al-Mu'allá fī Mukhtaṣar al-Muḥallá* (Yahia, *Histoire et classification, no.* 275), is said to be extant in a unique ms. in Tunis (see S. al-Afghānī, ed., *Mulakhkhaṣ Ibṭāl al-Qiyās*, p. 17; and *cf. Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol. II, pp. 1617 and 1741). The Egyptian Ṣūfī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), who was also an admirer of Ẓāhirism, had studied the *Mu'allá* as well as the *Mulakhkhaṣ* (see his *Mīzān li-l-Ḥaqq*, vol. I, p. 84).

> They denominate me after Ibn Ḥazm[161]—but I,
> *I* am not one who says "So said Ibn Ḥazm!"
> —No, nor anyone else. But, rather, I say only:
> "Thus says the text of Scripture!"—*That* is my Knowledge;
> Or "So says [God's] Apostle," or "All Mankind concurs
> with what I say [in this matter]"—*that* is my Judgment![162]

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[157] Muḥ. b. Yūsuf b. Mūsá b. Yūsuf al-Azdī of Granada, known as Ibn Musdī. He was born in the year that Ibn al-ʿArabī went to the East (598 H.). A disciple of Ibn Saydabūn, after studying in Tlemcen and Tunis, Ibn Musdī travelled to Aleppo and Damascus (later he dwelt in Egypt and the Ḥijāz, where he was murdered). It is quite possible that he met Ibn al-ʿArabī in Syria. For refs. to his biography, see ʿU.R. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallafīn*, vol. XII, p. 140.

[158] *Wa-kāna ẓāhirīya l-madhhabi fī l-ʿibādāti, bāṭinīya l-naẓari fī l-iʿtiqādāti* (quoted by al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 164). Actually, Ibn al-ʿArabī's "Ẓāhirism" is best understood as merely a simple expression of his complex "*bāṭinī*" insight.

[159] Among the external evidences of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Ẓāhirism is the testimony of the highly credible biographer, Aḥmad b. Muḥ. Ibn Khallikān, quoted below, p. 45. Moreover, there is actually nothing in the Shaykh's own writings that is not compatible with general Ẓāhirite tenets and criticism (indeed, *Fut.* II, 162–66, was abridged as a summary of *Ẓāhirī* principles in *Mss. Izmirli 69* and *526* [pub. in a *Majmūʿ Rasāʾil fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* in Beirut, 1906–07]), contrary to the claim of Maḥmūd M. al-Ghurāb, who, in his *Al-Fiqh ʿinda l-Shaykh al-Akbar* (1981), seems to have been the first modern scholar to contend that Ibn al-ʿArabī was a *mujtahid* in the positive sense of a *ṣāḥib madhhab fiqhī mustaqill* (p. 5). *Cf.* also M. Chodkiewicz, "Ibn ʿArabī: La Lettre et la loi," *Actes du colloque: Mystique, culture et société* (M. Meslin, ed., 1983); and *Quest*, 45–46 (and n. 49). Ibn al-ʿArabī certainly did claim the right of *ijtihād*, but so would any Ẓāhirite; and so did the Ḥanbalite, Ibn Taymīyah (who also rejected *taqlīd*, by the way).

[160] *Dīwān*, 47. The metre of the poem is *al-khafīf* (trimetre).

[161] *Nasabū-nī ilá bni Ḥazmī*: that is to say, "they call me by the *nisbah* adj., *al-Ḥazmī*"—as *Ẓāhirīs* in Andalusia were denominated, acc. to Ibn al-Athīr (see *Al-Kāmil fī l-Taʾrīkh*, vol. XII, p. 61). But no self-respecting Ẓāhirite would own to being a *Ḥazmī* or a *Dāʾūdī* (Ẓāhirism was the only *madhhab* that was *not* properly named after an imām). Similarly, if one were to say "They call me a Papist, but I acknowledge no 'Father' but God"—that would hardly be taken to deny the speaker's Catholicism.

[162] *Aw ajmaʿa l-khal/qu ʿalá mā aqūlu, dhālika ḥukm-ī*: an allusion to the qualified Ẓāhirite acceptance of *ijmāʿ* (consensus). "Literalism" limits the bases of law to

It goes without saying that Ibn al-ʿArabī's distinctly *mystical* view of Ibn Ḥazm and *Ẓāhirī* "fundamentalism" was inimitatively his own, as is quite apparent in the vision recounted above (which might have horrified Ibn Ḥazm).[163] What is not commonly recognized, however, is the degree to which Ẓāhirism, of all the schools of law, lent itself to the predilections of Ṣūfism[164]—particularly the uncompromising, *monistic* variety of Ibn al-ʿArabī, for whom the obvious "Outer" was ever the inalienable manifestation of the unseen "Inner".[165] But beyond such theoretical considerations, there were practical incentives for a young man in Seville in the latter half of the 6th/12th century to join the Ẓāhirite movement. Seville was a major center of the school throughout the Almohad period,[166] but with the accession of the son of Yūsuf, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr (580–94/1184–99), Ẓāhirism became the official law of the land, vigorously promulgated by the new caliph in the face of the entrenched *Mālikī* lawyers.[167] It is in

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Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the consensus of the Prophet's companions. In practice, most later Ẓāhirites grudgingly allowed some cases of *qiyās* (analogy).

[163] Ibn Ḥazm mentions with indignation that he has "often heard of Ṣūfīs who maintained that a saint was superior to a prophet" (*Al-Faṣl fī l-Milal wa-l-Niḥal*, vol. IV, p. 199 [l. 21]; *cf.* also p. 226 [16]. In the former passage he cites his older contemporary, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ruʿaynī, a disciple of the early Andalusian Ṣūfī-theosophist, Ibn Masarrah al-Jabalī, as a source for the doctrine that "he who has reached the highest degree of righteousness and purity of soul has attained prophecy"). But is not the virtual identity of prophet and "saint" the very point of Ibn al-ʿArabī's vision in Sharaf above-described?

[164] "The basic tenets of the Ẓāhirite school offered more than ordinary attraction for the followers of theosophy" (Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs*, p. 169), who were "so easily accommodated" within the frame of Ẓāhirism (*ibid.*, p. 165. Goldziher's observations on the remainder of this page will repay perusal even today). Ṣūfīs before Ibn al-ʿArabī (*e.g.*, Ruwaym b. Aḥmad Abū Muḥ. [d. 303 H.] and Abū l-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī [d. 507 H.]), and after him (*e.g.*, al-Shaʿrāni) also felt this attraction.

[165] Whereas, for such rationalist Almohad thinkers as Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd, one suspects that the political "expression" was more a convenient blind for the philos. "truth", if not one of the poles of a doctrine of "two truths". (Dominique Urvoy's description of Almohadism in his *Ibn Rushd* [1991], p. 12, would not be so dependent on paradox if he had not confused rationalism for literalism as one of its key elements).

[166] This is evident in the number of adherents from Seville and its environs mentioned by Goldziher on pp. 171–72 of his above-cited monograph alone. The Almohads had secretly harbored Ẓāhirite attitudes from the beginning, which is what al-Marrākushī meant by his remark: "In the days of Yaʿqūb all emerged that had remained hidden during his father's and grandfather's time" (*Al-Muʿjib*, p. 279).

[167] See *ibid.*, pp. 278–80, tr. by Goldziher in *The Ẓāhirīs*, pp. 160–61. Ẓāhirism, the only *madhhab* "which owed its existence to and took its name from a principle of legal theory" (Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 63), was extended by Ibn Ḥazm to include, not just jurisprudence, but also dogmatics. Thus, in many

connection with this state-sponsored enterprise, in fact, that we come by the best historical proof that Ibn al-ʿArabī was himself known as a *Ẓāhirī* "propagandist" to the end of his life, for, after describing Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr's stringent reform-campaign in his *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān fī Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Ẓamān*, the great biographical historian, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), writing in Damascus, continued:

> And a number of adherents of that program (*jamāʿah ʿalá tilka l-ṭarīqah*) have reached us from the West, among them: Abū ʿAmr Ibn Diḥyah and his brother, Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥyah,[168] and the Ṣūfī, Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī—author of the *Fuṣūṣ* [*al-Ḥikam*], the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* and the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*—among others.[169]

We also hear that the esteemed Shāfiʿite jurist, ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), used to borrow Ibn al-ʿArabī's copy of Ibn Ḥazm's *Muḥallá* in Damascus.[170]

At some point, however, the Almohad ruler made a move to actually recruit Ibn al-ʿArabī into his government, a sign which the young Ṣūfī fortunately understood to mean that it was time to exit the scene. I suspect that it was at this juncture that Ibn al-ʿArabī decided to fulfill his canonical obligation to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Places. In the *Durrah al-Fākhirah*, written during his later years in

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ways, Almohadism tended to be—and to be used by the Muʾminid rulers—as what today would be called an "ideology".

[168] Abū l-Khaṭṭab ʿUmar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ẓāhirī, of Valencia. He died in 633/1236 in Cairo after travelling widely in search of *ḥadīths*. Goldziher notes that he became known for his critique of orthodox trads. that sought to establish the superiority of Muḥammad's miracles over those of Jesus (see *The Ẓāhirīs*, p. 161). His insistence on the literal meaning of a *ḥadīth* that condemned Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī to Hell would have pleased Ibn al-ʿArabī less (see *ibid.*, n. 5). For refs. to him and his brother, see Muḥ. al-Manūnī, *Al-ʿUlūm wa-l-Ādāb wa-l-Funūn ʿalá ʿAhd al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 175–76 and 182.

[169] *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. VII, p. 11. This passage was quoted by the late-8th/14th-cent. Egyptian polymath, Muḥ. b. Musá al-Damīrī, in his *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrá* (1875), vol. I, p. 143 (3–5). Al-Damīrī was himself something of a Ṣūfī and seems to have been well-read in some of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works.

[170] See Abū l-Faraj Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393), *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* (1982 edn.), vol. II, p. 140, where it is related that Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Qazzāzī (or: al-Fizārī [a.k.a. *al-Firkāḥ*], d. 690/1291), a disciple of ʿIzz al-Dīn, used to fetch the book for his master, as he himself reported to Ibn Taymīyah (cited by S. Rizwan ʿAli in "Two Great Contemporaries of the Thirteenth Century: Sulṭān al-ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿIzz Ibn al-Salām and Ibn ʿArabī," *Islamic Culture*, 45 [1971], p. 194, n. 2). On ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, see also Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (1979), vol. V, pp. 301–02.

Damascus, he recalls how the Prince of the Faithful had desired that he enter his service:[171]

> To this end he sent to me the late Chief Justice [of] Yaʿqūb [al-Manṣūr], Abū l-Qāsim b. Taqī.[172] He told the judge to meet with me alone and not to attempt to force my hand if I refused his suggestion. When he came and put the proposition to me, I refused—Shaykh [Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawī]'s words ringing in my ears.[173]
>
> Then I met the Prince [of the Faithful] and he enquired about my two sisters who were in need of protection. I told him of their situation. He then offered to find suitable husbands for them, to which I replied that I would look after the matter myself. On hearing this he told me that I was being too hasty and that he had a duty towards them. He then called his chief minister (*ḥājib*)[174] and bade him, with some insistence, to inform him, by day or night, when my reply should come.
>
> Not long after I had left the Prince he sent a messenger after me to repeat his offer with respect to my two sisters. I thanked the messenger, but left almost at once with my family and a paternal cousin for Fez. After a few days the Prince asked Abū l-Qāsim b. Naḍīr about me. He told him that I had gone with my family to Fez. At this the Prince repeated the saying, "Glory to God." When we had settled in Fez I married off my two sisters and was thus relieved of their charge.

As Addas suggests, the "Ibn Taqī" mentioned in this passage is undoubtedly Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn *Baqī* (d. 625/1228),[175] Yaʿqūb's favored chief justice, who had strong leanings toward Ẓāhirism and whom the caliph stipulated in his will should remain in office under his son and successor, Muḥammad al-Nāṣīr (595–611/1199–1214).[176] Hence, the *amīr* in the story could be either Yaʿqūb or Muḥammad. As for the *qāḍī*, it was he who instructed Ibn al-ʿArabī in the above-mentioned *Ibṭāl al-Qiyās* of Ibn Ḥazm[177]—having received it from a Tunisian who had it from Abū l-Ḥasan [Shurayḥ b. Muḥammad] Ibn Shurayḥ al-Ruʿaynī (537/1142)[178]—which might explain why he was delegated to approach Ibn al-ʿArabī. Perhaps the meeting took place in Seville in 595/1199, sometime after the death of Yaʿqūb, and Ibn Baqī invited/summoned Ibn al-ʿArabī to Marrakesh to pay homage to the new ruler, Muḥammad, at the same time politely making it clear that his services would be appreciated.[179] If so, it will have been at this point that Ibn al-ʿArabī decided that it was time to perform the *ḥajj*.[180]

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[171] *Ms. Esad Ef. 1777*, f. 80b, tr. by Austin in *Sufis*, 75–76 (with minor changes). Austin wrongly supposes that "the prince of the faithful" referred to here is Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf. As Ibn al-ʿArabī's father was still alive throughout the latter's reign, the ref. must rather be to either Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr or Muḥ. al-Nāṣir.

[172] See n. 175, below.

[173] This is the Ṣūfī, Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawī al-Barbarī, about whom Ibn al-ʿArabī has been speaking in the *Durrah*. The ref. is to a specific warning the shaykh had given him against the temptations of the world.

[174] This would have been Rayḥān al-Khaṣṣī, who was *ḥājib* for both Yaʿqūb and Muḥ. (see *Al-Muʿjib*, pp. 263 and 311).

[175] As his name is given by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī in his *K. al-Marqabah al-ʿUlyā fī-Man Yastaḥaqqu l-Qaḍā' wa-l-Futyā* [= *Ta'rīkh Quḍāt al-Andalus*], pp. 117–18. Thus, we should read بقى instead of تقى , and "chief justice *of* Yaʿqūb." But note that Ibn al-ʿArabī also calls him "Abū l-Qāsim *b. Naḍīr.*"

[176] See Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio almohade*, vol. I, p. 384; and al-Marrākushī, *Al-Muʿjib*, p. 312 (and *cf.* p. 285).

First, however, there were affairs in his personal life that had to be concluded. He would bring his sisters with him (escorted, also, by a paternal cousin) as far as Fez to find them suitable husbands before leaving his homeland—perhaps forever. Also, he wanted to visit many acquaintances throughout Andalusia to bid farewell. Another major concern would be his already burgeoning body of writings. Many of these would have to be left behind, at least for the time being.[181] Others could be transported on the journey (by now he had enlisted the services of ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Ḥabashī, the faithful African freedman who would be his constant companion and factotum over the next two decades, until his death in 618/1221),[182] but he would have wanted to put these in good order, perhaps having them recopied in more compact codices. Also, there may have been some more recent writings which were still in an incipient stage, which would require time to finish. It appears that the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* was just such a work in progress at that moment. It was time for the Fabulous Gryphon to rise up out of obscurity and make itself known.

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[177] See above, p. 42; and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mulakhkhaṣ Ibṭāl al-Qiyās*, p. 18, where the name is given as *al-Baqawī* (*cf.* n. 2).

[178] See *ibid.*; *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, pp. 162 & 164; and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá l-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Ta'rīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*, p. 305, *no.* 849; and above, n. 155). On his father, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Shurayḥ, see *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 141–42; and *G.A.L.S.*, vol. I, p. 722.

[179] Addas assumes that the subsequent meeting took place in Andalusia (and, so, rules out Muḥ. al-Nāṣir as the caliph concerned), but the passage does not actually indicate that (*cf.* *Quest*, 148).

[180] It would not be the first time that the *ḥajj* served the function of an expedient *hijrah.*

[181] See Affifi, ed., *Fihrist al-Mu'allafāt*, in "The Works of Ibn ʿArabī in the Light of a Memorandum Drawn up by Him" [hereafter, *Fihrist*], *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*, 8 (1954), p. 193 (Arabic text), where Ibn al-ʿArabī states that he had to leave as many as twenty-seven of his earliest writings with a certain individual "because of a matter that came up suddenly," and he had never been able to retrieve them.

[182] Regarding him, see Denis Gril, "Le *Kitāb al-inbāh ʿalā ṭarīq Allāh* de ʿAbdallāh Badr al-Ḥabašī: Un Temoignage de l'enseignement spirituel de Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī," *Annales islamologiques*, 15 (1979), which was tr. into Eng. in "The *Kitāb al-inbāh* of ʿAbdallāh Badr al-Habashi," *J.M.I.A.S.*, 15 (1994).

III. THE END OF AN AGE

The Fabulous Gryphon was composed at some time within two years following the death of Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr and the accession of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir.[1] Part of this period is fairly well documented as Ibn al-ʿArabī's "farewell tour" of Andalusian cities from Seville to Almería, where he arrived by Ramaḍān, 595 (July, 1199).[2] After that date, however, we lose track of him for almost a year and a half until he shows up in Morocco (Salé, Abjīsal and Marrakesh) around Muḥarram of 597 (Autumn, 1200),[3] just prior to his gradual procession eastward across North Africa that would culminate in a final exodus from the West. It would make sense to assume that Ibn al-ʿArabī spent this fifteen-month period, including the entire year of 596 A.H.—roughly corresponding to 1200 C.E.—in some quiet retreat in his native Andalusia where he could devote himself to redacting his earliest writings,[4] while, at the same time, taking the opportunity to churn out such major new works as the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm*[5] and the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*.

Before taking a closer look at the year, 595, by way of describing the evidently defining visionary experience that would lead to the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, it is perhaps inevitable that we advert to the oft-commented "dramatic encounter" between Ibn al-ʿArabī, the very type of the radical anti-rationalist mystic, and his older contemporary, that paragon of logical order, Ibn Rushd.[6] There were actually four "encounters" between them, the last being the occasion of the philosopher's funeral in Cordoba at just about the same time as the above-mentioned vision. Since Ibn al-ʿArabī's description of this memorable experience follows his account of the other encounters, I give the entire passage from the *Futūḥāt* here:[7]

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[1] See above, p. 13, n. 1.

[2] For an account of this period, see *Quest*, 169–80 (Chap. 7).

[3] See *Rūḥ*, 82; and *Fut.* II, 261 (2) and 436 (23). Pursuing our hypothesis broached at the end of the last chap., we might conjecture that Ibn al-ʿArabī travelled to the Almohad capital from Andalusia in a cautious gesture of touching base (if not receiving "permission" to depart) before proceeding on the pilgrimage. The invitation to government service may have been intended to insure that the pilgrim would return.

[4] The question of which books had been written before this time is rather problematic, due to there having been considerable reworking in some cases (much of it, perhaps, undertaken in 596 H.), confusing the chronology. For a tentative list of a number of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings that *may* date from this year or earlier, see below, pp. 76*sq.*

[5] *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm wa-Maṭāliʿ Ahillat al-Asrār wa-l-ʿUlūm* (The Settings/Orbits of the Stars and the Risings of the Crescents of the Secrets of Knowledge). He wrote this long and important treatise in the space of eleven days at Almería (see *Fut.* I, 334 [16–17]; IV, 236 [25–26]; and *Mawāqiʿ* [1965], p. 5, tr. below, pp. 64–65).

> One day I visited Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rushd in Cordoba, where he was Chief Justice. He had desired to meet me since word had reached him of what God had inspired in me during my spiritual Retreat,[8] and he had expressed amazement at what he heard. Accordingly, my father, who was one of his friends, sent me to him on the pretext of some business so that he might interview me. I was at the time a beardless youth (*ṣabī*)—nor had my mustache begun to grow.[9]
>
> As I entered, he rose from his place to greet me with affection and consideration, then he embraced me and said to me, "Yes!"—and I responded to him, "Yes!"[10]—at which his pleasure in me increased on account of my having understood him. But then I realized[11] the [real] motive of his pleasure therein and said to him, "No!" With this, [Ibn Rushd] was taken aback, his color began to change, and he seemed to have misgivings about what he was thinking. Then he asked me, "How have you found the matter through Illumination and Divine Inspiration (*al-kashf wa-l-fayḍ al-ilāhī*)—is it the same as what we [Philosophers] acquire through Speculation (*al-naẓar*)?"

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[6] The temptation is irresistible to dramatize this meeting and parting between Averroes—with whose death rational philosophy would pass from the Islamic Orient to the Christian Occident—and the Shaykh al-Akbar, who shortly thereafter would take from the West to the East a spiritual vision bringing new life to moribund Islamic spiritual culture for centuries.

[7] *Fut.* I, 153(33)–154(16), and *Fut.-Y.*, II, 372–73, tr. by Asín (in *El Islam cristianizado*, pp. 39–40) and Corbin (*Creative Imagination*, pp. 41–43). See also Egbert Meyer, "Ibn ʿArabī begegnet Ibn Rušd," in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabischen-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 3 (1986).

[8] *Mā fataḥa Llāhu bi-hi ʿalayya fī khalwat-ī*. On *khalwah* (retreat, seculsion, = *iʿtizāl*), see S. al-Ḥakīm, *Al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī* [hereafter, *Muʿjam*], *s.v. al-takhallī* (*no.* 253); *Fut.* II, 150–52 (Chaps. 78–79), tr. by Michel Vâlsan in *Etudes traditionnelles*, 412–413 (1969); and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Khalwah* (Yahia, *no.* 255), which has been ed. by ʿA.-R.H. Maḥmūd (Cairo, 1987).

[9] Ibn Rushd resided in Cordoba from 572–75/1176–80, just around the time of Ibn al-ʿArabī's puberty, and, judging from the latter's self-description, this must have been the period of the visit. If so, Ibn al-ʿArabī errs in calling Ibn Rushd *qāḍī l-quḍāh* of Cordoba at that time, however, since he only achieved that office in 578/1182. As we know that Ibn al-ʿArabī's father was a soldier, we may surmise that the boy was sent to the judge on the pretext of some minor courier mission.

[10] Compare the Prophet Muḥammad's testing of the Jewish boy-prophet, Ibn Ṣayyād's telepathic powers when he challenged him, saying: "I conceal from you something" (see D.B. MacDonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 34–35; and "Ibn Ṣayyād" in Wensinck, *Concordance*, ind.).

[11] *Istashʿartu*: "I sensed, felt/became aware of."

"Yes [and] no,"[12] I replied, "and between the 'Yea' and the 'Nay' the spirits shall take flight from their matter, and heads go flying from their shoulders!"[13]

At this, [Ibn Rushd] turned pale, trembling seized him, and he fell to repeating the phrase, "There is no Power and no Strength save in God!"[14] for he had understood what I was alluding to. . . .[15]

After that [meeting, Ibn Rushd] requested of my father [another] interview with me[16] in order to check the idea that he had formed of me, whether it would agree or differ—for, indeed, he was one of the great Thinkers and Rational Speculators (*arbāb al-fikr wa-l-naẓar al-ʿaqlī*). And he thanked God (Exalted be He!) that he had lived in such a time that he could behold one who had entered upon his Retreat in ignorance (*jāhil^{an}*) and emerged in this Condition—without lesson or examination, with no study or reading.[17] "We had affirmed the possibility of this Condition (*ḥālah*),"[18] he averred, "but we had never actually seen anyone who had mastered it. Praise be to God that I have [been permitted to live] at a time in which is one of the Masters of [that Condition], one of those who open the locks of its doors![19] Praised be God Who has favored me with seeing him!"[20]

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[12] *Naʿam lā.* It is worth noting that there is no conj. between the two words. Hence, "between the 'yea' [and] the 'nay'" is nothingness and folly to the materialist, chaos and evil to the rationalist.

[13] Lit., "and necks will fly from their bodies." "To cause s.o.'s head to fly" (*ṭayyara raʾsa-hu*) signifies, of course, capital punishment. *Ṭāra rūḥu-hu*: "he became confused, beside himself; insane." If I might hazard a tentative explication of Ibn al-ʿArabī's elliptical riddle, we could say that those who attempt to "read between the lines" of Ṣūfī metaphysics without proper moral preparation may lose their heads in more ways than one.

[14] On this trad., see below, p. 73, n. 152.

[15] This entire anecdote of Ibn al-ʿArabī's meetings with Ibn Rushd is set in the context of a rather strange chap. (15) of the *Futūḥāt*, developed around the figure of a *quṭb al-imām* styled the "treater of wounds" (*mudāʿī l-kulūm*). At this point Ibn al-ʿArabī identifies his allusion to the philosopher as having to do with the function of this mysterious personage.

[16] Both Asín and Corbin have misread this line, not noting that the philosopher and the mystic actually met on a second occasion.

[17] *Min ghayri dars^{in} wa-lā baḥth^{in} wa-lā muṭālaʿat^{in} wa-lā qirāʾat^{in}.*

[18] I do not suppose that this can be substantiated in Ibn Rushd's writings. *Cf.* the view of Roger Arnaldez: "Against the theory of the Ṣūfīs Ibn Rushd admits that mystic training may help in the attainment of rational knowledge, but that it cannot replace it" ("Ibn Rushd," *E.I.* 2, p. 914a). Arnaldez also compared Ibn Rushd and Ibn Ṭufayl, thus: "Although both recognize the convergence of the two independent attitudes inherent in philosophy and revealed faith, in Ibn Ṭufayl the duality of the persons, Ḥayy and Absāl, who represent them (this is resolved, at the end of the myth, in a common life devoted to contemplation far from human society) leads to a mystic vision of knowledge, which is not at all found in Ibn Rushd, as [Ernest] Renan has clearly pointed out" (*ibid.*, p. 911b).

[19] *Wāḥid^{un} min arbābi-hā, al-fātiḥīna maghāliqa abwābi-hā.*

[20] Compare the story of Simeon in *Luke* 2: 25–32.

Thereafter, on another occasion I formed the desire to meet with [Ibn Rushd], so, by God's Mercy, he was made to appear before me in an ecstasy (*fī l-wāqiʿah*) in such a form (*ṣūrah*) that between him and me there was a fine veil (*ḥijāb raqīq*), so that I could see him but he could not perceive me nor know that I was present—so preoccupied was he with himself! I said to myself, "Truly, he is not intended for that which we are!"[21]

I never met him again until he passed away—which was in the year, 595,[22] in the city of Marrakesh, after which his earthly remains were conveyed to [his hometown of] Cordoba, where he was buried. When the coffin containing his body was loaded on the back of a beast of burden, his books were placed on the other side to balance it. I was standing there along with the jurist and man of letters, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Jubayr,[23] secretary to the *Sayyid* [Almohad prince], Abū Saʿīd,[24] and my friend, Abū l-Ḥakam ʿAmr Ibn al-Sarrāj, the copyist.[25] Abū l-Ḥakam turned to us and said, "Do you notice what serves as a counterweight to the Master, Ibn Rushd, in his mount? On the one side the Master, on the other his works (*aʿmālu-hu*)—that is, his books!"[26] Ibn Jubayr answered him, "An excellent observation, my son! Well said."

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[21] *Anna-hu ghayru murād^{un} li-mā naḥnu ʿalay-hi.* I do not see what Dominique Urvoy thinks is so "conceited" about the tone of this anecdote (*cf.* his *Ibn Rushd*, p. 118).

[22] Probably on the 9th of Ṣafar, corresponding to Dec. 11, 1198.

[23] Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥ. b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr of Valencia and Játiva, *littérateur* and author of the famous travelbook (*Al-Riḥlah*, ed. by M.J. de Goeje), recounting the first of two extensive trips to the Orient which he had already taken by the time of Ibn Rushd's funeral. He died in Alexandria at the beginning of a third journey in 614/1217 (see *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, pp. 381–87, *et al.*). *Fut.-Y.*, II, 373, gives the *kunyah*, Abū l-Ḥasan (as does the 1876 edn. of the *Futūḥāt*). Evidently that is the correct reading, but Ibn al-ʿArabī may have been mistaken.

[24] Probably this is the governor (*al-amīr*) of Granada, Abū Saʿīd, a son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (and, hence, an uncle of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb), since Ibn Jubayr lived in Granada. If so, al-Maqqarī relates a droll story of a hapless predecessor to Ibn Jubayr's post (tr. by de Gayangos in *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. I, pp. 164–65).

[25] He is mentioned also in *Fut.* IV, 539 (3–5*sq.*).

[26] Perhaps this striking image reminded the bystanders of the Qurʾānic verse: "The likeness of those who were charged with the observance of the Law and then observed it not is as the likeness of an ass laden with books" (62: 5). The remark may have been intended as a cruel allusion to Ibn Rushd's exile to Lucena (a Jewish village) in his final years, since the orig. ref. of the *āyah* was to the Jews (but it appears that the verse came to be popularly applied to scholars in general, as evidenced in the Portuguese saying, *Um doutor e um burro carregado de livros*, and the Spanish quip said of one with book-learning but no real knowledge, *Es un burro cagado de ciencia* [see A. Castro, *The Spaniards*, pp. 264–65]. The expression, *al-thaqalān* (the two loads), is applied in a trad. to the Qurʾān and the Prophet's family (see E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, *s.v.*). Incidentally, the attestation of Ibn Rushd's books in a quantity sufficient to balance his body's weight may be adduced as proof that not all of his works were officially destroyed when they were condemned by edict in 592 H.

> I stored up within me [the recollection of this whole event] as an exhortation and reminder,[27] and I am now the only one remaining of that little group [of bystanders][28]—May God have mercy on them all! [On the theme of that occasion] I uttered [the following verse]:
>
> *On the one side the Master, on the other side his Works—*
> *How I wonder if his hopes have found their fulfilment!*[29]

The tragic end of the once highly-favored Ibn Rushd in Marrakesh, following upon his three-year disgrace and exile, must have made it uncomfortably clear that the winds of change had shifted in the *fin de siècle* Almohad world and that those who were conspicuous therein remained so at their own peril. While many see Ibn Rushd's recall to the Moroccan capital shortly before his death as proof of a return to favor, I think it is likely that the philosopher's enemies at court simply considered it the easier to dispatch him for good when it became evident that his erstwhile patron, Yaʿqūb, was about to yield the throne to his son. Ibn Rushd's final misfortunes could hardly have been a matter of little concern to the son of his former "friend." More ominous to Ibn al-ʿArabī, however, may have been the fate of the phenomenally popular Ṣūfī shaykh, Abū Madyan Shuʿayb of Bejaya, whose death (according to the most common acceptation) occurred in 594/1198—again, obviously owing to evil machinations of the Almohad court.[30] As Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr appeared to be losing his grip on the reins of power not long after his evanescent triumph at Alarcos (ʿArak) in 591/1195, the last act of what would prove to be the tragedy of the Berber empire was being played out in a "time of the assassins".

Ibn Rushd died on the ninth of Ṣafar in Marrakesh and his remains had actually been buried outside the gate of Taghzut before being exhumed for transport back to his hometown of Cordoba.[31] It is probable, therefore, that the second funeral took place early in Rabīʿ

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[27] *Mawʿiẓat^{an} wa-tadhkirat^{an}.*

[28] As mentioned above, Ibn Jubayr died in 614/1217. It is worth noting, therefore, that this passage, even though placed early in the *Futūḥāt*, has been written or edited since that date.

[29] The metre of the verse is *al-kāmil*.

[30] I have dealt with the question of Abū Madyan's deathdate in "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain' (*Taḫmīs*)", pp. 70–71. As I explain there, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself states that Abū Madyan died in 589/1193 (in *Fut.* IV, 195 [2]), which may, indeed, be the best contemporary attestation available.

[31] This was possible because it was the dead of winter.

al-Awwal (= January, 1199), the month in which the Caliph Yaʿqūb himself perished.[32] Now this just happens to be the same month which Ibn al-ʿArabī specifies in the *ʿAnqā*ʾ[33] as the momentous occasion of a complex revelation of the Seal of the saints as the "Sun of the West" (*shams al-maghrib*)—a type of the expected Mahdī—functioning as the "Messenger of Inspiration" (*rasūl al-ilhām*), who is, in reality, none other than the Angel Gabriel (Jibrīl).[34] The experience appears to have unfolded gradually, beginning as an intimation of love, then knowledge, and, finally, becoming manifest in a rapturous breakthrough of Divine-prophetic Light. The whole is cast in the imagery of the Qurʾānic parable of Abraham and the three luminaries:[35]

> Among the forms of him who saluted me from his horizon,[36] manifesting unto me a part of his nature, were, firstly, a Setting Star (*kawkab al-ufūl*) in the robe of Love; after which his Moon rose up in the garb of Illuminative Guidance, for every Luminary bestows its reality and clarifies for us its way. Then these both were followed by the Greater Sun (*al-shams al-akbar*) and the Most-resplendent Light (*al-nūr al-azhar*)—which dispelled the darknesses, illuminated the celestial chambers and eliminated troubles[37]—this being the "Exemplary Self-Manifestation [of God]" (*al-tajallī l-mithālī*) and the "Light Sent-forth" (*al-nūr al-irsālī*).[38]

This Solar-figure then saluted the Ṣūfī seer and "set in the 'Occident of the Obscure' (*maghrib al-muʿammá*) until the advent of the appointed time (*al-ajal al-musammá*)" ordained by God, when the apocalyptic Sun would rise from the western ocean of darkness as a guiding Light, inaugurating the *Götterdämmerung* and signalling the beginning of the end of the old order.[39]

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[32] On the 22nd of Rabīʿ I, corresponding to Jan. 22, 1199.

[33] Q2, pp. 15(20)–16(4*sq.*); see below, pp. 281–82*sq.*

[34] *Cf.* pp. 277 (n. 3) and 288 at nn. 4 & 5. Gabriel is also the "trustworthy hoopoe" (*hudʾhud amīn*) of p. 277, and the "clear dawn" (*ṣubḥ mubīn*) of p. 257, as well as other figures.

[35] See *Qur.* 6: 74–83.

[36] In the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Hishām (vol. I, p. 237; and A. Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 106), the angel Gabriel appears to the Prophet-to-be as "a man pure (of form), his two feet astride the horizon (*ufuq*) of heaven," whence he salutes him.

[37] *Alladhī yajlu l-sudafa, wa-yunīru l-ghurafa, wa-yuzīlu l-kulafa.*

[38] Q2, 15 (3–8); see pp. 277–78.

[39] T.J. Altizer has shown how the *eschaton* of prophetic religions is the phenomenological equivalent of Hindu and Buddhist conceptions of annihilation and the void (see *Oriental Mysticism and Biblical Eschatology*, pp. 67–68).

Explicating the revelation mystically, Ibn al-ʿArabī likens it to the state of *fanāʾ* (dissolution of the external, temporal qualities in the ocean of Divine Essence), which is humanly mitigated by the condition of *baqāʾ* (survival, the continuity of immortality), assimilated to the Light of God's *Nearness*—which is figured in the symbolic, salvific Sun's "setting in the West" of the Ṣūfī's existential being.[40] Hence, he writes: "I remained with this Solar light in his most-holy Station, conversing intimately with him for years, and moonlit nights, and ages . . ."[41]—an evident allusion to Jesus as Seal/Mahdī, with whom, as we have seen,[42] Ibn al-ʿArabī enjoyed a special affinity. If so, however, there would appear to be something amiss in the text of the next line, which begins: "Now God had already made manifest to us the Sign (*al-ʿalāmah*) that he [—*viz.*, the Solar-figure?] was the Seal of the Imāmate (*khātam al-imāmah*)—that is, the 'Particular, *Muḥammadan* Imāmate', not the 'Universal, Absolute Imāmate'"[43]—and which continues with a typical intimation in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writing, hinting that more is intended than meets the eye:

> Therefore, he who has understood, may he know!—and he who is ignorant, let him knock on the door and persist [in that] as long as this Light endures on his horizon, before he sets in his Truth (*ḥaqquhu*). But I have fully verified his properties, and came to know what Secrets the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*) has placed in his keeping. . . .[44]

I cannot help but think that the above statement regarding the *ʿalāmah* of the two modes of *imāmah*, qualified and nonqualified, has been deliberately skewed to conceal the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī already regarded *himself* as the Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood—the latter-day, particular [*sci.*, historical] exemplification of the Universal

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[40] The 8th/14th-cent. Ṣūfī commentator and theorist of the Akbarian school, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, glosses *maghrib al-shams* as "the veiling of the Real in His individuations (*taʿayyunātu-hu*), and the Spirit in the [human] body" (in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah* [1981], p. 87).

[41] P. 279 of the present trn. *Cf.* the passage from the *K. al-Isrāʾ* (S. al-Ḥakīm, ed.), pp. 78*sq.*, describing a similar experience of *fanāʾ* (tr. by J.W. Morris in "The Spiritual Ascension," pt. II, pp. 75–76).

[42] See pp. 3–4, n. 3. The identification with Jesus will become clearer later. In this study I regularly use the expression, "Seal/Mahdī", since these two personae are generally conflated by Ibn al-ʿArabī in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, although they are also formally distinguished later (see p. 180 at n. 101). The sealhood of Jesus is the subj. of Chap. 557 of the *Futūḥāt* (tr. in App. IV, 601–04).

[43] *Aʿnī l-imāmatu l-Muḥammadīyatu l-juzʾīyatu, lā l-imāmatu l-muṭlaqatu l-kullīyatu* (Q2, 15 [19–21]; see below, p. 279 at n. 29).

[44] Pp. 279–80.

[= "metahistorical", both in the sense of metaphysical and eschatological] khitāmate of the saintly prophet, Jesus.[45] There is no doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī made this claim openly after his move from the less doctrinally permissive Maghrib to the East, as we read in the *Futūḥāt*:

> I am the Seal of Sainthood, without any doubt,
>   by virtue of inheritance of the Hāshimite,
>   along with the Messiah.[46]

And in the poem from the *Dīwān* of which we have already quoted the first two verses,[47] Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to boast:

> My Station in the knowledge of the things concerning God[48]
>   has never been acquired by an Arab before me—
> Save the Prophet, God's Apostle and our Lord, [Muḥammad]. . . .[49]

The poet next briefly touches upon the difference between the two Seals, particular and universal, declaring of the former, which is himself:

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[45] On the authority of the *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of al-Qūnawī's disciple, Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Jandī (d. *c.* 700/1300; J.D. Ashtiyānī, ed., 1982, p. 431), Addas suggests that Ibn al-ʿArabī first learned that he was the Seal of sainthood in "the great vision of Cordoba" (see *Quest*, 74–81) in 586/1190, when he was twenty-six years old, and points out that this datum was subsequently repeated by the Akbarian epigons, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1330) and Dā'ūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350), in their own comms. on the *Fuṣūṣ*. In principle, I have no objection to assigning an early date for Ibn al-ʿArabī's realization that he was the Seal (but *cf.* below, at nn. 58 and 62), even though there is no primary evidence for it.

[46] *Fut.* I, 244 (25); and *Fut.-Y.*, IV, 71. "The Hāshimite" is, pre-eminently, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and, acc. to the view of many Muslims, the ancestor of the expected Mahdī. The ref. here, however, is probably to the Prophet himself, while "the Messiah" (*al-Masīḥ*), of course, is Jesus, the "universal Seal." Thus, Ibn al-ʿArabī, as the heir of both, is the "Muḥammadan Seal". Note that in the foll. verse the poet identifies also with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the first *khalīfat al-nabī*. The metre of the poem is *al-wāfir*.

[47] See above, p. 15 at n. 13.

[48] *Rutbat-ī fī l-ilāhīyāti.*

[49] *Dīwān*, 259, v. 3 and the first hemistich of v. 4. The metre is *al-basīṭ*. *Cf. Fut.* III, 329 (27–28): "As for the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood, he is the most knowledgeable of God (*aʿlam . . . bi-Llāh*) of all mankind. There is none in his time nor after his time who is more knowledgeable of God. . . ." Another poem in the *Dīwān* (p. 44) presumably refers to Ibn al-ʿArabī himself:

> God knows and [all] the Signs will testify
>   that I am the Imām of the worlds—Muḥammad!
> But I have a Time [appointed] that I espy,
>   and when it comes, [mankind] will be sund'red!

(Metre: *al-kāmil*).

> And, verily, *I* am the Seal of all the Followers,[50]

—while Jesus is "a Seal to those who lived *before* [Muḥammad]."[51] The poem then concludes on a cautionary note:

> In our Law[52] [the Seal's] Sainthood, coming on the heels
> of Apostleship,[53] must surely rank *below* it;
> And I am, as regards his Authority, his *Follower*,[54]
> as, in the Heaven-world, are the shooting stars.[55]

Finally, in another, lengthy *qaṣīdah* from the *Dīwān*, Ibn al-ʿArabī again declares that he is "the Seal of the Saints of Muḥammad," and implies that he first came to realize that he was himself the designated Seal (*khātam muʿayyan*) in Fez in 594/1197–98.[56]

In other passages, however—assuming what, to me, seems only natural, that this autodidactic mystic never really regarded anyone but himself as sainthood's Seal—the Shaykh was considerably less forthright, if not downright duplicitous. This, surely, could only be expected in any text published in the Maghrib—or, for that matter, anywhere else so early in the author's career.[57] In another place in the *Futūḥāt*, for instance, Ibn al-ʿArabī unequivocally refers to the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood as *someone whom he once met* and recognized:

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[50] *Khātamu l-atbāʿi ajmaʿi-him. Al-tābiʿ* is an epithet of the Mahdī (see n. 54, below).

[51] V. 6. Taken chronologically, this formulation would be quite misleading, since Jesus is to appear as the last (= *khitām*) of the saints at the end of time, long after the lifetime of the Muḥammadan Seal. The latter (Ibn al-ʿArabī) is the Seal of all those who follow, or inherit from, Muḥammad, in particular, while Jesus is the Seal of all the saints in general. T. Izutsu understood the tenure of Ibn al-ʿArabī's khitāmate to be "at least as long as the present world lasts," when Jesus would return to assume the function (see his *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 270). *Cf. Eph.* 1: 13–14: "We are sealed with that holy Spirit of promise which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession. . . ." (*cf.* also *2 Cor.* 1: 22). On the universal *khitāmah* of Jesus, see App. IV, 601–04; see also pp. 609–10, regarding the eschatological "Seal of the offspring [of Adam]" (*khātam al-awlād*) prophesied in the Sethian chap. of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.

[52] *Fī sharīʿati-nā.*

[53] *Al-risālah*: the Divine-legal revelation bestowed upon the Prophet.

[54] *Tābiʿu-hu.* As this is sing., I tr. the plur. subj. (*naḥnu*) as "I."

[55] *Cf. Qur.* 72: 1–10, *et al.*

[56] See *Dīwān*, 332, *et seq.*, esp. v. 23 (top of p. 333): *Wa-lam adri an-nī khātam*^{un} *wa-muʿayyanū/ilá arba*^{ʿin} *min-hā* [*sci.*, the 590s] *bi-Fāsi. . . .* (*cf.* the preceding page, last two verses). The metre of the poem (which is the longest one in the *Dīwān*) is *al-ṭawīl.* See also vv. 5*sq.*, and 49–50 (tr. in *Quest*, 157–58).

[57] On the other hand, I do not doubt that many such apparent exceptions as occurs on p. 89 of the *K. al-Isrāʾ* (where the autobiographical *sālik*, "wayfarer", is addressed as *sayyid al-awliyāʾ*, "Lord of the saints") may yet be found.

> Muḥammadan Sainthood (that is, the Sainthood particular to this Law bestowed upon Muḥammad—May God bless and keep him!) has a Special Seal (*khatm khāṣṣ*) who is inferior in rank to Jesus (Upon whom be Peace!) by virtue of the latter's being an Apostle (*rasūl*). [This Muḥammadan Seal] was born in our time. Moreover, I have seen him. I met him and I saw the Sign of the Seal (*al-ʿalāmah al-khatmīyah*) which is in him.[58] There will be no Saint after him except he be subject to him (*rājiʿ ilay-hi*), even as there shall be no Prophet after Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) except he be subject to him, as [in the case of] Jesus when he descends. The relation [to this Seal] of every Saint who shall come after him until the Day of Resurrection is as the relation of every Prophet [to the Prophet Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!)] who may come after him as to Prophecy—such as, [for example] Elijah (Ilyās), Jesus and al-Khaḍir in this Community.[59]

In a later, but apparently parallel passage in the same work—which, yet, flatly contradicts the one just given in at least one crucial detail—Ibn al-ʿArabī specifies that he learned of the Muḥammadan Seal's distinguishing mark in Fez in 594/1198:

> As for the Seal [*al-khātam*] of Muḥammadan Sainthood, who is the Special Seal (*al-khatm al-khāṣṣ*) of the Sainthood of the outwardly-visible Community of Muḥammad (*walāyat ummat Muḥammad al-ẓāhirah*), Jesus [himself] (Peace be upon him!) shall come under the aegis of his authority (*khatmīyatu-hu*),[60] along with other [Saints], such as Elijah and al-Khaḍir, and every one of the Saints of God (Be He Exalted!) belonging to the outwardly-visible Community [of Muslims] (*ẓāhir al-ummah*). Thus, Jesus (Peace be upon him!), even though he is [himself] a Seal [of Sainthood],[61] yet he shall be sealed (*makhtūm*) under the Sealing of

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[58] This seems to refer to a physical trait, such as the lump of flesh ("the size of a pigeon's egg") on the Prophet's back which was said to be the prophetary *ʿalāmah* (distinguishing mark). Ibn al-ʿArabī himself may have been bequeathed such a characteristic, acc. to v. 7 of *Dīwan*, 332.

[59] *Fut.* I, 185 (9–13); tr. also by M. Chodkiewicz in *Seal of the Saints* [hereafter, *Seal*], pp. 120–21. The final sentence is ambiguous, and it is not certain whether Elijah, Jesus and al-Khaḍir are being presented as prophets (under Muḥammad) or as saints (under the Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood), but the former would seem to be the case (al-Khaḍir is often inc. among the list of *anbiyāʾ* but rarely among the *rusul*), exc. that the second option accords with the passage from *Fut.* III, quoted next. All three personages, together with Idrīs (= Enoch), are immortal by the will of God. *Cf. Seal*, pp. 93–94.

[60] Note that this contradicts the previous passage (from *Fut.* I), in which the Muḥammadan Seal is said to be "inferior in rank to Jesus." The Sisyphean task of rationalizing Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine of sainthood, even the relatively tractable aspect of the two Seals, can well be appreciated by a comparison of the passages on this and the preceding page and those tr. in App. IV, pp. 589–613.

[61] In what precedes, Ibn al-ʿArabī has described Jesus as both the Seal of uni-

> this Muḥammadan Seal. I became acquainted with the report [*ʿalimtu l-ḥadīth*] of this Muḥammadan Seal in Fez in the lands of the Maghrib in 594 [= 1198, when] the Real caused me to meet him (*ʿarrafa-nī bi-hi*) and gave me [to know] his distinguishing Sign (*aʿṭā-nī ʿalāmata-hu*), but I shall not name him. . . .[62]

Leaving aside the ambiguity of the language and focusing on the hard evidence of the time and place, even here we encounter some difficulty when comparing yet another *Futūḥāt* passage describing this meeting with the Muḥammadan Seal, which gives the year as 595/ 1198–99, however, and does not mention a place.[63] As Chodkiewicz suggests, this may have been an editorial error[64] or, perhaps, a lapse in the author's memory. In that case, the confusion could have arisen with reference to the date of the great Solar vision of the Seal of sainthood described in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, since Ibn al-ʿArabī explicitly dates that to 595 A.H.—specifically, in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal (January, 1199).[65] But it would seem that the Shaykh spent that entire year in Andalusia. Furthermore, the wording of the statement quoted above, on page 55—"God has already made manifest to us the Sign that he [—*who*?] was the Seal of the Imāmate, the Particular, *Muḥammadan* Imāmate"[66]—suggests that this realization/encounter was the same one that has been repeatedly located in Fez, in 594.

Another notable event placed in Fez in that year may have to do with all of this as well, and could also suggest a solution to the apparent confusion. Ibn al-ʿArabī writes in the *Futūḥāt* that God, the Beloved (*al-Maḥbūb*), had bestowed upon him a certain Divine secret [*sirr min asrār Allāh*] in Fez in 594 which he had indiscreetly divulged to some of his companions. Later he found that God had expunged the knowledge from their memories.[67] Could it be that this "secret" was that of his own appointment as Seal of Muḥammadan

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versal sainthood and of the "cycle of dominion" (*dawrat al-mulk*). Chap. 382 of the *Futūḥāt* deals in part with the various "seals" (*al-khawātim*).

[62] *Fut.* III, 514 (11–14), tr. also by Chodkiewicz in *Seal*, 121. Addas understands the *khātam* here to be impersonal (see *Quest*, 157), but that still does not reconcile this passage with the one just quoted. It is consistent, on the other hand, with *Fut.* III, 329 (27–28), and II, 9 (7–10), tr. in *Seal*, 119.

[63] *Fut.* II, 49 (22), tr. in App. IV, 595 (at n. 40). *Cf.* also *Seal*, 117–18.

[64] See *Seal*, 126.

[65] See above, p. 54. As we saw, this was very shortly after the funeral of Ibn Rushd in Cordoba.

[66] As far as I know, this is the earliest explicit mention of the Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood. The expression *per se* does not occur again in the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[67] See *Fut.* II, 348 (31–35*sq.*), tr. in *Quest*, 167.

sainthood?[68] That would fit in perfectly with our probable chronology, and might also serve to exonerate Ibn al-ʿArabī's apparent subterfuge—if exoneration be called for. The period of abiding with the solar Seal "in his most-holy Station, conversing intimately,"[69] might then be taken to refer specifically to the time during which Ibn al-ʿArabī kept the secret of the essential union/identity of him and Jesus *in pectore*, locked in his breast, until the truth would finally burst forth in the creative explosion that resulted in the writing of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.[70]

In the chapter of the present work entitled "Purest Sealed Wine" (*Raḥīq Makhtūm*)[71] and the one following that, Ibn al-ʿArabī next presents a psychologically accurate account of the emergence of this pent-up energy, including a fascinating description of the creative process framed in terms of a dialogue, or dialectic, between the visionary author and his mystical muse, the Messenger of inspiration, in which, after vetoing two proposed book-titles proffered by the Angel, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, *directly* inspired by God during a Friday sermon, came up with the felicitous phrase:

The Fabulous Gryphon concerning the Gnosis
of the Seal of the Saints and the Sun [Rising] in the West,
and the Allegory of the Secret of the Boundary (al-shafā)
in the Century Following That of the "Chosen One" (al-Muṣṭafā).[72]

Fortified by the celestial wine of the Seal which opened his eyes, clarifying the way, the seer beheld the Seal of sainthood in the midst of a visionary setting that ineluctably recalls to the Christian the rapturous scene of Christ's "transfiguration"[73]—perhaps as immortalized in the incisive dream-imagery of Jan van Eyck's *Adoration of the Lamb.*

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[68] In the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the Seal—portrayed as becoming elated with wine and philandering the Ṣūfī—implores him: "Restore me in the robe of secrecy (*ridāʾ al-katm*)" (p. 285 at n. 35). *Cf.* also p. 286 at n. 47: "And were it not for the vow of jealous protection (*ʿahd al-ghayrah*) taken, . . . we would surely reveal [the Seal] to you. . . ."

[69] See above, p. 55 (at n. 41).

[70] Ibn al-ʿArabī boldly enlists an image from the Prophet's biography to describe this: "The possessor of Divine Revelation and firm resolution [*sci.*, the Angel Gabriel] burdened my heart (*shaqqa ʿan qalb-ī*) until the Sun of my Lord (*shams Rabb-ī*) was seen therein" (p. 286 at n. 53).

[71] *Cf. Qur.* 83: 25–26. This chap. and the one foll. are found on pp. 281–87 of the trn. (Q2, 15–18).

[72] Pp. 290–91 and 309. This is the full title of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[73] See *Mark* 9: 2–10 (*cf. Matt.* 28: 2–4, and *Rev.* 1: 10–17), *et al.* The focus of Ibn al-ʿArabī's vision is the Muḥammadan Reality, of course, not Jesus (see the passage from the exordium to the *Futūḥāt*, tr. in App. IV, 589–92).

After being commanded to kiss the Seal's hand in homage to the Secret of his noble lineage (*sirr maḥtidi-hi*), Ibn al-ʿArabī depicts the solemn spectacle:

> And I saw [the Seal as the "Western Sun"] descend upon the "Faithful one" (*al-ṣiddīq*) and the "Discriminator" (*al-fārūq*) [*sci.*, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the first and second Caliphs] and approach the "Truthful and Trustworthy one" (*al-ṣādiq al-maṣdūq* [ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Caliph? or the Prophet Muḥammad?]), standing parallel to him, next to his ear.[74]

Although the precise identity of some of the personae in this mystical tableau remains in doubt, the scene evidently represents the same visionary experience that later formed the basis of the famous passage from the opening *khuṭbah* (exordium) of the *Futūḥāt*, where the *Ṣiddīq* (Abū Bakr) appears arrayed at the right-hand of the apotheosis of Muḥammad, with the *Fārūq* (ʿUmar) on his left, and the *Khatm*, Jesus son of Mary, kneeling in front, "recounting to [Muḥammad] the story of the 'Female' (*ḥadīth al-unthá*),"[75] while ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib translated the Seal's words into his own language. Thus, we are to imagine Jesus speaking into the ear of his mystic *turjumān*, ʿAlī,[76] who is able to translate the (esoteric) Hebrew speech into (Gentilic) Arabic.

The evident *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, then, is Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 595 (January, 1199). As we have seen, Ibn al-ʿArabī apparently attended the funeral of Ibn Rushd in Cordoba sometime around the beginning of that month.[77] From a letter in the *K. al-Kutub* (Book of Correspondence) we learn that he met a young Ṣūfī there named Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Asṭanī, whom he describes as a proponent of Ḥanīfite religion (*al-mutasharriʿ al-ḥanīfī*)[78]—quite a compliment, coming from Ibn al-ʿArabī. From Cordoba he journeyed southeast to Granada[79] and thence on up to Murcia, the town of his birth, where he stayed for awhile with the *Shādhilī* Ṣūfī, Abū Aḥmad Jaʿfar Ibn Saydabūn (d. 624/1227),[80] who had entered an acute phase of spiritual doldrums at the time "because of things which had happened that cannot be mentioned except by word of mouth, nor discussed except face to face."[81] When Ibn al-ʿArabī left Murcia, evidently towards the beginning of the summer, heading for Almería on the coast to the south, the woebegone Ibn Saydabūn wept bitterly at his departure and accompanied him part of the way on his journey.[82]

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[74] P. 283 (Q2, 16 [8–10]). He stands "next to the ear" of the *ṣādiq al-maṣdūq* in order to convey secret knowledge, "mouth to ear."

[75] This is perhaps an allusion to Jesus's miraculous defence of the honor of his mother, Mary, spoken from the cradle (*fī l-mahd*) in *Qur.* 19: 27–33.

[76] Recall how at the last supper "the disciple whom Jesus loved" leaned upon his breast, so that Peter addressed him as the Lord's *turjumān* (in *John* 13: 23–25).

[77] This is supported by the important letter *no.* 3 in the *K. al-Kutub* (in *Rasāʾil Ibnu ʾl-ʿArabī* [hereafter, *Rasāʾil*], *r.* 21), p. 9 (n. 4), where Ibn al-ʿArabī tells of visiting *Qurṭabah al-mukarramah* (the anon. ed.'s conjecture is borne out by *Ms. Fatih 5322*, f. 75b, although that reading, too, is not certain), even though he does not mention the funeral there. In the account quoted above (p. 52), however, Ibn al-ʿArabī does not actually say that he attended *the burial* of Ibn Rushd *in Cordoba*, but only that he and his companions viewed the funeral procession—which could have been *en route* from North Africa anywhere between Seville and Granada (whence was at least one of the bystanders). Nevertheless, that Ibn al-ʿArabī elsewhere speaks of having taken Badr al-Ḥabashī (whom he only met in 594 H.) to Cordoba (see *Sufis*, 114) indicates that he must, indeed, have gone there in 595 or '96.

Since there are no definite indications as to the duration of any of our wayfarer's stopovers in these places, we cannot know for sure where the "Solar vision" of the Seal that winter (in Rabīʿ al-Awwal/ January, 1199) occurred.[83] Cordoba, Granada, and even Murcia are all possibilities; and, of these, Granada is perhaps the most likely. But, in any case, it is improbable that Ibn al-ʿArabī undertook the final drafting of the *ʿAnqāʾ* before his departure from Murcia when, as he writes, he ceased meeting and visiting people.[84] The very reference in the *ʿAnqāʾ* to the date, 595 A.H. ("ninety-five and half of a 'Day'"),[85] gives the impression that the year was viewed as having passed, at least at the time of the book's redaction. Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, the text shows signs of having been composed and put together in deliberate stages, and not produced so spontaneously as the *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah* and *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm*, for instance.[86] Perhaps Ibn al-ʿArabī's decision to immerse himself in writing following the months of his "farewell tour" across Andalusia was inspired by an ecstatic inward intimation which came to him in Murcia in 595, in which God seemed to declare to him:[87]

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[78] See the letter cited in the preceding note. This الاسطنى , who is otherwise unknown to us, could possibly be the *Yūsuf b. Ṣakhr* mentioned in the *Durrah*, where he is described as "one of the *abdāl* and gifted with the power of prophecy" (see Austin's trn. in *Sufis*, 159), inasmuch as the two men listed after him, al-Shakkāz and Ibn Saydabūn, were Ibn al-ʿArabī's hosts in Granada and Murcia, respectively, acc. to the *Kutub* (see next two notes). On the full meaning of *ḥanīf* (a follower of the true, pristine religion of Abraham), see *E.I.*, *s.v.*, both edns. On the word, *mutasharriʿ*, see Dozy, *s.v. tasharraʿa*.

[79] See *K. al-Kutub* (in *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 21), p. 10. In Granada he stayed with Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bāghī al-Shakkāz (see *Rūḥ*, 106–07, tr. in *Sufis*, 110–12, where this sojourn is evidently described; *cf.* also *Fut.* I, 187 [16–17], and IV, 9 [31*sq.*]). As Ibn al-ʿArabī had attended the funeral of Ibn Rushd with Ibn Jubayr, the secretary to the governor of Granada, he may have travelled thither in his company.

[80] *Cf. Fut.* II, 641 (20*sq.*). On Ibn Saydabūn (who was a disciple of Abū Madyan), see Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Takmilah*, vol. I, p. 244; *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, p. 616; and the refs. in Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj* [hereafter, *Passion*], vol. II, pp. 326–27 (where he is called "Ibn Sīd Bono").

[81] *K. al-Kutub*, 10. Regarding this, see my art., "Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-ʿArabī's Roots in *Sharq al-Andalus*" (forthcoming in *J.M.I.A.S.*).

[82] *Kutub*, 10, tr. in *Quest*, 172.

[83] Addas implies that his stay in Murcia was very brief (see *ibid.*), but I do not know on what evidence.

[84] See *Kutub*, 10, the last line of letter *no.* 3.

> Tell My servants what you have seen of My Bounty (*karam-ī*) to the Believer [—how I recompense] the good deed with tenfold the like thereof seven-hundred times over, while the evil deed with but its like. . . .[88]

No doubt this assurance of Divine compassion was occasioned in part by the Ṣūfī's commiseration with his colleague, Ibn Saydabūn's oppressive consciousness of sin.[89] Beyond that, however, it did not require the sensitivity and perspicacity of an Ibn al-ʿArabī to see that the whole of Andalusia was in urgent need of God's mercy. If he was not in a position to actually realize what dramatic-historical import future generations in the West would read into the funeral of Averroes, he certainly was aware, as were all other Andalusians, of the ominous meaning of the death of the last capable Almohad ruler, Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr, in that same year: With his passing the end of an age had come.[90] So unbearable was the news to the common people of the Maghrib that the rumor arose that the caliph had not died at all but had abdicated his throne and absconded to Syria.[91] Their foreboding was compounded by the painfully obvious inadequacy of the teenaged heir, Muḥammad (also called Abū ʿAbd Allāh), described by al-Marrākushī, who knew him personally, as having a pale complexion and reddish chin-whiskers with smooth cheeks and blue eyes which he usually kept downcast—and as being "very taciturn, due mainly to the stutter from which he suffered."[92] In 609/1212, the pessimism would be entirely justified when an enormous Almohad force was routed by the Christians at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-ʿIqāb*)[93] and the fortunes of Muslim Spain took an irreversible downturn.

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[85] See p. 281 at n. 2.

[86] See above, p. 49, n. 5; and below, pp. 83–85.

[87] *Wa-la-qad ashhada-nī l-Ḥaqqu fī sirr-ī fī wāqiʿat*^{in} (*Fut.* I, 708 [1–2]).

[88] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 160: "He who brings a good deed shall have tenfold the like thereof, while he who brings an evil deed shall have but the like thereof." *Cf.* also 40: 40.

[89] Note also that Ibn al-ʿArabī describes his host in Granada, Shaykh al-Shakkāz, as being intensely scrupulous regarding sin, and "usually to be found in a sad and tearful state" (*Rūḥ*, 106, tr. in *Sufis*, 110).

[90] I refer not only to the prosperous years of the Almohad dynasty, which were now certainly in remission, but to the time of hope for Muslim Spain in general. In reality, however, Yaʿqūb's success was mainly built upon the solid achievements of his father, Yūsuf, and his grandfather, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

[91] See de Gayangos, tr., *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. II, p. 322. Ibn Khallikān

When Ibn al-ʿArabī entered Almería at the beginning of the month of the fast, probably exhausted from travelling in the torrid Mediterranean summer, as he faced the *qiblah* (the direction of Mecca) upon approaching what, for all we know, may have been his last resort in his native land, perhaps these thoughts and the hope of a new life entered into his prayer. In the preface to the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm* the Shaykh tells how, when God willed that he write the book,

> He moved my mind to journey in all haste[94] from Murcia to Almería. So I rode the mount of roving, setting out on my departure, accompanied by the purest Company and noblest Fellowship,[95] in the year, 595. When I reached [Almería, in which I purposed] to execute affairs,[96] I beheld [the town] before me by the light of the New Moon [*al-hilāl*] of the glorious month of Ramaḍān, and [that Moon] passed over me in its nightly visitation therein until the time of its departure.[97] Hence, in [Almería] I was able to cast aside the travelling-staff (*ʿaṣā l-tasyār*), and I took up the practise of reciting [God's Names] and seeking [His] pardon (*al-dhikr wa-l-istighfār*). And I had the noblest of Companions and the finest of Intimates[98] (despite the fact that I, for my part, was

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describes a tomb maintained in the Biqāʿ Valley of Lebanon which was said by the local people to belong to "the *Amīr*, Yaʿqūb, king of the Maghrib" (*Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. VII, p. 10).

[92] *Al-Muʿjib*, p. 307 (cited by R. Le Tourneau in his *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, p. 80). Muḥammad's mother had been a Greek (Byzantine).

[93] On this battle, see Huici Miranda, *Las Grandes batallas de la reconquista*, pp. 219–327.

[94] *Ḥarraka khāṭir-ī indāʾa l-maṭīyati*: "He urged my mind to the wearing out of the riding animal."

[95] The superlative endorsement probably refers to Ibn Saydabūn (see above, p. 62) and, no doubt, also to Badr al-Ḥabashī.

[96] Namely, to perform the month-long fast (*ṣawm*) and to write the book which God had willed that he produce.

[97] That is, for the two weeks of its waxing phase.

[98] *Akramu jalīs*^{in} *wa-aḥsanu anīs*^{in}. While these expressions seem to denote a human concelebrant of the fast (and nightly feasts) of Ramaḍān—and could, then, refer to (the now very aged) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghazzāl, a disciple of the important Almerian

> in retirement from the world, submitting [to God] and humbling myself [during the fast] "in Houses which God gave leave to be raised"),[99] as the New Moon of [Ramaḍān] became a fuller crescent [by its third night],[100] and its spiritual Men (*rijālu-hu*)[101] were victorious thereby throughout the days and nights of its [increase]—for [God] (Be He Praised!) sent to me by way of support (*mu'ayyad*^{an})[102] the Messenger of His Inspiration. . . .[103]

After this mention of Almería in Ramaḍān, 595 (July, 1199), there is no definite information on Ibn al-ʿArabī's whereabouts, as I have said, for the next fifteen months, when we find him *en route* to Marrakesh at the beginning of 597 (October–November, 1200), by the end of which year he would be in Tunis, the Maghribine window on the East.[104] As our oldest known transcript of the *ʿAnqā'* was copied in Fez in Jumādá l-Ūlá of that year (February, 1201),[105] it is possible that the book was originally composed somewhere in North Africa shortly before that time.[106] It is much more likely, however, that the writing took place in the "mystery year", 596/1199–1200, which, as Addas observed, does not seem to be mentioned or alluded to in any of the Shaykh's writings.[107] Although, by the same token,

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Ṣūfī, Ibn al-ʿArīf (see Yahia, *no.* 611; and *Dīwān*, 46; and *cf. Sufis*, 101–02)—it appears in what follows that the ref. is rather to the "Messenger of inspiration" (= Gabriel) personified in the new moon.

[99] *Qur.* 24: 36. This phrase follows the well-known "Light verse" (v. 35). The "houses" (*buyūt*) are generally understood to be mosques.

[100] *Wa-qad aqmara hilālu-hu.* Thus, the *Mawāqiʿ* was evidently composed in the eleven nights between the *iqmār* of the new moon on the third night and the end of its waxing phase on the 14th.

[101] That is, those who duly perform the fast.

[102] *Cf. Qur.* 5: 110 and 2: 87, *et al.*, where the cognate verb is used of God's supporting Jesus (to speak) by the "Spirit of holiness"—Gabriel. On the Imāmite notion of the sacramental support (*ta'yīd, ta'diyah*) of the holy Spirit, see *Passion*, vol. III, pp. 34–35.

[103] *Mawāqiʿ* (1965), 5 (*cf.* also the refs. cited earlier, in n. 5). Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to explain that this intimation of the Messenger of inspiration was afterwards confirmed by a dream (*manām*).

[104] We know that Ibn al-ʿArabī celebrated the fast of Ramaḍān of 598 in Cairo (see *Rūḥ*, 93, tr. in *Sufis*, 91; but Austin wrongly supposes this visit to have been in 603 H. [see n. 4]), and that he had spent nine months previously in Tunis with his friend, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī (see *Fut.* I, 10 [6], and 98 [27*sq.*]). Therefore, he must have arrived in Tunis by the end of 597 (around Sept., 1201).

[105] This is *Ms. Berlin 3266*, described below, pp. 197–99.

[106] In particular, it is possible that it was written in Salé (near Rabat), since Ibn al-ʿArabī did visit his old teacher, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Kūmī, there in or before Muḥarram, 597/Oct., 1200 (see *Rūḥ*, 82, discussed below).

[107] See *Quest*, 173. I have already given my reasons for not considering 595 H. as the year of actual redaction, but the writing may have been begun in that year (esp. after Ramaḍān), and part of it possibly even earlier.

we have no concrete knowledge of precisely *where* Ibn al-ʿArabī spent that year, it would appear that he was in Andalusia. As one gets the impression from the correspondence cited earlier[108] that the prospective pilgrim had been saying his good-byes in Seville, Cordoba, Granada and Murcia in the early months of the preceding year, it is reasonable to suppose that he did not return to any of those cities thereafter.[109] Given the absence of any other tangible information, it is best to assume that Ibn al-ʿArabī "laid down the travelling staff" in Almería for the long hiatus between the writing of the *Mawāqiʿ* and the final crossing of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Before leaving the land of al-Andalus, however, in keeping with our present theme of the passing of an age, let us take note of one final event, which, indeed, appears to have a direct connection with the genesis of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*. In the hagiographical portion of the *Rūḥ al-Quds*, written in Mecca in 600/1203, the fifth Ṣūfī described by Ibn al-ʿArabī is one Abū Yaḥyá l-Ṣanhājī, who, "[when] he had become old and blind, was employed in the Zubaydī Mosque in Seville until his death":[110]

> We buried him at al-Muntabār[111] and spent the night at his grave. I was closely associated with him (*ʿāshartu-hu*) and regarded him as one who is independent in his manner of ritual practice (*mujtahid fī l-ʿibādah*),[112] with a firm grounding in the spiritual Disciplines and Intimations (*al-riyāḍāt wa-l-ishārāt*), and of great standing [therein]. I never saw him sitting except upon a small seat.
>
> He died at our home in Seville[113] (May God have mercy on him!), and spiritual Graces (*karāmāt*) were manifested in connection with him

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[108] In n. 77.

[109] Exc. that, acc. to the hypothesis which I proposed earlier (pp. 45*sq.*), he may have gone to Seville(?) to collect his two sisters and cousin before crossing to Morocco at the beginning of 597 H.

[110] In the edn. of the *Rūḥ* which we have been using (Damascus, 1970), the entry on Shaykh Abū Yaḥyá is found on pp. 84–85. This sentence and the first one in the quote below are not found in that edn. (or any of the others recently pub.), however, although they are in Asín's 1939 edn. (p. 19), which is based on *Ms. Escorial 741* (ff. 21–40), and Austin tr. them from the autograph *Ms. Istanbul Univ. 79A* (see *Sufis*, 79). In *Fut.* I, 206 (13–14*sq.*), Abū Yaḥyá is said to have lived at the mosque.

[111] An elevated district about three miles outside of Seville, at the top of which was a mosque (see *Rūḥ*, 80, where Ibn al-ʿArabī tells of meeting his teacher, Shaykh al-Kūmī, there, and being introduced by him to the *Risālat al-Qushayrī*).

[112] Or, possibly: "diligent in matters of worship."

[113] This could also be rendered (as does Austin): "he died among us at Seville." But in the final paragraph of our quote Ibn al-ʿArabī says that he (personally) "kept

> after his death. For the mountain on which we buried him was high and never free of wind [from the east, so that the people climbing the mountain were wearied by its height and the many winds].[114] But God (Exalted be He!) calmed the wind on that particular day [and it ceased to blow from the moment that we placed the Shaykh's body on the mountain and the people began digging his grave and inscribing his stone]. Regarding this as auspicious, the people spent the whole night at his graveside, reciting the Qur'ān. And when we had descended, the wind began blowing again as usual [—at which wonder the people were amazed].
>
> I kept company with him for months before his death. He had been one of the Itinerant Ṣūfīs (*min ahl al-siyāḥāt*) wandering along the coasts, preferring seclusion[115] (May God be pleased with him!).

Later in the same *Risālah*,[116] apparently forgetting that he had already mentioned this saint, Ibn al-ʿArabī had the following entry inscribed in the margin as an afterthought:

> And among them also was the Gnostic Shaykh, the free Wanderer (*al-sā'iḥ al-mutajarrad*), truthful Recluse (*al-munqaṭiʿ al-ṣādiq*), and righteous Man of Virtue (*al-ṣāliḥ al-muḥsin*),[117] Abū Yaḥyá b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣanhājī, of the people of Intimations and Enablement (*ahl al-ishārāt wa-l-tamkīn*). Rarely will you encounter such a one as he![118] Between him and me were Paths of the Realities (*masālik min al-ḥaqā'iq*) too many to mention here. It was for him that I composed the book, *The Fabulous Gryphon concerning the Gnosis of the Seal of the Saints and the Sun of the West.*

Do these two passages not treat of the same Abū Yaḥyá l-Ṣanhājī? Whereas only the first was said to be blind,[119] it is obvious that he

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company with him for months before his death," which, since the man was blind as well as indigent, probably means that he took him in. At that time Badr al-Ḥabashī and his own unmarried sisters may have been the only regular residents in his home.

[114] Bracketed interpolations in this passage are from the version given in *Fut.* I, 206 (13–16).

[115] *Mulāzim^{an} li-l-sawāḥili mu'thir^{an} li-l-khalwati.* The Andalusian seaboard, esp. on the Atlantic side, exposed to Norse marauders, was particularly dangerous and, therefore, largely uninhabited.

[116] See *Rūḥ*, 122, tr. in *Sufis*, 132, n. 5 (where Austin intends to relate this entry to *no.* 5, given above). These lines were evidently first added in the margin of the master-text, *Istanbul Univ. 79A*, and were thereafter copied into all later transcripts as *no.* 29.

[117] The later edns. have "the aged" (*al-musinn*) instead of *al-muḥsin.*

[118] *Qalla an talqá mithla-hu.* This could be an allusion to the old saying, "—more rare (*aʿazzu*) than the gryphon (*ʿanqā'*)," proverbially applied to real men of wisdom and true friends.

[119] In *Fut.* I, 206 (13), he is called *al-ḍarīr* (the blind man).

had not always been so.[120] Both are described as reclusive itinerants [s., *sā'iḥ, munqaṭiʿ, khalawī*], as proficient in mystical intimations (*al-ishārāt*), and particularly close to Ibn al-ʿArabī's heart. The solitary, secretive aura of this wandering dervish, whom Ibn al-ʿArabī elsewhere specifically identifies as one of the *afrād* (peerless ones) of the class called *al-aqṭāb al-mudabbirūn* (directing "poles" of the Ṣūfī hierarchy),[121] accords quite well with the esoteric, cryptic tone of much of the *ʿAnqā'*.[122] It is possible that the obsequies outside Seville took place during the Shaykh's sojourn there at the beginning of 595 A.H.,[123] before proceeding on to Cordoba. Hence, Ibn al-ʿArabī may have regarded the great Solar revelation of the Seal, coming on the heels of the passing of the old gnostic, as another instance of his *barakah* (spiritual blessing), and, for that reason, resolved to dedicate the book to his memory.[124]

As we have seen, there is no definite information regarding the precise time of Ibn al-ʿArabī's final departure from his native land and the continent of Europe.[125] Perhaps the most likely scenario would have his small party making the crossing of the Straits at the very beginning of 597 (around mid-October, 1200) since it appears that his sisters were travelling with him (or, at least, were waiting upon his arrival in Fez), and we know that he was in the Berber village of Abjīsal *en route* to Marrakesh in that same month.[126] Evidently just prior to this he had stopped over in Salé to bid farewell to one of his most important teachers, Shaykh Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Yakhlaf al-Kūmī, who was then residing in the Moroccan coastal town.[127] Ibn al-ʿArabī had always evinced a particular veneration for this Malāmite exponent of the teachings of Abū Madyan. Indeed, he said that the sincerity of his desire for al-Kūmī's company was such that sometimes when he was home in the evening he would see the Shaykh before his eyes and converse with him.[128]

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[120] The verbal phrase (*kāna qad ʿamiya wa-qad asanna*) implies this, and it is unlikely that he was blind during the period of his wanderings along the coasts.

[121] See *Fut.* I, 206 (13), which opens Chap. 32, dealing with the gnosis of the *aqṭāb al-mudabbirūn*, of whom Ibn al-ʿArabī knew several in Seville.

[122] Addas's denial of the identity of the two Abū Yaḥyá l-Ṣanhājīs in the *Rūḥ* (see *Quest*, 169, n. 2) is unwarranted. In any case, her assertion that the Ṣūfī *no.* 29 (Abū Yaḥyá b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣanhājī) is the same as the "Abū Yaḥyá Abū Bakr b. Glīdāsn (? ابن كليداسن) al-Ṣanhājī" treated by al-Tādilī in his *Tashawwuf ilá Rijāl al-Taṣawwuf* (pp. 307–08, *no.* 152) is surely mistaken. As Addas acknowledges, the deathdate given by al-Tādilī for that Ṣūfī, *c.* 590 H., would have to be assumed to be quite wrong. The name (apart from the Berber patronymic) would have been extremely common in the Almohad period, but al-Tādilī calls him "Abū Bakr," not "*Ibn* Abī Bakr" (as in *Rūḥ*, 57). Also, while this Abū Yaḥyá died in Marrakesh, a place that Ibn al-ʿArabī did finally reach in 597/1200, he is said to have hailed from Sijilmasa, far beyond the mountains of the High Atlas. Finally, the character portrayed in the *Tashawwuf* in no way resembles the itinerant gnostic recluse of Ibn al-ʿArabī's description.

[123] That is, shortly before the deaths of Ibn Rushd and Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr in Marrakesh. Truly, it was a time of passing.

[124] At any rate, it is certain that the *ʿAnqā'* was written after Shaykh Abū Yaḥyá had died, so it cannot have been "for him," so much as in memory of him, that the book was written.

[125] As far as we know, he left no family behind. Besides his parents who were both deceased, the only uncles of whom we hear anything had long since died, as had one paternal cousin. Another paternal cousin, along with his two sisters, were leaving with him, travelling as far as Fez (unless they had already gone there some time before). The only other relative of whom we know anything was yet another paternal cousin who lived in Tunis (see above, p. 23, n. 64).

It is significant that Shaykh al-Kūmī was evidently the first to introduce the young novice to positive Ṣūfī doctrine when he gave him a copy of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's (d. 466/1074) *Risālah fī ʿIlm al-Taṣawwuf* on top of the mountain, al-Muntabār.[129] Before that, Ibn al-ʿArabī avers, he had never seen the *Risālah* nor any other Ṣūfī manual, not even really knowing what was meant by the word, "Ṣūfism" (*lafẓat al-taṣawwuf*)![130] When we consider that he must have been well into his twenties by that time, the claim may seem scarcely believable,[131] but it is consistent with the view of the Shaykh al-Akbar as the "Alone with the All-One." This is the impression gained from another statement of Ibn al-ʿArabī concerning Shaykh al-Kūmī:

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[126] See *infra*. Regarding this village (the name of which is voc. by Addas as "Ījīsal," and another as "Anjāl"), see *Quest*, 174–75, n. 21. Furthermore, as Addas pointed out (*ibid.*, 173–74), Caliph Yaʿqūb's father, Yūsuf, had had a residence in this village.

[127] See *Rūḥ*, 82, l. 2 (not tr. in *Sufis*). Al-Kūmī's story is recounted in *Rūḥ*, 79–82 (tr. in *Sufis*, 69–73). He is the shaykh who disapproved of Ibn al-ʿArabī's frequenting the cemetery to meditate (see above, p. 31 at n. 99). *Cf.* also *Fut.* I, 251 (26*sq.*). It is interesting to note that the Almohad caliph, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb, seems also to have had the *nisbah* surname, *al-Kūmī* (as well as the same *ism* and *kunyah*).

[128] See *Rūḥ*, 81 (tr. in *Sufis*, 72). Compare Ibn al-ʿArabī's ability to telepathically behold Ibn Rushd on another occasion (see p. 52). But it seems that al-Kūmī also was something of an "astral traveller" (Ibn al-ʿArabī had a dream of him calling to him; and see *Sufis*, 82, where "Abū Yaʿqūb" is al-Kūmī), since that is apparently the meaning of the line (misread by Austin in *Sufis*, 69): "My companion, Badr al-Ḥabashī, [once] saw him [that is, in a vision], and [the Shaykh] paid a visit to him in the night [*bāta ʿinda-hu*, not *māta ʿinda-hu*]" (*Rūḥ*, 79).

[129] *Cf.* above, n. 111.

[130] See *Rūḥ*, 80. Austin's trn. (in *Sufis*, 71) is somewhat different, which may indicate that *Ms. Istanbul Univ. 79A* has a variant text here.

[131] For my own part, I have no difficulty in accepting that Edgar Cayce, for instance, never studied theosophy, since his pronouncements—be they ever so true and wise—lack elegance and sophistication. These qualities are *not* absent in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, however, and I find it hard to believe that such skillful artistry

> Only he of all my teachers (*mashāyikh-ī*) ever trained me in Ṣūfī Discipline (*al-riyāḍah*). Hence, I benefited by him in Discipline, while he benefited by me in his experiences of Ecstasy (*mawājīdu-hu*). To me he was [both] a pupil and a master, while I was the same to him. People used to marvel at that and not a single one of them understood the reason for it.
>
> That was [as late as] the year, 586 [= 1190]. For, indeed, my spiritual Opening (*fatḥ-ī*) preceded my [subjection to] Discipline—it being a very significant Station. But God awarded me [even more] for acquiring Discipline at the hand of this Shaykh [al-Kūmī], while He compensated *him* for me abundantly.[132]

From Salé, Ibn al-ʿArabī proceeded to Marrakesh, the Almohad capital.[133] Midway between these two stations lies the Wādī Umm al-Rebiʿa, where two Maṣmūḍah Berber villages, Abjīsal and Āʾannaḥāl,[134] became the terrestrial stage for an extraordinary mystical event enacted on the imaginal plane which, I think, dramatically represents Ibn al-ʿArabī's vulnerable state of mind as he stood on the verge of finally abandoning the old, familiar life of family and friends. Here is his strangely haunting description of the wild, unknown Station (*maqām majhūl*)[135] at which he had now arrived:

> This Station I entered in the month of Muḥarram, 597,[136] while I was travelling, at a way-station [called] Abjīsal in the lands of the Maghrib. [At first] I wandered happily about[137] in [this new place], finding no one therein, but then I began to feel uncomfortable from the solitude (*al-waḥdah*) and I recalled how Abū Yazīd [al-Bisṭāmī],[138] when he

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could be *so* innocent of experience. Nevertheless, those of us who are inclined to doubt the entire verisimilitude of the Shaykh's claims to *ummīyah* must admit that we have no proof for our suspicions.

[132] *Fut.* I, 616 (20–23), tr. also in *Quest*, 91.

[133] This is indicated in *Rūḥ*, 82.

[134] As voc. by Yahia in *Fut.-Y.*, XIV, 607 and 608. Abjīsal is evidently the present-day Guisser.

[135] *Fut.* II, 260 (16). Chap. 161 of the *Futūḥāt*, most of which is tr. by Denis Gril in *Les Illuminations de la Mecque* [hereafter, *Illuminations*] (M. Chodkiewicz, ed.), pp. 332–47 (the passage given here is found on pp. 340–42; *cf.* also *Quest*, 174–75), is devoted to this station, called the *maqām al-qurbah*, the station of sainthood (*walāyah*) *par excellence.*

[136] Corresponding to Oct.–Nov., 1200 C.E.

[137] The verb, *tāha*, means "to wander aimlessly as in a desert or a maze, unable to find the right course [as the Israelites wandered in the wilderness]," and connotes the idea of "becoming confused, insane".

[138] This is the famous Ṣūfī exponent of mystical "drunkenness" (*sukr*), Abū Yazīd

> entered [the Way-station of] Humility and the Seeking of Pardon ([*manzil*] *al-dhillah wa-l-istighfār*), found absolutely no one therein. That Way-station was [now] my home (*mawṭin-ī*). Hence, I was [no longer] lonely therein, since attachment to familiar habitats (*al-awṭān*) is only natural (*dhātī*) for every engendered existent (*mawjūd*), as is loneliness in the place of exile (*al-ghurbah*).[139]

Investigating every corner and closet of this uncanny new domicile in which he found himself alone, Ibn al-ʿArabī realized that he still did not know its name, despite his careful inspection of the Station "and all that God bestows therein upon him to whom He grants it."[140] He beheld the Commands of God, the Real (*awāmir al-Ḥaqq*), passing in succession over him, and His angelic Ambassadors (*sufarāʾu-hu*) descending upon him, seeking his company and his friendship;[141] but, feeling again the uncomfortable alienation amidst all of this "high strangeness"—"for sociability lies in one's own kind"[142]—Ibn al-ʿArabī departed this way-station as he passed on to another village-stop with the Barbary name, Āʾannaḥāl.[143]

There, after performing the evening prayer at the local mosque, he chanced upon a friend of his, an Almohad *amīr* (a member of the extended ruling family),[144] who entreated him to be his guest. He declined the invitation, however, preferring to stay with the prince's secretary, with whom he shared a greater affinity. That evening, when Ibn al-ʿArabī was confiding in the secretary the ambivalence he felt toward his peculiar new condition—lo and behold, just as his host was trying to console him, the spectral shadow of a figure (*ẓillu shakhṣ*^{in}) appeared in the room:

> I rose from my bed towards [the apparition] in hopes that I might find some solace with it. Then it embraced me and I gazed at [the

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[= Bāyazīd] Ṭayfūr b. ʿĪsá b. Surūshān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874). He is very frequently cited by Ibn al-ʿArabī (probably more than any other Ṣūfī), who wrote a comm. on some of his sayings (see *Fihrist*, ١٩٩, *no.* 42; and *cf. no.* 41), evidently in Ceuta (see Yahia, *no.* 461). *Cf.* also *Fut.* I, 223 (2).

[139] *Fut.-Y.*, XIV, 607 (*cf. Fut.* II, 261 [2–4]). Yahia's edn. of the *Futūḥāt* ends with this chap.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

[141] This last sentence is written in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*).

[142] *Wa-l-ins inna-mā yaqaʿu bi-l-jins. Ins* (or, more correctly, *uns*) is the ant. of *istīḥāsh*, or *waḥshah* (loneliness, strangeness, alienation).

[143] See *ibid.* Note here and in what follows that the events in the physical world are presented as the shadows of dramas enacted on the supersensual plane (as in the myth of Plato's Cave).

[144] By name, Abū Yaḥyá b. Wājjutan (as voc. by Yahia). Recall that this region was a stamping ground of the Muʾminid clan.

figure] closely, and—behold!—it was [the great Ṣūfī Master] Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī![145] His spirit had assumed bodily form for my sake, sent to me by God as a Mercy to me.[146]

"I see that you, too, are in this Station," I exclaimed to him. "Herein I was seized [by my fate]," he explained, "and in [this state] did I die, so that, henceforth, I will no more depart."

I told him of my loneliness in [that Station] and about having no companion, to which he responded: "It is the exile (*al-gharīb*) who feels loneliness! Inasmuch as the Divine Providence has given you to arrive at this [unique] Station, praise God! O my brother, [al-Sulamī continued] to whom has this been given? Are you not content to have al-Khaḍir as your Companion in this Station?[147] [You know that the Prophet] Moses censured him for his Condition (*ḥālu-hu*) even though God testified in his presence as to [al-Khaḍir's] just conduct (*ʿadālatu-hu*)—despite which, Moses censured him for what he did![148] For [al-Khaḍir] showed him only the [outward] form [of his actions] (*ṣūratu-hu*). [What Moses] saw was his own Condition, and [in reality] it was *himself* that he censured, being brought down to that by the power of jealous Zeal (*sulṭān al-ghayrah*) with which God has specially endowed His Apostles. But had [Moses] been patient, he would have perceived. . . ."[149]

"But, O Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān" [I objected], "I [still] do not know by what name I am to distinguish this Station." "It is called the 'Station of Proximity [to God]' (*maqām al-qurbah*)," he answered [and then he added]: "*Realize* it (*taḥaqqaq bi-hi*)!"

Now I *have* realized it, and, indeed, it is a Vast Station (*maqām ʿaẓīm*). . . .[150]

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[145] Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá l-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the author of the seminal Ṣūfī "biographical dictionary", *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyah*. Ibn al-ʿArabī's special interest in him may have to do with his connections to the *Malāmīyah* (concerning which, see A.ʿI. ʿAfīfī, *Al-Malāmatīyah wa-l-Ṣūfiyah wa-Ahl al-Futūwah* [Cairo, 1945]; *cf.* also al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 62–69, *et al.*).

[146] "Assumed bodily form": *tajassadat* [*rūḥu-hu*]. This need not be understood to mean *physical* form, of course. On the difference between *ajsām* (ordinary sensible bodies, whether physical or psychic) and *ajsād* (the vehicles in which spirits appear to the beholder, whether the latter be awake or asleep), see *Fut.* III, 186 (28*sq.*).

[147] Cf. the Prophet's saying to ʿAlī: "Are you not content to be with respect to me as Aaron was to Moses?"—known as the *ḥadīth manzilat Hārūn* (Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* has many separate trads. in which this statement occurs—*e.g.*, in vol. I, alone, pp. 170, 173, 174–75, 179, 182–83, 184 and 331).

[148] For the story of Moses and the servant of God known as *al-Khaḍir*, or *al-Khiḍr*, the ever-living "Green Man" (*cf.* p. 37, n. 126), see *Qur.* 18: 60–82, esp. v. 65 (of which Moses is here supposed by al-Sulamī to have been aware). Ibn al-ʿArabī treats of this intriguing Qur'ānic parable at length in the *ʿAnqā'* (see trn., pp. 259–60*sq.*, *et al.*).

[149] The law-giving prophets (esp. Moses: see the poem on pp. 322–23) are endowed with zeal for the law and the enforcement of conformity thereto. For the rest of al-Sulamī's interesting discourse (in which he cites "our shaykh," Abū Madyan), see Gril's trn. in *Illuminations*, cited in n. 135, above (and n. 47 on p. 573 therein).

[150] *Fut.-Y.*, XIV, 608–09 (*cf.* *Fut.* II, 261 [10–21]). Chap. 161 of the *Futūḥāt* is

Thus, at this remote place on the earth—perhaps the farthest point west that he had ever been—Ibn al-ʿArabī reached the highest degree possible for any saint (according to his own hierarchy), the *Maqām al-Qurbah*,[151] or station of "Nearness to God" (*sci.*, supreme saintliness). The moral of al-Sulamī's exhortation in the vision is that Ibn al-ʿArabī should not be impatient as Moses (the stereotypically legal-conformist *nabī*), confusing his own anxious state of mind for real order, but rather he should be as al-Khaḍir, the quintessential saint, or *walī* (the friend "brought near" to God), wandering where the Spirit listeth, flowing with the Way. The standard is the free movement of love, and the only authority left standing is the realization of love's unending patience.

From there, the initiate proceeded to his immediate destination, the capital, Marrakesh, whither, I have speculated, he had been "invited" nearly two years earlier by the Almohad chief justice to pay homage to the new sovereign, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir. Tactfully but firmly declining Muḥammad's proposal to join the imperial government and even his offer to take care of his unmarried sisters, Ibn al-ʿArabī adhered to his intention to perform the *ḥajj* to Mecca, though he may have politely left open the possibility of reconsidering the proposal upon his return. Then, with the caliph's blessing, Ibn al-ʿArabī departed from the seat of worldly power in the Islamic West, but not before beholding, rather, a vision of the *truly* Glorious Throne (*al-ʿarsh*) of God—beneath which was a precious secret *treasure*, from which issued the utterance: "There is no Strength nor Power except in God, the Exalted, the Almighty!"[152]

> And behold, the Treasure (*al-kanz*) is Adam (The blessings of God be upon him!), while beneath him I saw many treasures which I recognized; and I saw beautiful birds flying in every part of him. Then I beheld one bird among them, one most beautiful, and he saluted me and conveyed to me therein that I was to take him in my company to the lands of the Mashriq.[153]

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devoted to the *maqām al-qurbah*, which is the subj., also, of Ibn al-ʿArabī's opuscule, *K. al-Qurbah* (in *Rasāʾil, r.* 6).

[151] In Chap. 6, below (pp. 153–54*sq.*), we will see how Ibn al-ʿArabī posited this station above al-Ghazzālī's highest degree of sainthood, *al-ṣiddīqīyah* (the state of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq).

[152] For refs. to numerous instances of this saying (w/o the epithets) as a Prophetary *ḥadīth*, see *Concordance, s.v. ḥawla.* In the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī* [hereafter, Tirmidhī], *Daʿwāt*, 57, the saying quoted here is itself called "one of the treasures of Paradise" (see also Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī's comm. on this trad. in the 1931 edn. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*).

[153] *Fut.* II, 436 (21–23). The entire passage is tr. in *Quest*, 178.

In answer to his inquiry, he was told that the visionary "bird" was a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣṣār,[154] whom he would find in Fez—a city he already knew well (he had composed his *Isrā'*, the *Book of the Night-Journey*,[155] there three years earlier), and which he would fondly recall later when writing in the *Futūḥāt*:

> When we were in Fez in the lands of the Maghrib, we used to follow this practice (*al-maslak*) [of group-recitation of Qur'ānic verses, day and night],[156] owing to the agreement of [certain] like-minded Companions who used to hear and obey us, until we lost their company. And with that loss, we lost this pure Activity (*al-ʿamal al-khāliṣ*) which is the noblest and highest form of spiritual sustenance, so that, because we no longer had such [sustaining companions], we began to disseminate Knowledge (*bathth al-ʿilm*) for the sake of those Spirits (*al-arwāḥ*) whose nourishment is [spiritual] Knowledge.[157]

Unfortunately, we do not yet know much more about this early circle of disciples around Ibn al-ʿArabī in Fez, or why they eventually disbanded. It is worth noting, however, that at least four of the dozen or so bona fide exponents of the *Malāmīyah* (the important sect of Ṣūfīs that sought the reprobation of society as a positive virtue) listed by Ibn al-ʿArabī as living at that time were residents of Fez[158]—and one of them was named Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥaṣṣār.

Ibn al-ʿArabī duly made contact with Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣṣār[159] in Fez, but he probably settled down for some time among old friends there. It would seem probable that a mystical experience described toward the end of the *K. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imamayn* (The Book of the Pole and the Two Imāms)[160] occurred at this time. Otherwise, he was surely preoccupied with any business that remained before the great departure. Besides his sisters' marriages, he no doubt was still busy putting his writings in order for the trip, and the scholarly center of Fez would have been an ideal place to find suitable copyists to transcribe manuscripts. In any case, it is certain that *Ms. Berlin 3266*, our primary source for the *'Anqā' Mughrib*, was copied in Fez in Jumādá l-Ūlá, 597 (February, 1201). The following year he would be in Tunis with his mentor-friend, al-Mahdawī, on the final leg of his leaving behind the West and the first half of his life.[161]

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[154] No doubt he is related to the *Malāmī*, Abū l-ʿAbbās [Aḥmad b. Muḥ.] al-Ḥaṣṣār, whom Ibn al-ʿArabī knew in Fez (see n. 158, below). The name, *al-Ḥaṣṣār* (which probably means "the mat-weaver"), is cognate with a Scriptural designation (3: 39) of John the Baptist as "celibate" (*ḥaṣūr*).

[155] He also composed a *Fatḥ al-Fāsī* (Fezan Revelation) there.

[156] *Cf. Qur.* 3: 113: "[The Jews and Christians] are not all alike. Among the People of the Book there is a steadfast community (*ummah qā'imah*) who recite the verses of God throughout the night. . . ."

[157] *Fut.* III, 334 (29–31), tr. by J. Morris in *Illuminations*, 134–35.

[158] See *Fut.* III, 34 (11–13). The four are Ibn Jaʿdūn al-Ḥināwī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Tākhmist, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdawī (who died in the same year as Ibn Rushd, Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb and Abū Yaḥyá l-Ṣanhājī) and Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥaṣṣār (concerning the latter, see also *Fut.* I, 233 [3*sq.*]).

[159] He journeyed with Ibn al-ʿArabī as far as Egypt (in 598/1202), where he died.

[160] See *Rasā'il, r.* 19 [= *K. Manzil al-Quṭb wa-Maqāmi-hi wa-Ḥāli-hi*], pp. 13–14. The *ʿAnqā'* is mentioned in the *K. al-Quṭb wa-l Imāmayn* (p. 18) and the similarity

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of subject-matter in the two works is significant, but I am inclined to think that the latter was composed after Ibn al-'Arabī's transference to the East.

[161] He was thirty-seven years old at the time, just about the same age as al-Ghazzālī when he suffered the "mid-life crisis" that resulted in his conversion to Ṣūfism and *ḥajj/hijrah* from Baghdad to the Holy Land.

IV. THE *KITĀB ʿANQĀʾ MUGHRIB*

The chronology of Ibn al-ʿArabī's earliest literary efforts is still largely undetermined—the few express indications that we have are often contradictory, due to some of the works in question having been revised—and a great deal of patient, critical study and comparison of many texts will be required before we may begin to confidently put most of the pieces (and pieces of pieces) in order. In the meantime, a very tentative prospectus of just the best-known titles that probably antedate the *ʿAnqāʾ* would include the first recensions of the *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir*[1] and *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah*, the *Kashf al-Maʿná ʿan Sirr Asmāʾ Allāh al-Ḥusná*[2] and *K. al-Isrā ilá l-Maqām al-Asrá*,[3] the prologue (at least) to the *Mashāhid al-Asrār al-Qudsīyah*,[4] and (most of) the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm*.[5] No doubt others will be added to the list later,[6] but in our present state of knowledge it may be said that there are significant problems involving the dating of all of the above—except, apparently, for the *Isrāʾ* and *Mawāqiʿ*. It is important to keep in mind, however, that Ibn al-ʿArabī had actually written and compiled dozens of treatises by this time, although most of the earliest works have not survived, since he had to leave them behind when making his pilgrimage to the East. Some twenty-seven of these lost books head the slate of the *Fihrist al-Muʾallafāt*.[7]

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[1] This and the *Tadbīrāt* (foll.) were ed. by H.S. Nyberg in 1919. The *Inshāʾ* has also been tr., by P. Fenton and M. Gloton, in *Com. Vol.* The *Inshāʾ* was certainly redacted after Ibn al-ʿArabī's move to the East, and the *Tadbīrāt* probably was, also (see Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 18–19).

[2] Ed. and tr. by P. Beneito (1996). While Beneito's ms. ss. are very good, I am not certain that his text is that of the orig. *Maghribī* work mentioned in the *Fihrist* (*no.* 17).

[3] Ed. by S. al-Ḥakīm (1988). There is also a handy edn. in *Rasāʾil* (*r.* 13).

[4] The core, second part of the *Mashāhid* was ed. and tr. into Sp. by S. Hakim and P. Beneito in 1995 (Eng. trn. forthcoming). The prologue of this work, which was orig. an "open letter" to the disciples of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī in Tunis, has been ed. by H. Taher (see above, p. 23, n. 64). There is also a brief "epilogue" which has still not been pub.

[5] Pub. twice in bazaar edns. in Cairo. In this study I use the 1965 edn.

[6] For example, it may be demonstrated that some early writings were recast in early chaps. of the *Futūḥāt*. Also, some of the surviving letters (*mukātabāt*) in the *Kutub* and elsewhere antedate the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[7] See above, p. 47, n. 181. Incidentally, Ibn al-ʿArabī includes the *ʿUqlat al-Mustawfiz* in his list of early works which were presumably lost. This suggests, then, that our present text by that title was written later, *memoriter*.

This is not the occasion to delve further into the question of precisely which writings preceded the *ʿAnqāʾ*, but I would like to draw attention to one list of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works quoted in a book on the history of Almería by the 8th/14th-century physician-*littérateur*, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Khātimah,[8] since of the choice of nine titles that this writer offers, rather curiously, all come from the number of the Shaykh's earliest works. The titles as given by Ibn Khātimah are:

1. *Al-Jamʿ wa-l-Tafṣīl fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl.*[9]
2. *Al-Jadhwah al-Muqtabasah wa-l-Khaṭrah al-Mukhtalaṣah.*[10]
3. *Kashf al-Maʿná fī Tafsīr al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusná.*[11]
4. *K. al-Maʿārif al-Ilāhīyah.*[12]
5. *K. al-Isrā ilá l-Maqām al-Asrá.*
6. *K. Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm wa-Maṭāliʿ Ahillat Asrār al-ʿUlūm.*
7. *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib fī Ṣifat Khatm al-Awliyāʾ wa-Shams al-Maghrib.*
8. *K. fī Faḍāʾil Mashyakhat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Mahdawī.*[13]
9. *R. Mashāhid al-Asrār al-Qudsīyah wa-Maṭāliʿ al-Anwār al-Ilāhīyah.*

Now what is so remarkable about this list is that it is just what we might have expected a biographist of Ibn al-ʿArabī to choose to represent the Shaykh's bibliography *if he had ended his career with the writing*

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[8] The book is the unpub. *Mazīyat Almirīyah ʿalá Ghayri-hā min al-Bilād al-Andalusīyah*, quoted in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vol. II, pp. 175–76. On Ibn Khātimah (*fl.* 770/1369), see al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, vol. I, p. 176 (which also has a plate of Ibn Khātimah's handwriting). One of Ibn Khātimah's ss. is Ibn al-Abbār.

[9] *Cf. Fihrist, no.* 6; *Ijāzah, no.* 7; and Yahia, *no.* 172. This was an incomplete Qurʾān comm. (*tafsīr*) in 64 vols., reaching as far as *Sūrah 18*, v. 60—the beginning of the Moses/al-Khaḍir passage which is frequently alluded to in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, as we will see.

[10] See *Fihrist, no.* 7; *Ijāzah, no.* 8; and Yahia, *no.* 158. I have reason to suspect that this may be the same as Yahia, *no.* 159, entitled *Jadhwat al-Iṣṭilāʾ wa-Ḥaqīqat al-Ijtilāʾ*. The latter is attested in a unique ms. (*Landberg 64*) at Beinecke Library (Yale University), which I have inspected. It contains a *samāʿ*-certification for "my pupil, al-Qūnawī," which seems, indeed, to be in Ibn al-ʿArabī's hand (for a reproduction of the autograph, see the plate at the end of L. Nemoy's *Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, 1956, plate VI). The ms. was copied in 606/1209 in Damascus.

[11] See above, n. 2.

[12] *Cf. Fihrist, no.* 72; *Ijāzah, no.* 75; and Yahia, *no.* 101. Addas has described a very interesting ms. by this title at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), *no.* 2348, in her art., "A propos du *Dīwān al-Maʿārif* d'Ibn ʿArabī," *Studia islamica*, 81 (1995).

[13] In the well-known letter to his cousin and other disciples of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī in Tunis, Ibn al-ʿArabī promises to write a book in praise of al-Mahdawī. In that very *risālah*, however, he praises the latter. Perhaps this, then, is what is referred to here. If so, it was later added to the beginning of the *Mashāhid.*

of the ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib. The first two items mentioned are among the early, presumably lost books.[14] The following pair are perhaps also no longer extant in their original versions, though apparently genuine works by those same titles do exist and are available. The next set make up the three least "problematic" of the early writings, and the last two together may comprise the fourth major early treatise of the Shaykh, the *Mashāhid al-Asrār*, with its (originally separate) "prologue". The *ʿAnqāʾ* is evidently the latest of these nine titles, probably having been composed in Almería in 596/1200, as we saw. Is it simply a coincidence that a historian of Almería and its illustrious citizens, writing almost two centuries later, offers this particular account of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *taṣānīf*? We do not know who the friend was with whom the Shaykh left the bulk of his writings when departing his homeland, but it is entirely possible that it was some resident of Almería. Another prominent candidate would be Ibn Saydabūn in nearby Murcia.[15] In any event, it is certainly conceivable that Ibn Khātimah was privy to a local tradition concerning this early, now lost collection of Ibn al-ʿArabī's first writings (if not to a remnant of the library itself).

Of the major "Ibn al-ʿArabian" works, then, *The Fabulous Gryphon* is known to be one of the half-dozen or so earliest.[16] Furthermore, by the accident of manuscript remains it would appear to be the oldest materially-attested text of any book by Ibn al-ʿArabī.[17] Not generally counted among his best-known titles (especially in the West), the *ʿAnqāʾ* was yet a major literary accomplishment for its relatively young author, and, of all the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, it remains not only the foundation-stone but also the primary (though not definitive) statement of his doctrine of sainthood (*walāyah*) as epitomized in the notion of the Seal of the saints (*khatm al-awliyā'*). For the critical study of the original formation of such key Akbarian concepts as the "Muḥammadan Reality" (*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*), the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*), and "general, or universal, prophethood" (*al-nubūwah al-ʿāmmah*), *etc.*,[18] such early treatises as the *Mashāhid*, the *Mawāqiʿ* and the *'Anqā'* are obviously fundamental.

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[14] Exc. that, as I note above, a version of the *Jadhwah al-Muqtabasah* may survive in *Ms. Landberg 64*.

[15] See p. 62, n. 80, above. See also p. 47, n. 181.

[16] I do not know if a ref. (of the anon. author of the comm. on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Tajalliyāt*) to the *ʿAnqāʾ* as *mubtakiru-hu* should be understood to signify "[Ibn al-ʿArabī's] early work" or simply "his creation" (see O. Yahia, ed. [1988], p. 43).

[17] To date I am not aware of any ms. of a work by Ibn al-ʿArabī (or any other Ṣūfī in the Maghrib) antedating *Ms. Berlin 3266*, copied in 597/1201 in Fez (see pp. 197–99). It is unfortunate that the Swedish scholar, H.S. Nyberg did not direct his attention to the text of *Berlin 3266*, which was acquired by the Staatsbibliothek (and recognized for its value by M. Weisweiler) by 1923, a few years after the pub. of his *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*. As it is, the ms. ss. (mostly from Berlin) which Nyberg used for his three edns. were not the best. As for the *ʿAnqāʾ*, its relative obscurity is perhaps due to the marked difficulty of portions of the text. It is notable that, apart from the well-known masterpieces, the *ʿAnqāʾ* has been commented upon more times than almost all of Ibn al-ʿArabī's other books (acc. to the number of listings in Yahia's *répertoire général*; close seconds are the *Mashāhid* and the *Mawāqiʿ*).

Osman Yahia described the *'Anqā' Mughrib* in his *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī* as:

> A treatise on the "Universal Seal of the saints" and the "Seal of the saints of the Muslim community." Ibn al-ʿArabī specifies in this work that the Universal Seal of the saints is the Christ [= *al-Masīḥ*, Jesus son of Mary] . . ., but passes over in silence the question of the identity of the Seal of the Muslim community. In the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, however, he reveals that the Muḥammadan Seal of the saints is none other than he himself.[19] The work is, also, a treatise on the relation of man as Microcosm to the universe. . . . According to Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, the *'Anqā' Mughrib* was written after his *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah*, which also dealt with the human being as synthetically summing up the universe.[20]

The observation concerning the microcosm derives from the earlier, cursory descriptions of the *'Anqā'* made by G. Flügel,[21] W. Ahlwardt,[22] and C. Brockelmann,[23] which, in turn, were based on a perusal of the opening pages of the book only.[24] Whereas the *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah* (The Divine Directions, or "Politics") and other works of Ibn al-ʿArabī certainly do deal with the ancient, Hellenized notion of the microcosm (*al-ʿālam al-aṣghar*) as found in the encyclopedic *Rasā'il* of the *Ismāʿīlī* "Brethren of Purity" (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*),[25] the idea is not consistently pursued in the *ʿAnqā'*, although it is featured prominently several times, and it determines the very form of the macrocosmic/ microcosmic "Pearls" section, the structural centerpiece of the book.[26]

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[18] The fact that the last two of these concepts are not mentioned as such in the *'Anqā'* is itself significant, of course.

[19] Yahia cites *Fut.* II, 49 [tr. in App. IV, 593*sq.*] as a prooftext; but while that passage does not actually indicate that Ibn al-ʿArabī is the Muḥammadan Seal, it *is* stated in *Fut.* I, 244 (25) [= *Fut.-Y.* IV, 71], tr. above, p. 56 at n. 46.

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 157–58 (*no.* 30).

[21] In *Die Arabischen . . . Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. III, p. 345, *no.* 1906.

[22] In *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. IX, p. 43a, *no.* 2894.

[23] In *G.A.L.*, vol. I, p. 573, *no.* 13 [14].

[24] Specifically, the prefatory *tabyīn al-gharaḍ* (Q2, 5–7; pp. 237–42).

As we have already noted, the primary and unique subject-matter of the *Gryphon* is the revolutionary Ṣūfī notion of *walāyah* as bodied-forth in its supremely final authority, the Seal of sainthood. This is quite apparent in the first third of the book (roughly, the first one-hundred pages of our translation) and very much so in the last quarter,[27] but the vast middle portion of material contains only occasional adversions to the subject, though these few passages are certainly interesting.[28] Generally speaking, this middle section might best be characterized as a fairly standard Ṣūfī-philosophical "great chain-of-being" cosmogony, with the Islamic Logos, the *Ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*, as the unifying leitmotif and fulcrum upon which the whole system turns.[29] But in Ibn al-ʿArabī's ontology, the cosmic appearance of the Muḥammadan Reality, or prophetic Light (the *ōr/nūr* of *Genesis I*: 3) typically heralds the beginning of anthropogenesis and the emergence of mystic man (the *ādām* of *Gen. I*: 26):

> For [the Reality of] Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) is a Copy of [Divine] Reality (*nuskhatu Ḥaqq^{in}*) with marks of distinction,[30] and Adam [*sci.*, the human entelechy], in turn, is a Copy from him in entirety; while we, *we* are a Copy of them both (Peace be upon them!),[31] and the World, both earthly and heavenly, is a Copy of us—and there the pens run dry.[32]

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[25] See Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 15–17. In *Tadbīrāt*, pp. 120–21, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that he was introduced to [Pseudo-]Aristotle's *Secretum secretorum* (*Sirr al-Asrār*) by Abū Muḥ. [ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ustādh] al-Mawrūrī (another disciple of Abū Madyan) during a visit to him in Morón (*c.* 60 km. southeast of Seville). Shaykh al-Mawrūrī requested that the younger man compare the secular politics of Aristotle with the Ṣūfī teachings on the human realm (*sci.*, the microcosm), which Ibn al-ʿArabī did, composing the *Tadbīrāt* in four days. (As Nyberg points out on pp. 18–19, however, the book as we have it now was redacted after 598/1201—that is, after the *ʿAnqā'*).

[26] In Pt. II of the present trn., pp. 388–459. The *la'ālī'* (s., *lu'lu'ah*, "pearl") symbolize macrocosmic hypostases, and the *marjānāt* (small pearls) their microcosmic counterparts. See also pp. 237–42 and 372–87. Macro/micro-cosmic correspondences also underlie the very interesting series of subsections on pp. 484–504, in Pt. III.

[27] Corresponding to Pt. III of the trn., pp. 462–532.

[28] See, *e.g.*, the eighth "pearl", and the seventh and 8th "jewels" (pp. 413–20 and 446–50).

[29] See esp. pp. 372–81*sq.*

[30] *Bi-l-aʿlāmi* (= by differentiation).

[31] "*We*" are the creatures of clay and spirit formed *after* the first week of creation in *Gen.* 2: 7, the partial, male and female "copies" (of the hermaphrodite

The hybrid creature of earth and of Spirit, does man in his essence and destiny follow the way of the world or the Word of God? The last of all beings from the standpoint of physical evolution is yet the first as to pristine spiritual perfection, Ibn al-ʿArabī answers.[33] But how can this be? It is because all is cyclic, the last in time becoming the first, all things ending in their beginning. In the downward cycle the intelligible (*al-maʿqūl*) becomes the tangible (*al-maḥsūs*), and in the return, the ascent, the secrets sown in the earth must blossom in mystical *mnēmē*:

> You surely have known the First-arising (*al-nashʾah al-ʿlá*) [*sci.*, the "natural man"]; Why, then, do you not *remember*? [*Sūrah LVI*: 62][34]

Man is Light and the Light is God. The mere saying of such a thing is worthless (besides being blasphemous and, apparently, quite false), however, unless we can see and experience its truth for ourselves (then we will not care about the problems of logic). But how can *truth* ever be experienced? The advice that Ibn al-ʿArabī gives in the *ʿAnqāʾ* is the answer of the religious mind:

> Restrict [external] perception (*al-baṣar*) and avert [internal] speculation (*al-naẓar*); restore the Remembrance [of the Names of God] and struggle to dominate [over your own lower nature] (*al-dhikr wa-l-mughālabah*); seek the assistance of reflection and attentiveness (*al-fikr wa-l-murāqabah*) and prepare for the acceptance (*al-qabūl*) of that which the Messenger [of Inspiration] (*al-rasūl*) brings to you.[35] [—Do all of this] and you will surely be informed of that [Answer which you seek] with clarity. . . .[36]

Adam of *Gen.* 1: 26) first mentioned in the last clause of v. 27. As such, we may be conceived as St. Paul's natural "first man," centered in the *nefesh/nafs* (of *1 Cor.* 15: 45), whereas the spiritual "second man" who is to come (see vv. 46–49) is the sexless—*i.e.*, complete—human entelechy, the "Christ within," which will quicken by the operation of the *rūaḥ/rūḥ*. Hence, Ibn al-ʿArabī's Adam, or mystic man, is a perfect image of Muḥammad (the cosmic apotheosis of man as quasi-Divine *Logos*), and both are translatable to aspects of the complex concept of Christ. Indeed, the passage quoted here can easily be applied to the second and third "persons" of the Christian Trinity (but not, of course, to the orthodox dogma of the latter).

[32] P. 377 (Q2, 38, ll. 4–7). [Hereafter refs. to the 1954 Cairo edn. will not generally be given. Note that the bold-faced numerals in the margin of the present trn. refer to that edn.].

[33] See p. 383 at n. 99.

[34] Quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī on p. 382 at n. 91 (see also what follows there). Note that Ibn al-ʿArabī applies the expression, *al-nashʾ al-awwal*, to the Muḥammadan Reality as the cosmic *summum genus*.

[35] *Al-rasūl*, of course, may well be taken to refer simply to the Apostle Muḥammad.

[36] Pp. 383–84; *cf.* also the preceding. The foregoing roughly corresponds to the spiritual regimen (= Skt., *sādhana*) outlined in the *Yoga-Sūtra* of the Hindu sage,

Here we have a comparatively rare example of the *praxis* of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical anthropology.[37] My purpose in quoting it here is to draw attention to the close relation between the concepts of man and sainthood in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. In the microcosmic "Jewels" section of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the eighth *Marjānah*—devoted to sainthood (as contradistinguished from prophethood)—follows the seventh, concerning human existence as both a "mirage" (*sarāb*) and an "image"/likeness (*mithl*) of God.[38] Now, these symbols are apparently explicated by the Qurʾānic verse in which the actions of unbelievers are compared to a desert mirage which "the thirsty one supposes to be water until he comes to it and finds it to be nothing, but he finds God in its place" (*wa-wajada Llāha ʿinda-hu*)[39]—which Ṣūfīs understood to mean: "but he finds God *near/with him.*"[40]

Thus, we could say that the Muḥammadan Reality, manifestly "prophetic" and typically associated with world-creation and Revelation (*waḥy*), is actually no more than the conceptual corollary of the "mystic", "saintly", or "perfect" Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*, = Gr., *anthrōpos teleios*), who is appropriately framed in the eschatological context of world-destruction and the Resurrection, expressed in terms of *and by the authority of* mystical inspiration (*ilhām*) raised to the power of certainty.[41] This correlation, however, is not actually spelled out in Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine, and it seems to me that the two treatments—

Patañjali (I.K. Taimni, ed. and tr., pp. 268–86): *pratyāhāra* (abstraction), *dhārana* (contemplation), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *samādhi* (immediate vision, or union).

[37] Rare in his writings, that is (of course, it is assumed that Ṣūfīs gave their practical instruction in oral teachings). It is true that Ibn al-ʿArabī authored numerous practical manuals (*e.g.*, the *R. al-Kunh Mā Lā Budda li-l-Murīd min-hu*, tr. by Arthur Jeffrey, 1962), but these are typically intended for novices and are not directed to specific goals (as in the present case, where the Shaykh is advising how to actually realize the human entelechy—which I have likened to the Yogic accomplishment of "union" [*jamʿ*]).

[38] Denoting the "natural" and the "spiritual" aspects of man. See pp. 446–47; and *cf.* pp. 411–13.

[39] *Qur.* 24: 39. Regarding this verse, see Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, pp. 40–41 and p. 144, n. 18. In private correspondence Dr. Chodkiewicz has pointed out an interesting correlation between the mirage imagery on pp. 411–13 (an "*Extra* Pearl") and the docetic illusion (= *tashbīh*) of Jesus's crucifixion in *Qur.* 4: 157. There is no doubt that the Divine secret "disguised . . . in the *ʿamal al-kufr*" in that passage is Jesus—the universal Seal—who is, therefore, "the image of the vision of the Real" in the chap. heading.

[40] See, *e.g.*, *Fut.* II, 269 (7–13), *et al. Cf.* also *Fut.* III, 105 (15), tr. by Chittick in *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* [hereafter, *Path*], p. 378.

[41] The latter point, I would suggest, is the truly radical significance of the "Seal of sainthood" idea and the key to its controversial function in the *tafḍīl al-nabī am*

the middle portion of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (focused on the Muḥammadan Reality), on the one hand, and the beginning and the end of the book, both dealing with the *Khatm*/Mahdī, on the other—are, in reality, two different compositions grafted together in their present form. If so, it would appear likely that the cosmogonic treatise featuring the *Ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah* (Part II) was written first, employing the format-imagery of the great ocean/chain-of-being, or, more specifically, a "pearls within pearls" motif. Beginning with a comparatively abstract discussion of the axiomatic Divine essence, attributes and acts, then passing through the peculiar, almost comic-operatic interlude styled "An Eternal Conference on an Everlasting Plane" (*Muḥāḍarah Azalīyah ʿalá Nashʾah Abadīyah*)[42]—in which the Divine Names are mythopoeically depicted discussing amongst Themselves the creation of the macro/micro cosmos—the Muḥammadan Reality is finally (re-)introduced as the "Source of Genesis and the First Arising" (*aṣl al-badʾ wa-awwal al-nashʾ*). Thereafter, the remainder of this long section develops the theme of the ten macrocosmic "Pearls" (= hypostases)—including, *e.g.*, the standard cosmic "Throne", "Footstool", seven spheres and four elements, *etc.*—and their corresponding "Jewels,"[43] the microcosmic counterparts of the same in man.[44]

My opinion that this middle portion was written first is based mainly on a general impression of its form and content. It is certainly significant, however, that the beginning of this section (on page 328) is marked by a formulaic *basmalah* and Prophetic benediction, which properly indicate the true beginning of a work.[45] Also, it is worth noting that at the end of the eighth *Marjānah* on sainthood/prophethood, mentioned above, Ibn al-ʿArabī refers the reader to his *K. al-Isrāʾ* (The Book of the Night-Journey) for more information.[46] The *Isrāʾ*, as we have seen, was composed in 594/1198 in Fez, at least several months before the vision which presumably signalled the inception of the *ʿAnqāʾ*. It seems to me quite possible, however,

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al-walī issue (which we will consider below). On *waḥy*, see A.J. Wensinck's art. in *E.I.* 1; and on *ilhām*, see both edns. of *E.I.*

[42] Pp. 353–68 (*cf.* Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 71–76; and see also below, pp. 94–95).

[43] I tr. *marjānāt* as "jewels" merely for the sake of distinction; they are actually "small pearls", as Ibn al-ʿArabī specifies in *Fut.* III, 109 (26).

[44] The correspondence between the two classes of "pearls" is usually not apparent, but will become evident with close study.

[45] For reasons of piety such an invocation might not be deleted from a text that was later incorporated into another.

[46] See p. 450 at n. 36.

that the middle portion of the *ʿAnqāʾ* was actually drafted as early as 594 A.H., closer to the time of the *Isrāʾ*. This explanation would not preclude its having been originally conceived as a sequel to the *Tadbīrāt* (as the *tabyīn al-gharaḍ* declares),[47] nor need it call into question Ibn al-ʿArabī's representation of the Solar vision of 595 as inaugurating the *Fabulous Gryphon* as such.

It could be that as Ibn al-ʿArabī proceeded into the portion of the text which I am calling Part Three, taking up the subject of the two modes (inner and outer) of the mystical *imāmah*, or caliphate, the office of leadership in the human realm,[48] he began to realize that the focus of the book had shifted and would now require a new beginning to foreshadow and counterbalance the important material being added at the end.[49] The necessity would have become even more apparent after the introduction of the "most-excellent Seal of the Saints" (for the first time?)[50] at the close of the long, opening chapter of Part Three,[51] followed by seven or so other particularly abstruse sections on the *Khatm*. I suspect that Part One was composed last in an attempt to fuse the two other parts together by treating somewhat more coherently of the Seal of sainthood notion,[52] while, at the same time, re-establishing the basically separate "Ocean/Pearls" motif of Part Two in the chapter, "A Fathomless Sea and a Deep-Sea Diver" (*Baḥr Ṭāmis wa-Baḥrī Ghāṭis*).[53] As for the structure of the first part itself, it seems that the poem, *Al-Wiʿāʾ al-Makhtūm* (The Sealed Vessel), was not the original beginning, but was later prefixed, perhaps only after the actual title and specific purport of the book had been decided upon.[54] Following this and a second, short poem, then the explanatory foreword (*tabyīn al-gharaḍ*) and another short poem, the work finally begins in earnest with the preamble leading up to the "Fathomless Sea" chapter.[55]

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[47] See p. 237. Indeed, it is only the middle portion of the *ʿAnqāʾ* which, at least in its hierarchic structure, bears some recognizable similarity to the form and content of the *Tadbīrāt*. As for the date of the latter's composition in Morón (near Seville), it could possibly have been 595 H., but was probably much earlier, perhaps 592/1196.

[48] This was, presumably, the orig. ultimate objective of the *ʿAnqā* as the sequel to the more mundane *Tadbīrāt*. The two modes or manifestations of *imāmah*, that of the external leader (*imām*) and that of the heart, correspond to the macrocosm/microcosm dichotomy of the preceding "pearls" section. Ibn al-ʿArabī makes it quite clear that the greatest imāmate, that which is associated with the *jihād al-akbar* (the mission of the Ṣūfī), is the sovereignty of the human heart (see pp. 469–70*sq.*).

[49] Of course, it is natural that the perspective of the treatment should shift at this point, since it was now looking to the *future* of the salvific imāmate of the Mahdī and the Resurrection rather than to the *past* of the first creation in connection with the Muḥammadan Reality.

[50] Obviously, this is merely speculation, dependent upon my premise that Pt. I was written last. Moreover, the Seal of the saints is actually introduced in Pt. II as we have it now, in the eighth "pearl" (see pp. 418*sq.*), and in that same chap. the very purpose of the book is said to be "the gnosis of the successor [= the Mahdī] and the Seal" (*maʿrifat al-khalīfah wa-l-khatm*). I suspect that the latter statement was interpolated *after* the shift in focus which I hypothesize, however—if for no other reason than it does not seem quite apposite, or even accurate, in that place. The explicit identification of the symbolic "ruby" (*yāqūtah ḥamrāʾ*, "red jacinth") as the Seal of the saints on pp. 417–18 could also have been a later explication of the strange parable of the two gems (but I readily admit that there in no evidence for this).

[51] See p. 473.

Following is a conspectus of Parts One and Three of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, effectively outlining the treatment of the Seal/Mahdī notion therein:

Synopsis of Part I

Having just described the opening chapters of the book, I will limit myself here to some remarks on the initial poem, "The Vessel Sealed on the Secret Unrevealed."[56] Written last (according to my reconstruction of the work's development), this opening movement functions as an overture to the whole, foreshadowing many of the topics that will be treated later: the secret-light of the heart, the personification of Divine inspiration as the "Lord's Courier" [*furāniq al-Rabb*], several themes associated with the theosophic teachings of the seminating Ṣūfī theorist from Khurāsān, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī,[57] some "qabalistic" number and letter symbolism, and traditionary eschatological material relating to the Mahdī, "the Just One of God" (*ʿadl Allāh*).

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[52] Esp. after p. 277, when the solar imagery of the Seal/Mahdī is developed over the next several chaps.

[53] Pp. 246*sq.*

[54] See pp. 290–91. This title is mentioned in vv. 9 and 15 of the opening poem, "The Sealed Vessel" (pp. 229 and 231).

[55] To compound the confusion, Ibn al-ʿArabī next proceeds to drop the "ocean" motif and broach two additional themes: that of the "pilgrimage" (*ḥajj*) ["In this book . . . I *begin* with a meditation on the pilgrimage" (p. 248 at n. 22)] and the "dawn of Revelation" (= Gabriel), the second of which, with its many variations, turns out to be the real unifying leitmotif of Pt. I and the vehicle on which the Seal/Mahdī idea will be set in motion.

[56] See pp. 228–35.

[57] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿAlī, known as "the sage of Tirmidh" (in the Trans-Oxus), who lived in the latter part of the 3rd/9th cent. His *obiit* is a bone of contention among scholars, some opting for an earlier death in Nishapur, others for a later one in Mecca (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Miẓān*, vol. V, p. 310). In any case, his

The heading, "A Fathomless Sea and a Deep-Sea Diver"[58] (which marks the real beginning of the book in its present form), while it foreshadows the imagery of Part Two,[59] at this point immediately gives way to an extended allegory of the pilgrimage to Mecca (*nuktat al-ḥajj*),[60] the first of ten major chapters comprising Part One. From the biographical point of view, the most interesting thing about the long and detailed poem on the stations of the *ḥajj* is the fact that it was written before the poet had even been on the pilgrimage, although he undoubtedly was contemplating the enterprise at that time.[61]

In the next chapter, "The Descent of a Trustworthy Spirit with the Shining of a Clear Dawn" (*Tanazzul Rūḥ Amīn bi-Ishrāq Ṣubḥ Mubīn*),[62] Ibn al-ʿArabī discreetly takes up the primary theme of the first part of the book: the rising of the morning-light of mystic realization, symbolized briefly here by the descent of an angel of revelation, the "inner Gabriel," with the dawn of understanding.[63] The real protagonist—or, antagonist—of the chapter, however, turns out to be a certain "man . . . of the people of Tabrīz"[64] by whom the author is questioned, and who, adopting the rationalist (Muʿtazilite) position on the various traditional signs of the portents of the Last Hour (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*), including "the rising of the sun from the place of its setting" (*ṭulūʿ al-shams min maghribi-hā*), effectively denies their reality.[65]

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many writings (pre-eminently, the *K. Khatm al-Awliyā'*) were evidently of considerable import in framing the terms of Ibn al-ʿArabī's early thought.

[58] P. 246.

[59] And also pp. 307*sq.* in Pt. I.

[60] See pp. 246–56.

[61] Among the "miracles" that were allegedly performed by the Ṣūfī rebel-leader of the Algarve, Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151), was a journey to Mecca undertaken in one night (see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *K. Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām fī Man Būyiʿa qabla l-Ikhtilān* [Lévi-Provençal, ed., 1938], p. 286).

[62] Pp. 257–63.

[63] Note that this is also the imagery employed in Jacob Böhme's celebrated mystical work, *Aurora, or the Morning Redness in the Sky* (Sparrow's trn.).

[64] His story is recounted on pp. 257–74. I do not know who this person might be if, indeed, he is not simply a fictional character. Perhaps the place-name, *Tabrīz*, should simply be understood as the Form II *maṣdar* which it happens to be, meaning "to bring forth, show, expose" (= *ta'wīl*?). Dr. Chodkiewicz points out that the radicals, *b-r-z*, frequently occur in eschatological contexts in the Qur'ān (*e.g.*, in 14: 48, 26: 91 and 40: 16).

[65] See pp. 257–59.

Nevertheless, like the prophet, Moses, aspiring to learn the wisdom of the wandering saint of the Qur'ān, al-Khaḍir, the man from Tabrīz begs the author to teach him the *esoterica* of these strange tenets, and what follows is an involved extrapolation from the symbolic discourse of the *Sūrat al-Kahf* (Chapter of the Cave), verses 60–70. The account is continued in the next two subsections and a long poem, where Ibn al-ʿArabī demonstrates his skill as something of a wise "physician" (*ḥakīm*),[66] leading his "patient" to the recognition of his own condition and the discovery of the Divine secret hidden within his own heart. This experience helped the Shaykh, for his part, to understand that God now willed his return (*rujūʿ*) to the world where he might share the enlightenment of his insight with a benighted mankind.

I have already outlined the general purport of the next three chapters, describing the great Solar vision of 595 A.H., *inter alia*, above. In the sixth chapter, "The Lifting of a Veil and the Holy Struggle of an Unpierced Pearl" (*Rafʿ Sitr wa-Mujāhadat Bikr*),[67] Ibn al-ʿArabī more precisely defines his nomenclature for the first time, explicitly subordinating the Mahdī (the "Sun of the West") to the "Faithful One", the *Ṣiddīq* (personified in Abū Bakr, the Caliph *par excellence*), even as both of these are placed under the aegis of Jesus, the Seal of the saints (= *liwā' al-khatm*).[68] (Thus, it is important to keep in mind that the traditional notion of the Mahdī and the new doctrine of the Seal are, indeed, formally distinguished in the *'Anqā'*, despite the evident conflation of their symbolism in many important passages).[69] The Seal is also favorably compared to the Angel Gabriel (the "Winged One") as eschatological gatherer of the "two congregations" (*al-ḥashrān*), inasmuch as he alone will wield the two signet-seals, material and spiritual, on the Last Day.[70]

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[66] See pp. 264*sq*. The mystic's ascent to God after sagely diagnosing the Tabrīzite's "diseased" condition and his returning thence with the healing "secrets of His wise counsels" (*sarā'ir ḥikami-hi*) is strangely reminiscent of the ancient shamanistic practices of Turkic central Asia.

[67] Pp. 293–98.

[68] See *ibid*. We may infer that the Mahdī here is represented by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Ṣiddīq* by Abū Bakr, and the Seal by Jesus as *Muqarrab* (*cf. Qur.* 3: 45 and 4: 172, *et al.*) and chief representative of the *maqām al-qurbah*, the highest station of sainthood. The "unpierced [virgin] pearl" (*bikr*)—an allusion to Jesus's mother?—could be a pun on the name, Abū Bakr.

[69] See, *e.g.*, *Fut.* II, 50 (18–20), tr. in App. IV, 600.

[70] See pp. 296–98.

With "A Pledge Held in *Lieu* and the Adoption of a Covenant" (*Rahn Ighlāq wa-Akhdh Mīthāq*),[71] the "Messenger of inspiration" (who has emerged imperceptibly distinct from the climactic, Solar experience of the Seal) departs after reminding the mystic that the secret seed of the new treatise was now sown in his heart—"sealed with that holy spirit of promise," to use the words of St. Paul, "which is a pledge of our inheritance" from the inner Sun of our being.[72] But Ibn al-ʿArabī is bound by responsibility to be circumspect in the dispensation of the secret of his doctrine—hence, the artistry of his expression and the invitation to the reader to search out his true meaning in the depths of his/her own God-reflecting image.

In "The Station of Distinction and Effect of Devotion" (*Mawqif Ikhtiṣāṣ wa-Natījat Ikhlāṣ*),[73] the Shaykh explains how the original spiritual intimations which are all truth have always become adulterated with falsehood when they descend to the level of ordinary human converse, since prophecy is only manifested to the masses (*al-jumhūr*) in a measure suited to the capacity of their intellects and in a manner appropriate to their way of thinking (*madhhabu-hum*).[74] This is presumably the reason why many of the traditions of the venerable ancestors among the Prophet's contemporaries appear not to be in accord with Ṣūfī teachings. But such masters of the Way as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and Ibn al-ʿArabī are able, by Divine inspiration and with God's leave, to re-establish the original truth, as it were, by a kind of participation (*ishtirāk*) in Revelation through faith. Again, however, the Ṣūfīs' teachings are only fully stated in the inner sanctum of the faithful reader's heart.

The chapter, "A Tempestuous Wave from Which a Hidden Pearl is Drawn Forth" (*Mawj Majnūn Tajarrada ʿan-hu Luʾluʾ Maknūn*),[75] is crucial for bringing together the imagery of the ocean/pearl and the Seal/Mahdī themes. Opening with an intriguing metaphor that orients the chapter's bearing on the introspection of the heart, Ibn al-ʿArabī employs the powerful Qurʾānic language of the *Sūrat al-Nūr*, depicting "an abysmal sea, covered by wave upon wave,"[76] to represent the dynamic crucible of the gnostic's inner life, which yields the cream (*zubdah*) of existential knowledge[77] as the churning sea casts up healing *Meerschaum*, sea-foam (*zabad*), on the shore.[78] Luxuriating in the metaphor, the author's wisdom embodied in the present book is also assimilated (in the chapter heading) to a "hidden Pearl."

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[71] Pp. 299–301.
[72] *Eph.* 1: 13–14 (*cf.* also *2 Cor.* 1: 22).
[73] Pp. 302–06.
[74] See p. 303.
[75] Pp. 307–11. This chap. is a masterpiece of Arabic *sajʿ* style.
[76] *Qur.* 24: 40 (foll. the famous "Light-verses").

In the same chapter, Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to explicate the phrase from the subtitle of the book: "the 'Century' following that of [the Prophet]" (*al-qarn al-lāḥiq bi-qarn al-Muṣṭafá*).[79] This refers to the symbolic *seventh* century of the Islamic era which I briefly spoke of at the beginning of this essay (in connection with the final chapter of the *ʿAnqāʾ*) and which stands for the time of the latter-day saints and the Expected One who will seal their tenure. Here, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī propounds the paradox that the future is present even now (thus hinting at his own sealhood), though the helpers (*aʿwān*) of the current, hidden Imām may not see their leader—"but there is nothing stronger than faith in [the] Unseen (*īmānu ghayb*^{in}), for doubt never overtakes its adherent."[80]

In "A Marriage Is Contracted and a Wedding Attended" (*Nikāḥ ʿUqida wa-ʿUrs Shuhida*),[81] Ibn al-ʿArabī elaborates a complex allegory of sexual love, beginning with his being "attracted" by a Dear/Mighty One (*jadhbatu ʿazīz*^{in}), which tossed him in a maelstrom of emotion until his heart was rent and he beheld a tear (*ʿabrah*) drop therefrom, which God fashioned as an angelic figure (*shakhṣ malakī*) and set up in Heaven to praise Him continually. This celestial being Ibn al-ʿArabī recognized as the very concrete substance (*jusmānīyah*) of his book, the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*. Hence, we might say, the seed of the work which was deposited in the pure vessel of the author-to-be in the seventh chapter, above, has now evolved into its embryonic spiritual form on high, and only awaits the final fertilization of the mystic's heart by his higher mind in order to awake fully alive, body and soul, in this last chapter of Part One.

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[77] *Zubdah*: "fresh (unclarified) butter; milk froth; cream". *Cf. Qur.* 13: 17 (*zabad*).

[78] The same imagery is to be found in the *Bayān al-Farq bayna l-Ṣadr wa-l-Qalb wa-l-Fuʾād wa-l-Lubb* (N. Heer, ed., 1958), p. 52, attr. (probably wrongly) to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. There the sage's words are likened to the foam spewed forth by the sea for the advantage of mankind (*Meerschaum*, once thought to be petrified sea-foam, used to be applied as a salve for the eyes).

[79] See pp. 290–91 (at n. 31) and 309 (n. 19); and above, p. 60 (n. 72).

[80] P. 311 at n. 39. *Cf. Rom.* 8: 24–25 and *Heb. 11* (v. 1: "Faith is . . . the evidence of things not seen").

[81] Pp. 312–18, *et seq.* The book is the "child" of the author's union with the Beloved, which we may take to be the Seal, Jesus.

This consummating act of realization is allegorized in the second half of the chapter, where the Prophet Muḥammad's marriage to his favorite wife, ʿĀʾishah (the daughter of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq), is treated in a kind of mystical Whitmanesque, with the bridegroom leaving the certified dower (*mahr*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's keeping as he entered the marriage-chamber with his new bride for the nuptial night. But when the dawn broke, the sleepers were united and the author found neither bride (*ʿirs*) nor husband (*baʿl*)—"other than my own Esssence (*dhāt-ī*), nor a dower other than my own nature and attributes (*khulq-ī wa-ṣifāt-ī*), for I was myself both the Husband and the Bride, and I married together the Intellect and the Soul [*al-ʿaql wa-l-nafs*]."[82] This orgic celebration of the alchemical syzygy of opposites[83] is developed further in the poem, "An Ocean without Shore," where Ibn al-ʿArabī, again, assumes the role of both male and female, active and passive, in the wholeness of that "Peace which passes understanding."[84]

Finally, the first part of the work closes with a poem and a following preamble setting up the disquisition of Part Two. As that section is relatively straightforward in its structure (based largely on the traditional Ptolemaic cosmography of the Ismāʿīlīs), we may now proceed directly to the concluding section of the book.

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[82] Pp. 316–17 at n. 48. As "the friend of the bridegroom" in the Evangelist's esoteric parable, the mystic "rejoices greatly" in the "voice" (intellectual manifestation) of the transcendent Lord, "Who must increase (in His immanence), while I must decrease" (*John* 3: 29–30). The more "profane" artistic treatment of this same subliminal motif may be appreciated in Whitman's erotic fantasy, *The Sleepers*.

[83] Acc. to C.G. Jung, in the case of a man who realizes the *anima*, the syzygy consists of three elements: "the femininity pertaining to the man . . ., the experience which man has of woman . . ., and finally the . . . feminine archetypal image. The first two elements can be integrated into the personality by the process of conscious realization, but the last one cannot" (from "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious" [1954], quoted in *Psyche and Symbol*: A Selection from the Writings of C.G. Jung, p. 20, n. 5). By this analysis, then, the bridegroom personifies the subject's empirical intellect, the bride his own femininity ("soul"), while the objective "archetype" (along with the missing fourth member of the "marriage *quaternio*") remains both transcendent and immanent, non-distinguishable from the self.

[84] *Phil.* 4: 7. *Cf. Eph.* 2: 14–15: "For he is our peace, who has made both one, and broken down the middle wall of partition, . . . to make in himself, of two, one new man, so making peace."

Synopsis of Part III

The opening chapter of Part Three, "The Proof of the Imāmate" (*Ithbāt al-Imāmah*),[85] constitutes a rather general dissertation on this (theoretically) fundamental office in Islamic law.[86] As with all things, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains, there are actually two basic imāmates, the greater and the lesser (or, the external and the inner), one explicit (= *nāṭiq/ẓāhir*) and the other implicit (*muḍammin nuṭq*^{an}*/bāṭin*). Indeed, there are "chiefs," or imāms, in every department of life, but the greatest, most comprehensive (*ajmaʿ*) one of all, truly, is the heart of man,[87] God's *khalīfah*[88] and the veritable "Matrix of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*).[89] The chapter ends with a consideration of the ceremony of homage to the imām (*al-mubāyaʿah*) which, properly speaking, no one may rightfully receive after the Prophet Muḥammad—except for the Seal of the saints.[90]

The section, "An Epitome of Glorious Nobility (*nuktat al-sharaf*) concerning [prophetary] Chambers (*ghuraf*) above which are [other, saintly] Chambers,"[91] consists mainly of poetry, and deals with the problem of how it can be that the noble Seal is not a physical descendant of the Prophet's house. The final third of the poem, entitled "The Concluding Piece concerning the Preserved Pearl" (*Al-Nuktah al-Muʾakhkharah fī l-Durrah al-Muddakharah*),[92] contains many far-reaching allusions which must be studied carefully. One of these, relating to the legend of the Arabian prophet(s), Khālid b. Sinān/Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān,[93] appears to associate the mythical *ʿanqāʾ* (here a fire-breathing monster) with the Prophetary vehicle, *al-Burāq*.[94] Also, there is another heavily veiled allusion to the sacred seventh century and, *ergo*, Ibn al-ʿArabī's own identity as the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood ("But I, by virtue of my total comprehension as to his attestation, concealed One Mighty").[95]

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[85] Pp. 462–73.

[86] This is so much the case that M.M. al-Ghurāb has excerpted a lengthy portion of this chap. and presented it (not cited) as Ibn al-ʿArabī's legal position on *imāmah* in his *Fiqh ʿinda al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (1981), pp. 383–91. On the concepts of *imāmah/khilāfah*, etc., see the next two chaps.

[87] See pp. 467–71.

[88] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 30, quoted on p. 467. *Cf. Bezels*, 51.

[89] *Cf. Qur.* 13: 39 and 43: 4 (and *cf.* p. 468 at n. 63).

[90] *Cf. Qur.* 48: 10, quoted on p. 472.

[91] Pp. 473–83. In the prelude to the poem Ibn al-ʿArabī tactfully chides al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī for not being more forthright in establishing the Seal's independence of the *physical* lineage of nobility.

[92] Pp. 480–83.

[93] On these two prophetic figures of Arabia during the *fatrah* (the interval between the missions of Jesus and Muḥammad), see Charles Pellat's entries in *E.I.* 2, *s.v.* The penultimate chap. of the *Fuṣūṣ* is devoted to Khālid b. Sinān. Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān was sometimes regarded as the prophet sent to the *Aṣḥāb al-Rass* (see *Qur.* 25: 38 and 50: 12), near Aden. In later times the two legends were combined, both being associated with the elimination of a pestilent *ʿanqāʾ* (see next note).

The third chapter I have denominated "Microcosmic Correspondences concerning the Seal/Mahdī."[96] It comprises fifteen major divisions, all except for the last of which are dichotomized, the two subdivisions corresponding on the familiar macrocosm/microcosm pattern. In general, the subject-matter is eschatological, connected with the Seal and Mahdī notions and motifs. A few of the passages relate to the imagery of the oft-exploited Qur'ānic story of Moses and al-Khaḍir,[97] but many treat of traditionary material. It is interesting to note that most of the divisions deal with some sort of binary subject-matter (*e.g.*, two "origins", two "inheritances", solar risings and settings, the meeting of two seas, *etc.*). Seemingly of the nature of "free associations", these allusive musings actually develop several interconnecting subthemes (*e.g.*, the "hidden treasure" and the "wall" of the two orphans).

In "The Epitome of Consummate Informing concerning the Designation of the Seal of the Saints" (*Nuktat Tamām al-Inbā' fī Taʿyīn Khatm al-Awliyā'*),[98] Ibn al-ʿArabī announces his intention, as the will of God, to be more specific in identifying the Seal, since he who does not know him cannot be known *by* him—that is, he cannot be elected to gnostic salvation. The paradoxical nature of the Seal's reality is summed up in such characterizations as "a corporeal Spirituality" (*rūḥānīyah mutajassadah*) and "a manifold Singularity" (*fardānīyah mutaʿaddadah*).[99] Although he appears under the conditions of time, in reality he is not so externally qualified, but is, rather, by his intrinsic merit and manifest fulfilment of spiritual conditions.[100]

Ibn al-ʿArabī further seeks to clarify the essential difference between the Mahdī and the Seal in "The Clear Declaration of the Glorious

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[94] See p. 481, nn. 70–72; and pp. 191–92*sq.* of the intro.

[95] P. 483 at n. 84.

[96] Pp. 484–504.

[97] See above, p. 87. That chap. dealt with *Qur.* 18: 60–70, however, while in this section the treatment concentrates mainly on the inscrutable actions of al-Khaḍir at the end of the passage (vv. 71–82).

[98] Pp. 505–07.

[99] See p. 506 at n. 17.

[100] See p. 507.

Scripture," *etc.* (*Ifṣāḥ al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz*),[101] warning that the distinction (*tamyīz*) of their attributes is subtle and quite beyond those who cannot think for themselves. Insofar as Jesus is the Seal, he, unlike the Mahdī, is also a prophet;[102] but as for the other, "Greatest Imām" (*al-imām al-aʿẓam*)[103]—that is, presumably, the *Muḥammadan* Seal[104]—inasmuch as he and the Mahdī are both simply saints (*i.e.*, without revealed law-codes), confusion inevitably arises.

In the next, lengthy section,[105] Ibn al-ʿArabī gives a series of very veiled allusions to the Seal "and his brother" (—the Mahdī?—the Muḥammadan Seal?)[106] as supposedly to be found in certain passages (*mawāḍiʿ*)[107] of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, as well as other data on this personage—his time, physical description, his names (*ʿAbd Allāh* and *ʿĪsá*) and his number (30), *etc.* Tantamount to a thematic Ṣūfī *tafsīr*, it is a particularly interesting example of *eisegetic* interpretation in the distinctive Akbarian style. Fifteen Qurʾānic *sūrahs* are specifically named, in which at least thirty-one passages relating to Jesus (and/or his mother) as either the Seal (30) or the Mahdī (1) are hinted at in obscure riddles.[108] Also of interest here is the fact that some of the cited *āyāt* were transcribed in a coded "secret script" (*qalam marmūz bi-hi*).[109] Evidently, this was originally inscribed on loose leaves which were not necessarily included with all copies of the text. A key to the cipher code (*fakk al-qalam*) was not provided in early manuscript copies.[110]

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[101] Pp. 508–10.

[102] See p. 508. But *cf.* a few pages earlier, where it was said that Jesus ceased being a prophet after the mission of Muḥammad.

[103] See p. 509. I take this to be the same as the "exalted Seal" (*al-khatm al-ʿalī*) mentioned on p. 507. Once again, Ibn al-ʿArabī *seems* to equivocate on the question of the superiority of the Muḥammadan, as opposed to the universal, Seal.

[104] This is merely my interpretation of the rather ambiguous text in this and the preceding chap.

[105] On pp. 511–26.

[106] See p. 511 at nn. 3 and 4.

[107] A *mawḍiʿ* may be a Qurʾānic verse (*āyah*), a part of one, or several contiguous verses.

[108] Chodkiewicz (in *Seal*, 121–22) counts only 14 *sūrahs* and 29 *mawāḍiʿ*, perhaps omitting *Sūrat al-Ṣaffāt* (*37*) with its one passage (v. 171?), since it has to do with Jesus as *Mahdī* (or else with Abraham [see below, p. 518, n. 51]). This would still leave 30 *mawāḍiʿ*, however. Also, note that Ibn al-ʿArabī has failed to account for *Qur.* 33: 7.

[109] See App. III, 574–80, *et seq.*

[110] As stated in App. III, below (see pp. 577–78), this sort of "obscurantist device" is not really characteristic of Ibn al-ʿArabī's esoterism.

The final chapter of the book is entitled "The Pearl Following the Foregoing Jacynth" (*Al-Lu'lu'ah al-Lāḥiqah bi-l-Yāqūtah al-Sābiqah*)[111]—the "Pearl" standing for the seventh month/century (= the Seal of Sainthood), which corresponds directly to the first (= the Reality of Muḥammad), symbolized by the "Jacynth" (ruby?).[112] This is demonstrated by way of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ingenious theory of the correlation of the four sacred months to the first three, along with the seventh, Islamic centuries. The book closes with something of an anti-climax, I am afraid, unless someone can find a more satisfactory explanation of the reckoning on pages 531–32 than I have been able to give.

One chapter in Part Two of the *ʿAnqā'* merits further consideration, both for its complexity (and obscurity) and for its importance—though the latter is perhaps more historical than intrinsic. As we have remarked, the "Eternal Conference" (*Muḥāḍarah Azalīyah*)[113] is a kind of Homeric interlude coming between comparatively straightforward theological disquisitions on the Divine essence, attributes and acts, on the one hand, and the Muḥammadan Reality as *tertium quid* separating/joining the Divine and the profane, on the other. Therein the "Most-Beautiful Names" are personified and set to discoursing and debating amongst Themselves rather as all-bachelor gods gathered together on Mount Olympus.[114] Thus, when a petition for the world's creation had passed up the ranks, so to speak, each holy Department-head jostling to protect His own turf,[115] the "Greatest Name" (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*), God (*Allāh*), after consulting in private with the ineffable Divine Essence (*al-Dhāt*), gave the order—His Speaking nature echoing

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[111] Pp. 527–32. *Lāḥiq* is an *Ismāʿīlī* term for the hidden imām's deputy (*khalīfah*) during his absence.

[112] *Cf.* p. 328 at n. 5, where the ruby emblemizes the gnosis of the Divine essence "in its pearly-white shell (*yāqūtu-hā l-aḥmar fī ṣadafi-hi l-azhar*)." On pp. 417–18, the ruby is the universal Seal and the topaz the Muḥammadan Seal.

[113] See above, p. 83. The *Muḥāḍarah* chap. is on pp. 353–71 of the trn.

[114] Our main commentator on the *ʿAnqā'*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqābirī (d. 954/1547), has characterized this "conference", or "assembly" (*ijtimāʿ*), as a kind of "spiritual boasting-match" (*mufākharah maʿnawīyah*) in his *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm ʿan al-Sirr al-Maktūm* (*Ms. Vatican 293*, f. 95; *cf.* p. 353, n. 3).

[115] "But the Powerful One said to [the Merciful]: 'All of that is under My Control and subject to Me (*ḥukm-ī wa-qahr-ī*)!'—at which the All-Vanquisher (*al-Qāhir*) exclaimed to [the Powerful]: 'No way! That is *My* prerogative, and You are My Servant (*khadīm-ī*), even though You are also My Companion and close Associate (*ṣāḥib-ī wa-ḥamīm-ī*)!' But then the Knowing One interjected: 'As for the One Who said, *Under My Control*—that is by virtue of *My* Knowledge!'" (p. 363).

His Knowing, and in accord with the "Merciful"—for the "Purposer" (*al-Murīd*) to urge the "Speaker" (*al-Qāʾil*) to command that, enabled by the "Powerful" (*al-Qādir*), all engendered creation should *be*![116] That Ibn al-ʿArabī was quite taken with this idea is evident in the fact that he returned to it at least three times in later writings—in the *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir*[117] and twice in the *Futūḥāt*[118]—presenting it somewhat differently on each occasion. In general, his treatments could be said to be progressively more hedged and sophisticated—to no avail, as far as his many detractors were concerned. Declining to be mollified by the Ṣūfī's prefatory apology in one of the *Futūḥāt* passages,[119] they charged him with rank anthropomorphism and polytheism;[120] but had they been aware of the original, even more grotesque version in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, they might have done so with more justification.[121]

All in all, by modern western standards the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* may be judged to be quite disorganized—or, rather, disunified.[122] It must be kept in mind, however, that the atomistic nature of most Arabic literature is quite intentional, and, if properly appreciated, may serve to intensify insight and open the way for unexpected associations. Moreoever, the *ʿAnqāʾ* text is effectively integrated by the author's masterful use throughout of the rhymed-prose (*saj*ʿ) technique,[123] so genial to Arabic diction, which rarely fails to surprise and provoke, and even to instruct and entertain.[124] Much, if not most, of Ibn al-ʿArabī's early work, including personal correspondence, was written largely in *saj*ʿ, and only later in his career did he forego/outgrow this fancy mannerism.[125] In my judgment, however, from the very beginning Ibn al-ʿArabī's writing style exemplifies the late-classical Arabic at its richest and finest.[126] I would not hesitate to compare the Shaykh al-Akbar's very considerable gifts as a stylist (as well as a thinker) to those of the father of German literature, Meister Johann Eckhart (d. 1328).[127]

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[116] See pp. 367–68. The ref. is to the creative *fiat* of *Qur.* 6: 73, *et al.*

[117] See *Inshāʾ* (Nyberg, ed., 1919), pp. 36–38. That the *Inshāʾ* version was subsequent to the one in the *ʿAnqāʾ* is shown in the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī mentions the latter in *ibid.* (p. 36). For P. Fenton and M. Gloton's trn. of the *Muḥāḍarah* passage, see *Com. Vol.*, pp. 40–41.

[118] Chap. 4 of the *Futūḥāt* (I, 98–101); and *Fut.* I, 322[33]–323[27]. The latter has been presented in three trns. by Chittick, in: *Path*, 47–58 (esp. pp. 53–54); "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Myth of the Names'," in J. Martin, ed., *Philosophies of Being and Mind* (1992), pp. 207–19; and *Imaginal Worlds*: Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Problem of Religious Diversity (1994), pp. 126–36 (which contains a trn. of the entire Chap. 66 of the *Futūḥāt*). Ibn al-ʿArabī also alluded to the theme of the *Muḥāḍarah al-Azalīyah* in *Fut.* I, 210 (3–5); the *Sharḥ Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn* [*Ms. Şehid Ali 1174*, f. 103]; and in (his comm. on the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*) *Al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-Aʿlāq* (Muḥ. al-Kurdī, ed., 1968) he identifies the *jamarāt* of the Valley of Minā as "the presences of the Names assembled for the purpose of manifesting Their effects" (p. 201).

[119] See *Fut.* I, 322 (33*sq.*), tr. in *Path*, 53b.

[120] See Homerin, "Ibn ʿArabi in the People's Assembly" [cited above, p. 10, n. 36], p. 466. Presumably Shaykh ʿAwn's objections (pub. in his *Dalālāt fī K. al-Futūḥāt*; see also the work cited in Bib. II) are based on the critique of Ibn Taymīyah.

[121] This, of course, simply adds to the historical interest and value of the *ʿAnqāʾ* text, which remains the longest version of the *Muḥāḍarah* theme. The stylistic and substantive differences between the early (*ʿAnqāʾ*), middle (*Inshāʾ*), and late (*Futūḥāt*) versions would make an interesting diachronic study.

[122] Ibn al-ʿArabī himself refers to the chaps. of the book as *shudhūr* (scattered fragments) on p. 344 at n. 44.

The rhyme-scheme found in the *ʿAnqāʾ* is usually a simple phrase "couplet" (A/A) with widely varying quantities and rhythms. Occasionally the rhyme is carried on to three, or as many as a half-dozen, phrases (*fawāṣil*) in the old *sajʿ* style, but more commonly the line consists of two phrases, or colons, in the form of parallelism typical of the *maqāmāt* genre,[128] as in, for example:

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[123] *Saj*ʿ is rhymed speech (*kalām muqaffá*) with rhyme-phrases (*fawāṣil*) but no poetic measure—or metre—and, hence, it is classified as *nathr* (prose) instead of *naẓm* (verse). The very name, *saj*ʿ (the cooing of a pigeon), supposedly connotes the "monotone" of a jingle, or doggerel rhyme (such was the oracular style of the pre-Islamic diviner, or *kāhin* [cognate with Heb., *kōhēn*, "priest"]), but, cultivated in the sententious literary form of the *maqāmāt*, the genre made use of diverse elaborate rhythms, subtle assonance and alliteration, and, above all, many forms of "sense rhyme" (menopoeia), all of which can be found in Ibn al-ʿArabī's text. "Artificial" though it may be, it should be understood that *saj*ʿ "is a species of diction to which the Arabic language, because of its structure, the mathematical precision of its manifold formations and the essential assonance of numerous derivatives from the same root supplying the connexion between the sound and signification of words, peculiarly lends itself" (W. Prendergast, *The Maqāmāt of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, p. 8).

[124] These qualities, of course, can only be appreciated in the Arabic. I have tried to give some indication of them, however, by the liberal use in my trn. of parenthetic transcriptions for the sake of those who know Arabic (or would care to try to acquire some).

[125] Rather as the early *sūrahs* of the Qurʾān are perfectly expressed in the *saj*ʿ form, whereas the later, more prosaic chapters employ it only perfunctorily. In a way, it could be argued that the use of straight, discursive prose in Arabic is more "pretentious" than *saj*ʿ, since the latter can be presented as a kind of involuntary rhapsody, something which is manifestly or objectively true, whereas prose *fuṣḥá* is more distinctly *magisterial*, and will only be accepted from one who is in a position to speak from knowledge (illiterate children or fools could and did utter inspired rhyme, but not correct and beautiful Arabic prose).

[126] Though I do not claim to be in a position to judge confidently, I would not say the same for most of his poetry, which strikes me as mainly instrumental by intent. I do not doubt, however, that a collection of excellent poems from the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq* and the *Dīwān* could be brought together by some enterprising anthologist.

[127] The differences (esp. in their intellectual environments) are at least as noteworthy as the similarities. For refs. to recent studies of Eckhart's prose style, see B. McGinn, ed., *Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher*, p. 31, n. 20.

. . . *Min khafīyi rumz*$^{\text{in}}$
wa-darji maʿn$^{\text{án}}$
fī muʿamm$^{\text{án}}$ *wa-lughz*$^{\text{in}}$.

. . . With surreptitiousness of symbol
and by wrapping meaning
in enigma and riddle.[129]

Sometimes the phrases are compounded (A-B/A-B), as in:

Fa-tamāyala dhātu-hu fī dhālika l-nūrī
tamāyula l-sirājī
min wāridi l-surūrī
wa-l-ibtihājī.

So that [Man's] Essence sways to that effulgence
like the flickering of the torch-light
with the incoming of [the breezes of] indulgence
and sheer delight.[130]

Occasionally more complex schemes take form, such as (A-bB/A-bB) in the following:

Fa-ʿlam anna-ka
muttaṣil$^{\text{un}}$ *bi-hi fī l-ṣifāti l-maʿnawīyatī*
min jihati l-ẓilālī
min ghayri ttiṣālī,
munfaṣil$^{\text{un}}$ *ʿan-hu bi-l-ṣifāti l-nafsīyatī*
l-majhūlati fī kulli ḥālī
min ghayri nfiṣālī.[131]

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[128] As well as some of the prophetic and wisdom books of the Hebrew scriptures.

[129] P. 287 at n. 55. Note also the internal assonance of *maʿn*$^{\text{án}}$*/muʿamm*$^{\text{án}}$ (meaning/enigma), as well as the allusive "sense rhyme" between *maʿn*$^{\text{án}}$ (semantic meaning) and *laghaz*, evoking the former's ant., *lughah* (word, expression).

[130] *Cf.* pp. 433–34. The rest of the line could be rendered: ". . . as though it were a lush who takes therefrom his sweet *cerise*, seeking peace and ease but finding no release" (*fa-ka-anna-hu nashwān*$^{\text{un}}$ *akhadha min-hu l-rāḥā/fa-rāma l-irtiyāḥā/wa-lam yajida l-sarāḥā* [*ibid.*]). Needless to say, I do not usually attempt to rhyme the *sajʿ* in my trn.

[131] "For know that you are connected to [God] in the Essential attributes, without any [*direct*] connection, in the sense of being "semblances";/[while you are, at the same time] separated from Him, without any [*real*] separation, as regards the attributes of Identity, which are [in the case of God necessarily] unknowable" (p. 342 at n. 30). Interesting anomolies also occur, such as (A-B/B|a/a-A) in Q2, 31 (18–21), beginning with *wa-hwa ṣifātu l-afʿālī* and ending with *ṣifāti afʿālī.*

It is fair to say that the literary-textual analysis of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writing has probably been hampered among those of us who take it seriously by such statements of the Master as the following, which he made at the beginning of a list of some two-hundred and fifty "non-compositions" in his *Fihrist al-Muʾallafāt*:

> In all that I have written I have not pursued a set design or composition, as do [mere] authors (*al-muʾallifūn*). Rather, spiritual Influxions (*mawārid*) from the Real (Exalted be He!) have [always] come upon me, nearly burning me up, so that I could only put them from my mind by writing down as much as possible of them. If I have proceeded in the way of composition (*al-taʾlīf*), that was not by [my own] design—some of [my works even] being written by Divine Command (*amr ilāhī*) in which the Real commanded me either in a Dream [at night] or in a [waking] Revelation (*fī nawm aw mukāshafah*).[132]

That Ibn al-ʿArabī has in mind a very strong form of the notion of inspiration is amply attested on the opening page of his masterpiece, the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, where he describes having beheld the Prophet Muḥammad in an annunciatory vision (*mubashshirah*) in which he received the *Fuṣūṣ* bodily and literally from the hand of the Apostle of God.[133] Thereafter, he undertook to bring the book forth [*ibrāzu-hu*] just as it had been given to him, with nothing added or omitted.[134] Thus, he presents himself as a transmitter (*mutarjim*, "a translator"), not an author or writer exercising free choice (*mutaḥakkim*, "an arbiter").[135]

Far more important than the merely stylistic analysis, the study of the literary-intellectual currents detectable in the ocean of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works has also been set back by this theory of literary parthenogenesis. After the tentative attempts of H.S. Nyberg, R.A. Nicholson, M. Asín Palacios, and A.E. Affifi[136] to establish a short list of some presumed sources of influence, beginning with the obvious Andalusian forerunners—Ibn Masarrah, Ibn Barrajān, Ibn al-ʿArīf, Ibn Qasī and Abū Madyan[137]—and extending to include the well-known *aʿyān* of Ibn al-ʿArabī's type of "theoretical" Ṣūfism—Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, al-Bisṭāmī, al-Tustarī, al-Tirmidhī,[138] al-Ḥallāj, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Niffarī,[139] al-Sulamī and al-Ghazzālī—as well as the apparent sectarian (*Ismāʿīlī*), theological and philosophical influences,[140] each of these early orientalists went on to speculate about possible pre-Islamic (mostly Hellenic and Christian) sources of certain Akbarian doctrines.[141] Nyberg expressed the attitude succinctly:

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[132] *Fihrist*, 194, tr. by Affifi on pp. 112–13 of his intro.; *cf.* G. ʿAwwād's edn., p. 355. Essentially the same statement is made in the prologue to the *Mashāhid* (see al-Ḥakīm's intro., pp. *iii–iv*), and elsewhere.

[133] *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Affifi, ed., 1946), pt. I, p. 47; tr. by Austin in *The Bezels of Wisdom*, p. 45.

[134] But *cf.* *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 56, tr. in *Bezels*, pp. 57–58.

[135] See *ibid.*

[136] See Asín, *El Islam cristianizado*, pp. 259*sq.* (Chap. 15), *et al.*; and the same author's *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarra and His Followers*, pp. 123–29; and Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dín-Ibnul ʿArabí*, app., pp. 174–94. Nyberg's many historical refs. are scattered throughout the long and learned intro. to his *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 29–160. Nicholson's contribution to Akbarian studies was limited, unfortunately, by his decision not to pub. much of his own work (his reported

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trn. of the *Fuṣūṣ*). Hence, not only was the world denied his excellent scholarship, he also set afoot the exaggerated impression of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writing as impossibly abstruse, a view that paralyzed Eng. scholarship for fifty years. (Most of what escaped oblivion is contained in "Some Notes on the *Fuṣūṣu 'l-Ḥikam*," in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* [1921], pp. 149–61). Another early student of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings whose work has gone almost completely unrecognized is the Indian Theosophist, S.A.Q. Husaini, whose *The Pantheistic Monism of Ibn al-ʿArabī* (1945; rep., 1970) was a bold attempt to set forth the Shaykh's ontology, epistemology and cosmology, based on numerous lengthy trns. from the *Futūḥāt* and *Fuṣūṣ*.

[137] On these five Andalusian Ṣūfīs, see their respective entries in *E.I.* 2, and the notes on each provided by Addas in *Quest*, 52–61. For an account of the development of Ṣūfism in Andalusia, see Addas's "*Andalusī* Mysticism and the Rise of Ibn ʿArabī," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (S.Kh. Jayyusi, ed.), vol. II, pp. 909–36.

[138] Actually, of the four orientalists mentioned, only Nyberg briefly mentions al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, whose work only began to be made available to scholars in the second half of the 20th cent.

[139] Ibn al-ʿArabī's debt to Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. al-Ḥasan al-Niffarī (d. 354/965), author of the *K. al-Mawāqif* (The Book of "Stops", or "Halts"), was not recognized until the *Mashāhid al-Asrār* was examined by Addas (see *Quest*, 127*sq.*).

[140] Affifi's suggestion of an *Ishrāqī* influence on Ibn al-ʿArabī is not likely (Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá l-Suhrawardī was martyred in Aleppo in 587/1191). Still, the resemblances between the eastern and the western "schools of light" make for an interesting case of parallel development, as many have remarked. In this connection we should take note of the influential essay by Seyyed Hossein Nasr in his *Three Muslim Sages* (1964), pp. 83–121; as well as Toshihiko Izutsu's *Sufism and Taoism* (1966); and Henry Corbin's *Creative Imagination* and *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* (Eng. trn., 1971), in which many cross-cultural correlations are elaborated.

[141] For which Asín, in particular, has been repeatedly condemned, although his presumed thesis of Christian "influence" (*las huellas trinitaria y téandrica*) on Ibn al-ʿArabī has, I think, been exaggerated, and his (really quite tenable) hypothesis of a pseudo-Empedoclean source for Ibn Masarrah's teachings unfairly misrepresented by many after the great scholar, Samuel M. Stern, prematurely announced its refutation in a brief paper, "Ibn Masarra, Follower of Pseudo-Empedocles, an Illusion," in *Actas do IV congresso de estudos arabes e islamicos* (1968), pp. 325–39. In his chap. on Ibn al-ʿArabī's "doctrine of the logos" (*The Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 66–101), Affifi (a student of Nicholson), who also criticized Asín's Ibn Masarrah hypothesis, detects traces of the Stoics, Philo, Plotinus, and the "Christian Fathers of Alexandria" (*ibid.*, pp. 85–92), inc. Origen (p. 68, n. 2)!

> [Ibn al-ʿArabī's] astonishingly receptive mind has, indeed, been formed by diverse sources and is a focal point of various idea-complexes. The motley secret teachings of the late-classical period, which "went underground" in Islam to dwell furtively in manifestly heretical or otherwise suspicious circles, slowly spread out from there to surface once more in Ibn al-ʿArabī quite openly, weaving themselves therein with occasional Jewish and Christian influences, as well as some of the strictest forms of Islam, to go to make up a system in which the entire religious composite (*Religionsmischung*) of late antiquity culminates.[142]

From the time of Louis Massignon's millennial commemoration of al-Ḥallāj's *Passion* (1922), western scholars began to eschew the *deus ex machina* of accounting for Ṣūfī theory and practice by means of controversial extra-Islamic prototypes (*e.g.*, Hellenistic philosophy and Hermeticism, Judaeo-Christian theology and theosophy, Persian Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, Hindu Vedantism and Yoga, Buddhist and Christian monastic traditions, *etc.*) and have sought to ground the phenomenology of Ṣūfism in the Qur'ān and the received sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*). Massignon certainly did not go so far as to downplay intradenominational connections, however, and his meticulous tracing of the "survivals" of al-Ḥallāj in later Muslim culture, including Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, can sometimes, by reverse analysis, be studied as "sources" in the context of the latter.[143] Another exemplar of scholarly devotion to a beloved cause, Osman Yahia laid the groundwork for the ongoing discovery of the full dimensions of Ibn al-ʿArabī's bio-bibliography before going on to produce since 1972 the first critical editions of Akbarian texts since Affifi's *Fuṣūṣ* (1946) and Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften* (1919).[144]

The more challenging (and potentially revealing) objective of uncovering and articulating what might be called the "initiatic" and/or

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[142] *Kleinere Schriften*, p. 9. Nyberg continues: "Herein lies the religious-historical import of Ibn al-ʿArabī's work. To research and analyse the sources of this veritable world of spiritual thought is a task of uppermost importance, not only for the history of ideas in Islam, but also for that of the entire Middle Ages" (pp. 9–10). The possible influence on Islamic sectarianism and Ṣūfism of the *Corpus hermeticum*, maintained by the "Sabians" of Harran during the "dark ages" of Europe, remains a field of needed inquiry (see W. Scott, ed. and tr., *Hermetica*, vol. I, pp. 97–111).

[143] For refs. to Ibn al-ʿArabī's works in *The Passion of al-Hallāj*, see the ind. in vol. IV.

[144] This is not to suggest that all of the many "uncritical" edns. of Akbarian works are inadequate, however. The large Hyderabad 1948 edn. of *rasā'il* was a godsend, and most of the anon. edns. from the 19th cent. (*e.g.*, those of the *Dīwān* and the *Futūḥāt*) are really quite good.

"ecstatic" foundations of the Akbarian heritage (*al-wirth al-akbarī*) has been pursued over the last few decades in France by (the late) Michel Vâlsan,[145] Michel Chodkiewicz and Claude Addas, and along a different line in the United States by William C. Chittick and James W. Morris. Whatever view one may take of the more "esoteric" perspective of some interpretations,[146] the solid grounding of their research in the texts of the Shaykh (particularly, the *Futūḥāt*) is amply demonstrated.[147] This is true, also, of the contemporaneous work of Ralph Austin, Denis Gril, Suʿād al-Ḥakīm and Pablo Beneito.[148] The best of this generation of scholars do not merely pay lip-service to the claim that Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine truly derives from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, but cite chapter and verse of many relevant instances, attesting to a broad and deep familiarity with the material. Finally, it may be noted that Nicholson, Chodkiewicz, Gril, Chittick and Morris have all issued studies of particular disciples/heirs of the

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[145] A bibliography of his many annotated trns. of Akbarian writings pub. since 1950 in *Études traditionnelles* may be found in *no.* 447 (1974), pp. 3–12, of that journal.

[146] I refer, particularly, to the French school, with its roots in the *Études traditionnelles* and the teachings of René Guenon and Titus Burckhardt, *etc.* By "esoteric" here I do not mean the substance of an interpretation (which may well be "esoteric") but rather the means by which it is posited and tested—specifically, with ref. to unwritten traditions and "inheritances". An instance of this would be Addas's representation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's relation to Abū Madyan (see below). In the United Kingdom, a group forming around Bulent Rauf in the 1970s went on to found the *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* in 1982.

[147] Furthermore, esp. in the case of Chodkiewicz and Addas, the work is undertaken in rare, unpub. mss. and lesser-known secondary works. The failure to lay such groundwork is the principal fault—the feet of clay—of most "analytical" studies of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrines, even those done by modern Arab scholars (*e.g.*, Maḥmūd Qāsim and M. Maḥmūd al-Ghurāb). The work of Egbert Meyer deserves special mention even though it is, unfortunately, largely based on such dubious ss. as the *Bulghah fī l-Ḥikmah*, wrongly attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see the facsimile edn. of *Ms. Rağib Paşa 679/823*, by N. Keklik, 1969).

[148] Gril's edns./trns. are particularly well researched. Besides her Arabic edns., al-Ḥakīm has undertaken extensive research in the Ṣūfī terminology of Ibn al-ʿArabī (and others), which informs her enormous lexicon, *Al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī* (1981). In his *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man and Its Place in the History of Islamic Thought* (1987), Masataka Takeshita returns to the search for influences, comparing the *walāyah* doctrines of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and Ibn al-ʿArabī (pp. 131–50 and 164–69) and discussing the teachings of such diverse predecessors as al-Ghazzālī, Ibn Barrajān and Rūzbihān Baqlī of Shiraz (d. 602/1209), as well as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. More recently (1996), Maurice Gloton has pub. a trn. of the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq* with complete comm. in Fr. Finally, in the category of earlier scholarly trns., one should mention A. Jeffrey's "Instructions to a Postulant" (see above, n. 37) and his trn. of the *Shajarat al-Kawn*, (wrongly) attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī (in *Studia islamica*, 10 and 11 [1959–60]).

Shaykh al-Akbar (*viz.*, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī,[149] ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī,[150] ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Ḥabashī,[151] Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī[152] and Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī [Mullá Ṣadrá]).[153]

Before concluding this section, one very important (but, from the standpoint of text-criticism, highly problematic) question of "influence" deserves closer attention at this point: What was the relation between Ibn al-ʿArabī and the *Maghribī* Shaykh of shaykhs, Abū Madyan Shuʿayb (d. 589 or 594/1193 or '98)?[154] Each in their own way, these two great Ṣūfī masters can be regarded as the most important exponents of *taṣawwuf* to emerge out of al-Andalus. The real nature of the relationship between them has always been quite uncertain, however, and it remains obscure in spite of the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to his elder compatriot almost regularly throughout his voluminous writings in the most respectful terms. That the two men never met (although they lived in the same general region until around Ibn al-ʿArabī's thirtieth year) is undisputed. *Why* they did not meet is the question, inasmuch as it would appear that there must have been ample opportunity for the younger Ṣūfī beginning his career in Seville to have made a visit (*ziyārah*) to the *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Bejaya if he had really wished to pay due homage. In these circumstances, what precisely are we to make of Ibn al-ʿArabī's repeated references to Abū Madyan as "our Master" (*shaykhu-nā*)?[155]

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[149] Nicholson, "The Perfect Man," Chap. 2 of his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 77–142, *et seq.*

[150] Chodkiewicz, *The Spiritual Writings of Amir ʿAbd al-Kader* (1982; Eng. trn., 1995).

[151] See above, p. 47, n. 182.

[152] W.C. Chittick and P.L. Wilson, *Fakhruddin ʿIraqi: Divine Flashes* (1982).

[153] J.W. Morris, *The Wisdom of the Throne*: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra (1981). See also Morris's very informative survey, "Ibn ʿArabī and His Interpreters," in *J.A.O.S.*, 106–107 (1986–87); and Alexander Knysh, "Ibn ʿArabi in the Later Islamic Tradition," in *Com. Vol.*

[154] I have dealt with this question at length in "Ibn al-ʿArabī's "Cinquain" (*Taḫmīs*) on a Poem by Abū Madyan" (*Arabica*, 46 [1998]). Part of what follows is excerpted from that art. On Abū Madyan (Shuʿayb b. Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī), who came orig. from Seville, but later settled in Bejaya, see al-Tādilī, *Al-Tashawwuf*, pp. 319–26, *no.* 162; and Vincent Cornell, *The Way of Abū Madyan*: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī (1996).

[155] That the expression is not to be taken literally is shown in the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī also applies it to Ibn al-ʿArīf, who had died twenty-five years before he was born. Nevertheless, the frequency with which Abū Madyan is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿArabī is probably second only to that of his citations of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, and he is often given such honorif epithets as *Abū l-Najá* ("the father of salvation", *sci.*, the Savior, *al-ghawth*), "the Master of masters in our Maghrib," "our Pillar" (*ʿimādu-nā*), and "the spokesman (*lisān*) of this path and its reviver (*muḥyiyu-hā*) in the lands of the Maghrib" (for refs., see my "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain'," nn. 10 and 11).

The view that Abū Madyan stood to Ibn al-ʿArabī as "master *par excellence*" even though the two never met "except in the spirit" has been ably presented by Addas in her *Quest* and elsewhere.[156] In developing this position she has done a great service to our understanding of formal Akbarian doctrine since, it cannot be gainsaid, this is the pretense cultivated in the Shaykh's own testimony, especially in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* and the *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār.*[157] That the impression of Abū Madyan's role sometimes suggested in these works simply does not accord with verifiable facts may be, from one valid perspective, a secondary consideration, but here I would like to emphasize what I take to be the salient feature of Ibn al-ʿArabī's character and the hallmark of his genius: indomitable independence and aggressive originality.[158] As far as any objective evidence indicates, there is actually no warrant for critical scholarship to represent Abū Madyan's influence on Ibn al-ʿArabī as substantively significant or even really detectable. Despite his sincere deference toward the venerable old master's phenomenal renown in the Maghrib and his association with many local Ṣūfīs who had joined this charismatic leader's ever-widening circle, Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to have owed little to any personal teacher at all, much less to one of whom he only knew through second-hand reports.[159]

The fundamental issue of Ibn al-ʿArabī's "real" attitude toward the older shaykh must depend, in my view, on the biographical facts of their actual relationship—or lack thereof—since they were, after all, contemporaries, living in accessible proximity.[160] Bejaya, where

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[156] *Op. cit.*, pp. 45, 60–61, 66, 89–90, 112–14. See also her "Abu Madyan and Ibn ʿArabi," in *Com. Vol.*

[157] For refs., see "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain'," nn. 4 and 5.

[158] *Pace* those who believe that Ibn al-ʿArabī acquired his Ṣūfism from his teachers "in the same manner that the scholars of tradition and jurisprudence pursued their studies" (al-Ḥakīm, *K. al-Isrā'*, p. 12). Ibn al-ʿArabī was, in fact, always quite mindful of letting this note of independence be heard above the refrains of generous praise for one or another predecessor or confrère.

[159] I do not deny the objective reality of mystical visions and visitations, *etc.*, nor the import of oral tradition and communal practice, but these are the proper objects of psychology and anthropology and cannot generally be recognized by historical and literary-textual study. I consider written works to be first-hand information, but there is no evidence that Ibn al-ʿArabī had read anything by Abū Madyan (if, indeed, any writings attr. to him were pub. during his lifetime).

[160] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī had perceptively framed the real historical issue in precisely these terms on p. 121 of his article, "Abū Madyan wa-Ibn ʿArabī," in *Al-Kitāb al-Tadhkārī: Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī fī l-Dhikrā l-Mīʾawīyah al-Thāminah li-Milādihi*, I. Madkūr, ed. (1969), but, alas, he did not go on to address the question as a historian.

Abū Madyan had located his *zāwiyah* (mosque-school) long before the time of Ibn al-ʿArabī's commencement on the Ṣūfī path in Andalusia (in 580/1184 at the age of nineteen), was situated astride the main road connecting the "Near" and "Far" Maghribs, and it was an important maritime center in close connection with Almería and Cartagena, the nearby port of Ibn al-ʿArabī's hometown, Murcia. Why would the young neophyte, living in Seville (and travelling widely in Andalusia), in the bloom of his noviciate and with the fame of Abū Madyan resounding from every quarter, *not* pay the Shaykh the courtesy of a *ziyārah* as he had and would numerous other Ṣūfīs of much less stature?

Ibn al-ʿArabī himself anticipated this question, I believe, and described in the *Rūḥ al-Quds* (addressed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, a disciple of Abū Madyan) how one day after his prayers he was feeling a strong desire to meet the famous Abū Madyan, when a man joined him announcing that he had come from the Shaykh in North Africa. When Ibn al-ʿArabī asked the man when he had been with him, he answered that he had only just finished praying with him in Bejaya and that the Master had given him this message to convey:

> Regarding our meeting together in spirit, it will happen and come true; but as for our meeting in the flesh in this world, God will not allow that. Rest assured, however, that the promise [of our meeting] is with God in the abode of His Mercy.[161]

Although Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to explain that this envoy was actually one of the seven *abdāl* (the third tier in the esoteric hierarchy) who had the power to translocate himself to any place on earth that he wished, we would be well advised to consider that the "message" here was probably one of a spiritual, *interior* nature. But in a manual for novices ascribed to Abū Madyan, it is written that "no one will prevent [an aspirant] from paying a visit [to the qualified master] except for a heretic (*zindīq*)" whose desire is to sow corruption in the garden of the world.[162] This would not sound like an endorsement of the miraculous envoy in question.

Frankly, even given the best construction, Ibn al-ʿArabī's explanation as to why he never made the acquaintance of Abū Madyan in Bejaya must be reckoned as a rather lame excuse. Even if we accept the earlier deathdate for Abū Madyan—589/1193, which is given in the *Futūḥāt*[163]—the question remains: Do Ibn al-ʿArabī's protestations of his desire to visit the Shaykh really reflect the whole truth of the matter? The briefest perusal of the writings associated with the Madyanite order will immediately suggest what may well have been the actual reason for Ibn al-ʿArabī's staying away from the Bejayan *zāwiyah*. Taking the *Bidāyat al-Murīd* (The Aspirant's Beginning) as representative,[164] the basic prescriptions of the North African school were repentance (*tawbah*), asceticism (*zuhd*), service to a qualified master (*khidmat al-shaykh*)[165] and paying visits to other masters (*ziyārat al-mashāyikh*)[166]—that is to say, "poverty and obedience". The very opening line of the manual stipulated that "the first thing necessary for the aspirant is companionship with a master (*ṣuḥbat al-shaykh*),"[167] and, thereafter, fasting, hunger (*jūʿ*), poverty and renunciation are the burden of the main body of the text.

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[161] *Rūḥ*, 113–14 (tr. in *Sufis*, 121).

[162] See pp. 68–69 of the *Bidāyat al-Murīd*, ed. and tr. by V. Cornell in *The Way of Abū Madyan.* (1996). On the real authorship of the *Bidāyah*, see n. 164, below.

Ibn al-ʿArabī had no objection to poverty—not only had he already formally renounced all ambition to possess the things of this world by the age of twenty, as we saw, he had even given up sex and any interest in women.[168] Positive obedience to a master, however, was another matter. It is all too obvious that Ibn al-ʿArabī's spirit would not allow him to willingly submit to human authority for any length of time, and there is really no indication that he ever did so, despite the many courteous, and even laudatory, notices bestowed upon this or that Ṣūfī shaykh in such works as the *Rūḥ* and the *Durrah*, and sporadically throughout the *Futūḥāt.* Indeed, referring to his first full-length work, the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm,* he was later to boast that it was "a noble book which substitutes for the shaykh in the matter of instructing the disciple (*tarbiyat al-murīd*)."[169] Ibn al-ʿArabī's frequently "ambiguous" relations with his teachers will not be hard to imagine in the light of this pronouncement.[170] For such a student the problem is finding instructors with a gamesome sense of humor!

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[163] Vol. IV, p. 195 (2). Whereas al-Tādilī gives the *obiit* of 594/1198 (and most scholars, east and west, have followed him in this), he did add that some alleged that Abū Madyan died as early as 588 H. (see *Al-Tashawwuf*, p. 319).

[164] Although the *Bidāyah* is patently not the work of the master himself, but rather of one of his disciples (perhaps Abū Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ al-Māgirī [d. 631/1234], as Muḥ. B. Benchekroun suggests in *La Vie intellectuelle marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Waṭṭāsides* [1974], p. 440), there is no reason to doubt that it accurately reflects the perspective of Abū Madyan.

[165] Service to the shaykh was not merely expedient, it was mandatory: "Service is obligatory to one who manifests sainthood (*walāyah*)" (*The Way of Abū Madyan*, p. 103). The "taking on/imitation of a teacher" (*ittikhādh al-ustādh*) is made the third prerequisite (after following the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*) for proper Ṣūfī conduct (see *ibid.*, p. 87).

[166] Extravagant claims are made in the *Bidāyah* for the benefits of visiting Ṣūfī masters (see *ibid.*, pp. 68–69), and, as we saw above, failure to do so was set down to diabolical causes.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[168] See above, p. 31.

Even if the *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* himself had been able to recognize the higher calling of this future *Shaykh al-Akbar,* it is doubtful that his students would have been so magnanimous, steeled as they were to the rigors of hunger and obedience enjoined so consistently in the *Bidāyat al-Murīd* by a later epigone of the North African school. Finally, it is not without relevance that the *Bidāyah* sets a very high premium on "orthodoxy" and the shunning of "false" Ṣūfīs—either of the libertine or the free-thinking variety. The passage by which the pretensions of the second class of charlatan are exemplified is written precisely in the rhapsodic rhymed-prose style of Ibn al-ʿArabī (especially characteristic of his earliest works composed in the Maghrib, such as the *ʿAnqāʾ*) and would, indeed, appear to actually be a direct quote from a page of the *Doctor Maximus* of Unveiling:

> When sins are dispelled and the Unseen revealed,
> non-entities annihilate and Lights and Secrets radiate,
> when darkness is cast off and [all] sense-objects disappear,
> then will the clear Portents [of the End] appear!
> For on that Day shall we by Unveiling's Eye surely *see,*
> and in the state of Attribution will be our Self-revelation,
> while we partake of the food and drink of Existence,
> bearing witness to Things Unseen in their Transcendence.[171]

The fact is that Ibn al-ʿArabī is a perfect example of the theodidactic, *Uwaysī* mystic—a Ṣūfī with no (visible) master among men.[172]

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[169] *Fut.* IV, 263 (26). The main verb is *yughnī ʿan* (which is misprinted in the 1911 edn.). In vol. I of the *Futūḥāt* he had written of the *Mawāqiʿ* that "it is able to dispense with the teacher (*al-ustādh*); rather, the teacher is in need of *it.* For, among teachers, there are the elevated and the more elevated, and this book derives from the *most* elevated station that the teacher can attain unto" (p. 334, ll. 17–18).

[170] See *Quest,* 64–68 and 90–91, where Addas addresses the ambivalent nature of Ibn al-ʿArabī's relationships to his teachers.

[171] From the *Bidāyat al-Murīd,* ed. in *The Way of Abū Madyan,* p. 85.

[172] Notwithstanding, Ibn al-ʿArabī received the mantle of initiation (*khirqah*) from a Ṣūfī master on four different occasions, twice in the Maghrib, once in Mecca and once in Mosul (see *Quest,* 143–46).

Uways b. ʿĀmir al-Qaranī (d. 36/657) was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad who lived in Yemen and who, according to legend, was in communication with him through visions and intimations even though the two never met.[173] The Prophet's reported saying, "I feel the Breath of the Merciful (*nafas al-Raḥmān*) coming from the direction of Yemen,"[174] was frequently explained with reference to this supposed mystical connection between the Meccan *nabī* and Yemenite *walī*—even though the *nafas al-Raḥmān* is actually a metonym for the holy Spirit (*rūḥ al-qudus*),[175] so that the interpretation might well be construed as a very presumptuous promotion of the saint *vis-à-vis* the prophet. Be that as it may, it seems to me that Ibn al-ʿArabī alludes to this *Uwaysī* tradition in his communiqué from Arabia to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī in Tunis, entitled the *R. Rūh al-Quds* (The Epistle of the Spirit of Holiness), advising his friend that when the Divine secrets proceed from God by the gate of His Mercy,

> Every heart found facing the Gate, imploring, receives its share of the Secrets and Wisdom, . . . as the Law urges: "Face the Breezes/Breaths of God (*nafaḥāt Allāh*); he who hesitates shall be hindered, and whoever forgets will be forgotten."[176]

This comes in the midst of a long passage praising Uways as the "peerless imām"[177]—superior even to al-Ḥallāj and the *quṭb*, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī—and after a section containing scathing criticism of the degenerate state of contemporary, organized Ṣūfism. I suspect that here Ibn al-ʿArabī is actually hinting that, just as Uways al-Qaranī had been superior to the eastern "pole", al-Bisṭāmī, despite the latter's manifest signs of austerity, so *he* was higher in rank than the western *quṭb*, Abū Madyan—and, hence, had not been obligated to pay him the homage of a *ziyārah*—even with his unsurpassed reputation for sanctity.[178] No doubt this point would have always been a matter of heartfelt debate between the two friends, Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Mahdawī, on which they amicably agreed to disagree. As thoroughgoing *Uwaysī* saint, the Shaykh al-Akbar ultimately stood outside the organized system of master-disciple relationships, with no need of any human mediation of the truth—including even the human Prophet. As the veritable Saint of saints, this supreme degree of freedom was the *sine qua non* of Ibn al-ʿArabī's status. In the full development of the notion of Islamic sainthood the human spirit achieves the end of its millennial struggle in the "holy war" against itself.

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[173] Hence, for later Ṣūfīs, Uways al-Qaranī became the type of the independent saint who achieved initiation spontaneously, w/o need of human mediation. In this connection, recall that the theme of the auto/theo-didactic sage was something of a commonplace in the 6th/12th-cent. Maghrib, with the philos. precedents of Ibn Ṭufayl's proto-Robinson Crusoe, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān* (tr. into Lat. as *Philosophus autodidactus*), and the *Tadbīr al-Mutawaḥḥid* (The Régime of the Solitary) by another Andalusian philosopher, Abū Bakr Muḥ. Ibn Bājjah (d. 533/1138–39), known to the Latins as Avempace.

[174] *Cf. Musnad*, vol. II, p. 541; and Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 223–25. Perhaps the orig. context of the saying was *Qur.* 7: 57: "He it is Who sends forth the winds (*al-riyāḥ*) as tidings heralding His Mercy."

[175] Concerning the wide range of terms roughly syn. with the *nafas al-Raḥmān*, see my art., "The *Uwaysī* Spirit of Autodidactic Sainthood as the Breath of the Merciful" (forthcoming, in *J.M.I.A.S.*).

[176] *Rūḥ*, 60. The *ḥadīth* is not inc. in the canonical collections.

[177] *Al-imāmu lladhī lā yulḥaqu.* See *ibid.*, 57–72.

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[178] On the way in which Ibn al-ʿArabī sometimes seems to associate Abū Yazīd and Abū Madyan in his writings, see "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain'," p. 65.

V. THE NOTION OF *WALĀYAH*

— ولی ولیرا شناسد .

— ὁ φίλος ἕτερος ἐγώ .

— من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربّه .

It has always been recognized by scholars, east and west, that the first and most critical challenge faced by the nascent Islamic community was that of achieving (sufficient) consensus on the issue of supreme leadership (*imārah*) and ultimate legal authority (*ḥukm*) therein after the loss of the uniquely-qualified Prophet.[1] This early "constitutional crisis"[2] resulted in the *ad hoc* creation of the office of the *khilāfah* (successorship [to the Prophet]) which would set the mold for the expression of Muslim theories of governance for upwards of seven centuries. Notwithstanding, the caliphate, *ex hypothesi*, could never be a real substitute (*khalaf*, *badīl*) for the full Prophetic *auctoritas*,[3] but only a limited assumption of authority which—in the view of all Muslim theorists—ineluctably tended to degenerate into illegitimate political power.[4] Among the majority, *Sunnī* Muslims, the concept of *khilāfah* was more or less synonymous with that of *imāmah*, the office of the imām (pre-eminently, the "leader" or "model" in the communal prayer), but with the *Shīʿah*—those Muslims who were "protestant" to the *de facto* reality of the caliphal state and became progressively more alienated from it—the ideal of the imāmate, while remaining politically unrealized, began to appropriate under its rubric most if not quite all of the original spiritual authority of the Prophet. As realpolitik had its way in the world, so religion would capture the hearts and minds of those who were not hopelessly compromised by the "system".[5]

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[1] *Cf.* P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 139.

[2] B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, p. 50.

[3] Here I refer mainly to the "normative", *Sunnī* view (as does Lewis in the above-cited passage), but the same was probably true of the earliest Shiʿite (= *Zaydī*) positions, as well. Later, of course, *Shīʿī* theorists greatly enhanced the authority of their imāms, in many ways eclipsing that of the Prophet. On the late-classical usages of the *khalīfah* -motif in Ṣūfism, see F. de Jong's section of the art., "Khalīfah," in *E.I.* 2 (pp. 950*sq.*).

[4] For Ibn Khaldūn's description of the natural emergence of pure monarchic power (*mulk*) out of the caliphate, see *Muqaddimah*, I, 414–28.

A similar "counter-caliphal" tendency emerged in the *Sunnī* community itself, only there it did not aspire to political, or any kind of worldly validation, and, so, remained largely inarticulate for several generations—at least until the time of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) or, more distinctly, Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859) and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874), when the broad movement began to be called "Ṣūfism" (*ṣūfīyah, taṣawwuf*).[6] Thus, in a quiet, peaceful, but very effective (because unselfconscious) way, the Ṣūfīs, the "friends of God" (*awliyāʾ Allāh*), proceeded to conquer virtually the whole Islamic world by the time of al-Ghazzālī, and they did so while holding no office other than *wilāyah*, or *walāyah*[7]—the "friendship of God", which is to say, *sainthood.* Massignon highlighted the profound significance of the Islamic concept of sanctity, or holiness, *vis-à-vis* the legal-political caliphate (*khilāfat al-rasūl*) and even Divinely-appointed prophecy (*nubūwah*) in the following insightful observation:

> The full realization of the Law is not required either of the chief executive who sees that it is observed (since in private he can disregard it and allow it to be disregarded), or of the Prophet who decrees it (since, toward God, he is responsible only for its publication before all men, and not for its integral and universal application). By what may it be recognized among those faithful careful to observe the Law? By the "friendship of God," *walāya*, holiness.[8]

So does sainthood rival (*fāḍala*) prophecy? At the very least, does it not finish the work of the Prophet—if the latter is to be regarded as anything more than a mouthpiece of God?[9] But if the condition of keeping the Prophet supreme is making him into a super-*saint*, then has the argument not been lost in the winning? To better appreciate these and other vital questions, let us consider the nature of Islamic sainthood—"the principle and foundation of Ṣūfism"[10]—and the implications of some of its interpretations.

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[5] It was not just the *Shīʿah* and the *Khawārij* (dissenters) who disengaged from the mainstream. Only to a somewhat lesser extent, the majority of religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) remained aloof from the Umayyad real world, preferring to discuss the ideal *khilāfah* in their mosque-schools in Arabia and ʿIraq.

[6] See Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, pp. 30–32.

[7] Both vocalizations are used interchangeably (see below). In *E.I.* 1, *walāyah* as "sainthood" is discussed at length only in B. Carra de Vaux's art., "Walī"—W. Heffening's entry under "Wilāyah" dealing solely with legal significations. More recently the subject has been treated extensively by Chodkiewicz in *Seal of the Saints*, and in Hermann Landolt's art., "Walāyah," in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987). See also Stephen Hirtenstein, "Universal and Divine Sainthood: The Meanings and Completion of God's Friendship," *J.M.I.A.S.*, 4 (1985); and S. Hakim, "The Way of *Walāya* (Sainthood or Friendship of God)," in *J.M.I.A.S.*, 18 (1995).

[8] *The Passion of al-Hallāj*, vol. III, p. 205.

[9] Though it is difficult for many Muslims to imagine now, there is a case to be

The usual translation, *faute de mieux*, of the term, *walāyah*, as discussed in modern Ṣūfī studies, is "sainthood, or sanctity".[11] As distinguished from other Arabic expressions for "sacred, holy"—such as *qudsī* or *qiddīs* (= Gr., *hagios*; Lat., *sanctus*), and *ḥaram* and *ḥarām* (= *hieros; sacer*),[12] which have fairly exact counterparts in Indo-European languages and Christian literature—*wilāyah*/*walāyah* as "sainthood" in the distinct sense of "friendship, clientship with God" could be said to be characteristically Arab and Islamic.[13] But while it is thus rooted in the deepest soil of Islam, the full-blown Ṣūfī doctrine of sainthood, as we will see, is manifestly a later upgrowth out of the earliest forms of Muslim intentionality and creative construction as reflected in the Qur'ān[14] and its attendant legal tradition making up the *Sunnah*. Incubating in discreet seclusion over the ages like a pearl,

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made for the earliest view of the Prophet being that he was "only a man" (*Qur.* 18: 110; *cf.* 3: 144) in the strictest sense. From that it would follow, of course, that the *awliyā'*, too, were unexceptional—not Ibn al-ʿArabī's wonted mode of modesty.

[10] Al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (Nicholson, tr.), p. 210.

[11] H. Corbin insisted that this trn. is unsatisfactory, preferring to define (Per.) *walāyat* as "initiation", or "the spiritual ministry of the Imām whose charisma initiates his faithful in the esoteric meaning of the prophetic revelations" (*The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, p. 134). He also wrote that "Shīʿite Ṣūfism alone makes the idea of the *walāyat* clear from all sides" (*ibid.*, p. 131), but it seems to me that Corbin's treatment of the notion of sainthood, in particular, is a relatively rare instance of his actually deserving the criticism so frequently leveled against him, of being too slanted toward a Persian perspective.

[12] See *Seal*, 21–22. It goes without saying that the student wishing to understand the nature of Islamic sainthood should forget as much as possible of the much more complicated (and contrived) Christian notion.

[13] That is, *Arabic. Walāyah* stems from a Semitic root expressing the notion of "adherence, nearness", but I know of no other usage comparable to the Arabic. While the Jews are reproached in the Qur'ān for claiming that they are exclusively (*min dūni l-nāsi*) the *awliyā'* of God in 62: 6, this is perhaps not distinct from the sense of 5: 18, where Jews (and Christians) are accused of representing themselves as *abnā' Allāh wa-aḥibbā'u-hu*, or from the many other Qur'ānic applications of the term, *awliyā'* (see below, pp. 114–16). Incidentally, "Society of Friends" is the official name of the 17th-cent. Eng. sect of Christians more commonly known as "Quakers", and the first followers of George Fox were called the "friends of Truth" (= *awliyā' al-Ḥaqq*).

[14] "In the Ḳur'ān this theory [of *wilāyah*] does not yet exist" (Carra de Vaux, "Walī," in *E.I.* 1, p. 629a).

it was left to Ibn al-ʿArabī in the final decade of the 6th/12th century to revive the furtive thesis of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's *K. Khatm al-Awliyā'* (The Seal of the Saints), long dormant even in Ṣūfī circles, and to articulate the doctrine first, briefly, in his open epistle to al-Mahdawī's disciples in Tunis (later the prologue to the *Mashāhid al-Asrār*),[15] and then at greater length in the manifesto of the *ʿAnqā'*. Before going into these highly refined ideas, however, it will be necessary to examine the etymology of *walāyah* and its usages in the Scripture and related literature.

With the basic semantic content of "proximity, contiguity", the radicals, *W-L-Y*, generally convey the sense of "a near relative" (*qarīn*)—specifically, a male agnate, "such as a paternal cousin (*ibn ʿamm*),"[16] when occurring in classical Arabic as concrete nominals. Hence, the *walī* is "the guardian (*tuteur*), or manager, of the affairs (*curateur*) . . . of an orphan; the guardian of a woman, who affiances her,"[17] the executor or heir (*wārith*) of a deceased person,[18] the one upon whom the duty of vengeance for murder falls (*thā'ir, walī al-dam*)—that is, all obligations or privileges of the next of kin, or one functioning as such (*walī baʿīd*). The reference for *mawl*$^{\acute{a}n}$, originally a "relative",[19] was extended to a freed slave, "because he is in the condition of an *ibn ʿamm*, being one whom the emancipator is bound to aid, and whose property he inherits if he dies having no heir."[20] It is important to note here that, the sacred-legal relationship (*walā'*) being *reciprocal*, both the lord (*sayyid*), or patron, and the manumitted slave (or client, as a legal-fictional "freedman") were called *mawl*$^{\acute{a}n}$ (pl., *mawāl*^{in}). From this primary meaning of "nearness", the connotations of *W-L-Y* ramified in two directions as "friendship, alliance, assistance" (= *nuṣrah*) in *walī/awliyā'* (benefactor, ally), on the one hand, and "authority, power, management" (= *sulṭān, qudrah, tadbīr*) as in *wālī/wulāh* (prefect, ruler), on the other.[21]

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[15] See above, pp. 23–24 (and n. 64 there), where I have quoted from this letter, which was actually addressed to a cousin of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

[16] Muḥ. b. Muḥ. Murtaḍá l-Zabīdī [d. 1205/1790], author of the *Tāj al-ʿArūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*), *et al.*, on *mawl*$^{\acute{a}n}$ (quoted in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v.*). Murtaḍá l-Zabīdī was a Ṣūfī allegedly inheriting from Ibn al-ʿArabī (see *Quest*, 320–21). For an account of the earliest significations of the term, *walī*, before al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, see Paul Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, pp. 114–15.

[17] Al-Zabīdī, *et al.*, on *walī* (quoted in Lane, *s.v.*). See also J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, pp. 161–62.

[18] See *Qur.* 17: 33, 19: 5 and 27: 49.

[19] See *Qur.* 19: 5; and *cf.* Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," in *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 263.

[20] Al-Zabīdī, *et al.*, on *mawl*$^{\acute{a}n}$ (quoted in Lane, *s.v.*). See also Heffening, "Wilāyah," *E.I.* 1 (p. 1138); and Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 170.

The abstract verbal-nouns[22] derived from the *W-L-Y* root—specifically, *wilāyah* and *walāyah*—are almost regularly confounded in usage between the two semantic fields,[23] but Arab lexicographers also frequently try to distinguish these two vocalizations of an apparently single lexeme. To this end, *walāyah* (but also sometimes *wilāyah*) has been taken to represent the sense of "assistance, alliance" (*nuṣrah*),[24] while *wilāyah* more invariably denotes the idea of "power, authority" (*sulṭān*), though exceptions occur here, too.[25] Grammatically, there would seem to be little reason for preferring either form to the exclusion of the other, except that the *wazn*, "fiʿālah", typically indicates the exercise of a function or an office (*e.g.*, in *khilāfah, imārah, niyābah*), whereas "faʿālah" (associated with the form, "fuʿūlah", in *nubūwah, murūwah, futūwah*, as *maṣdar*s of Form I intransitive "faʿula" verbs) usually denotes a state, or nature, as in *ṣarāḥah* and *ṣurūḥah* (clarity).[26]

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[21] See Muḥ. b. Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. XX, pp. 287–97, on *W-L-Y*. One might theorize that the first-mentioned semantic connotation, that of *nuṣrah*, relates to the *cause* of establishing the sacred-legal relationship—namely, closeness, own-kindness—while the second tendency, of *tadbīr*, has to do with the *effect*, or empowerment, of it.

[22] Grammarians debate whether *wilāyah* is a true *maṣdar* (infinitive), like *kitābah*, or a simple substantive, like *ṣināʿah* (see Lane, *s.v.*; and "Wilāyah," *E.I.* 1, p. 1137b; see also *infra*). I would suggest that *wilāyah* is an inf., while *walāyah* is a substantive.

[23] See *Seal*, 22–23, where Chodkiewicz observes that even vocalized Ṣūfī mss. are indecisive on the reading of *wilāyah* or *walāyah*, and points out that the orientalists are no less divided, native Arabic-speakers such as Affifi and Nwyia preferring the former (Yahia generally reads *walāyah*, however, and S. al-Ḥakīm is non-committal [see *Al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, pp. 1231–41]), while Dozy opted for the latter, and Massignon employed both. Corbin favored *walāyat*, but by this he meant the Imāmite *magisterium*, while he signals the Ṣūfī (non-Imāmite) idea by *wilāyat* (see *En Islam iranien*, vol. I, p. 48, n. 20; and vol. III, pp. 9–10, *et al.*).

[24] Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857) glossed *wilāyah* with *sulṭān* and both vocalizations with *nuṣrah* (quoted in *Lisān al-ʿArab, loc. cit.*).

[25] For example, *wilayah, walāyah* and *walāʾah* have all been used to designate a provincial government, or prefecture, and either of the former two can also signify the province or country itself, the *vilayet* of the Ottoman Empire (see A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-franzais, s.v.*). Another example: Al-Hujwīrī wrote that (Per.) *walāyat* means "the power to dispose" (*taṣarruf*), while *wilāyat* is "possession of command" (*imārat*); but then he goes on, less accountably, to correlate the former with *rubūbīyat*, "lordship" (on the basis of *Qur.* 18: 44), and the latter with *maḥabbat*, "love" (see *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 210–11).

[26] *E.g.*, *jazula*, "to be thick, large; to be of sound judgment"; hence, *jazālah*, "firmness; soundness of judgment" (see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, vol. I, p. 113 [sec. 198, d]). The *wazn*, "faʿālah" (as in *qarābah*), is related to the "inherent" intrans. verb-form, "faʿula", whereas the "accidental" intrans. form, "faʿila",

Both notions are quite applicable in the complete idea of Islamic sainthood, however, and in this study I have simply adopted the spelling currently in fashion among orientalists (*walāyah*), even though it appears to be the case that Ibn al-ʿArabī and other Arab writers generally used the spelling, *wilāyah*, to denote sainthood.[27]

One argument recommending the *walāyah* vocalization is its occurrence twice in the most standard reading of the Qurʾān (at *VIII*: 72 and *XVIII*: 44), although, it must be noted, some *qurrāʾ* had read these as *wilāyah*.[28] In the latter verse, which follows after one of the parables in the *Sūrat al-Kahf* (describing the end of an impious man who had put his faith in his children and vineyards as opposed to that of his poor but Godfearing comrade who trusted in Divine providence),[29] *walāyah* is understood as "the protection of God, the Real," while in the former verse the same word is applied to men, so that Arberry translates it there as "the duty of friendship."[30] It is worth noting that this second instance of *walāyah* occurs in an early Medinan *sūrah*,[31] and, thus, reflects the Prophet's later social preoccupations, while he was still primarily the Meccan "warner" in the "*Sūrah* of the Cave." Though these are the only two attestations of *walāyah* in the Scripture, cognate expressions occur throughout over two-hundred times, often as Form V verbs, which give the general sense of "to turn (either the back or the face) toward" someone—*e.g.*, "God turns toward [= takes care of] the righteous" (*Sūrah VII*: 196); and "If they turn away" [*sci.*, "from God, towards another *walī*", in *IX*: 74].[32] Instances occur, also, in Form II with a like

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of *waliya* (to be in proximity) should, one would think, yield *wal*^{an} ("faʿal", as in *faraḥ* and *maraḍ*) as the inf. (see *ibid.*, sec. 198, c; and p. 30 [sec. 38]). But the Arab lexicographers prefer to read ولى (nearness) as *waly* (rather than *wal*^{an}), even though "faʿl" is frequently an inf. form of trans. verbs (see *ibid.*, sec. 198, a; and *cf.* sec. 196, 1).

[27] In one place in the *ʿAnqāʾ* Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to use the vocalization, *wilāyah* (see p. 445 at n. 123). Also, as we will see below, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. al-Jurjānī evidently preferred that spelling in his *Taʿrīfāt.*

[28] Ḥamzah and (for *Qur.* 18: 44) al-Kisāʾī read *wilāyah.* See Aḥmad b. Mūsá Ibn Mujāhid's *K. al-Sabʿah fī l-Qirāʾāt*, p. 309. See also the codex of Ubay b. Kaʿb on *Qur.* 18: 44 in Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān*, p. 143, where this is said to support the Kūfan reading.

[29] Vv. 32–44.

[30] *The Koran Interpreted* (1955; 1964), p. 177.

[31] Richard Bell regarded this particular clause (v. 73b in his trn.) as a later interpolation, postdating the battle of Uḥud (see *The Qurʾān* [1937], vol. I, p. 161).

[32] *Cf.* *Qur.* 9: 3, where the same expression occurs minus the/t/of the 2nd-pers. aorist.

meaning, though sometimes *causative*, as in: *Nuwallī baʿḍa l-ẓālimīna baʿḍ*^{an} (*VI*: 129), literally, "We caused some of the wrongdoers to turn towards others [= We appoint them as *awliyāʾ* for them]."[33] Thus, the term, *awliyāʾ* (s., *walī*), like *mawl*$^{\bar{a}n}$ and *walāyah*, can be applied equally to God or man, master or slave, good or evil.

The neutral reciprocity of the essentially relational concept of *walāyah* is certainly remarkable when we consider that it is, after all, the Arabic word for Islamic *sainthood.* The thoroughgoing relativity of the scheme of referents of *walī* and *awliyāʾ* in the Qur'ān is represented in the following diagram showing how the same terms are referred to God, angels, man (good and evil) and devils. [Bold-print indicates explicit Qur'ānic referents, which will be discussed below. The proposed dichotomy, *murād/murīd* (*à la* Sahl al-Tustarī), and the two types of *walī* (as in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī) are treated in the next chapter]:[34]

al-Ḥaqq	×	***al-Khalq***	
	Malāʾikah, ***Muqarrabūn***	×	***Shayṭān,*** ***Ṭāghūt***
		[Man]	
	Muʾminūn **(*awliyāʾ Allāh*)**	×	***Kāfirūn*** **(*awliyāʾ Shayṭān*)**
Murād (*Walī Allāh* *ḥaqq*^{an})	×	*Murīd* (*Walī ḥaqq* *Allāh*)	

Figure I. The scope of referents of the generic term, *walī/awliyāʾ*.

"The Friend" (*al-Walī*),[35] of course, is one of the canonical Names of God on the strength of numerous Scriptural verses in which He is so-described, both absolutely (*Sūrah IV*: 45; *XLII*: 9 and 28, *et al.*) and relative to His creation: He is the Friend of the *muʾminūn* (believers), Who brings them out of darkness and into the light (*II*: 257 and *III*: 68); He is the Friend of the pious *muttaqiyūn* (*XLV*: 19) and the righteous *ṣāliḥūn* (*VII*: 196). The relational, or conditional, quality of this particular Divine Name is emphasized in the latter verse, where the believer is counseled to testify: "*My* Protecting Friend is God (*inna walīyya Llāhu*), Who sends down the Scripture."

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[33] J. Penrice understood *Huwa muwallī-hā* in *Qur.* 2: 148 as: "It is He [God] Who turns [each nation] towards it['s own *wijhah*]" (*A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor-ân*, p. 163). *Cf.* also v. 144.

[34] See below, pp. 135 and 140–41.

[35] Also, *al-Wālī* (the Ruler), on the basis of *Qur.* 13: 11: *Wa-mā la-hum min dūni-hi wāl*^{in}. Although it is not one of the standard "ninety-nine Names," *al-Mawlá* is also applied to God, "the Lord" (see 8: 40 and 22: 78).

Indeed, besides God, there can be no *real* protector (*walī*) or helper (*naṣīr*) or intercessor (*shafīʿ*).[36] Nevertheless, the epithet, *walī/awliyāʾ*, is not only applied to the Prophet Muḥammad and all true believers in the important verses from *Sūrat al-Māʾidah* and elsewhere,[37] but even to unbelievers,[38] not to mention idols (*ṭāghūt* [= Gr., *eidōla*]), devils (*awliyāʾ al-shayṭān* [= tutélaires]), and Satan himself.[39] Last but not least, the good angels are also called "friends of the believers" in these gracious verses:

> Lo! those who say "Our Lord is God!" and afterwards are upright, the Angels descend upon them [saying]: "Fear not, neither sorrow, but rejoice in the Paradise that you were promised. We are your protecting Friends (*awliyāʾ*) in This life and the Hereafter. . . ." [*Sūrah XLI*: 30–31]

With this should be compared *Sūrah IV*: 172, where (some of) the angels are denominated *muqarrabūn*, "those brought near (to God)".[40] When we consider that *waly* and *qurb* are close synonyms—so that, in some sense, *walāyah* and *qarābah, qurbah* can be viewed as equivalent—it would seem justifiable to regard the *muqarrabūn* as *awliyāʾ* in a precise sense.[41]

In his well-known *K. al-Taʿrīfāt* (Book of Definitions), al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)[42] seems to confirm that *walāyah* is to *waly* (or *wal*^{an}?),[43] "nearness", as *qarābah* (relationship) is to *qurb* (nearness)—namely, a relationship based on close proximity. Hence, al-Jurjānī evidently regards *walāyah* as a simple substantive from the infinitive, *waly*.[44] The notion of "sainthood"—or its apotheosis in *fanā'* (mystical "extinction" of human attributes, = Skt., *nirvāna*)—he appears to relate to the vocalization, *wilāyah*, as he writes:[45]

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[36] See *Qur.* 2: 107, 4: 45, 6: 51 & 70, and 9: 74 & 116. In 18: 17, God's *walāyah* is identified with His *irshād* (guidance). Ibn al-ʿArabī treats of Divine assistance (*naṣr*) in connection with *walāyah* in Chap. 152 of the *Futūḥāt.*

[37] That is, *Qur.* 5: 55–56 (see below, p. 118 at n. 52). See also, *e.g.*, 9: 71 and 10: 62 (and *cf.* 3: 169–71, 41: 30–31). *Cf.* also 3: 68 and 18: 102, which latter verse may have reference to some kind of saint-worship (see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, pp. 263–64).

[38] In *Qur.* 6: 129, 8: 73, 19: 45, 45: 19 and 58: 19. *Cf.* also 5: 51.

[39] See *Qur.* 2: 257 and 4: 76 & 119.

[40] *Cf. Qur.* 3: 45, where the Christ (*al-Masīḥ*) is declared to be one of the *muqarrabūn* (sometimes identified with the *sābiqūn* of 56: 10–11).

[41] Recall also that *al-Qarīb* is another Divine name (see *Qur.* 2: 186, 11: 61 and 50: 16, *et al.*), of the same form as *al-Walī.* On the doctrine of "proximity" as *walāyah* and *qurbah* in Chaps. 73 and 161 of the *Futūḥāt*, see D. Gril's trn. and notes, "De la Proximité," in *Illuminations*, pp. 332–36.

[42] The *Khurāsānī* polymath (author of over fifty works), who spent most of his life in Shiraz. In his *Taʿrīfāt* of *termini technici* he occasionally quotes or paraphrases Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah.*

> *Al-walāyah* is [derived] from "proximity" (*al-waly*)—that is, "nearness" (*al-qurb*)—and is a legal relationship (*qarābah ḥukmīyah*) having to do with manumission [of slaves] or the contract of clientage (*muwālāh*). *Al-wilāyah* [on the other hand] is the establishment of the Servant in the Divine Reality with his "passing away" from his self (*qiyām al-ʿabd bi-l-Ḥaqq ʿinda fanā'i-hi ʿan nafsi-hi*); while *al-wilāyah* in the Divine Law is the legal execution of a decision (or verbal undertaking) affecting a third person irrespective of the latter's will.

But with the philosophical theologian, al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, we are getting ahead of ourselves in the examination of the *walāyah* concept. Prior to his scholion, most of the senses of *walāyah*, etc., that we had considered were either Qur'ānic or otherwise lexical-textual, usually based directly on the Scripture.[46] While many of the details of the customary *walā'*-relation are clearly pre-Islamic in Arab society,[47] including the adoption of outsiders by bedouin tribes, Joseph Schacht observed that the massive conversions of non-Arabs to Islam during the Umayyad period "necessitated the creation of *walā'* between the convert and a Muslim member of one of the Arab tribes, usually the individual before whom he adopted Islam. The procedure is called *muwālāh*, and it was especially common in the recently-conquered countries."[48] The extent to which this particular phenomenon can be identified with the Umayyads is evinced in the fact that, although Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) still recognized the legal effects of *muwālāh*, it had actually fallen into desuetude by his time, so that Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) rejected the putative traditionary foundations of the practice.[49] With the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, of course, came the introduction of the hereditary principle in the Sunnite *khilāfah* and the practice of designating the heir-apparent (*walī al-ʿahd*) by the reigning caliph. Although this was obviously a development of paramount importance—since it marked the transformation of the "rightly-guided" caliphate into an Islamic form of royal power (*mulk*)—it is necessary to recognize that the actual basis, or sanction, for this supreme ascendancy, styled the *wilāyat al-amr*, was the same Qurʾānic verse that all Muslims acknowledge as establishing legitimate political authority:

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[43] See my remarks in n. 26, above.

[44] *Not* as expressing "the state of the *walī*" (*cf. Seal*, 26).

[45] *Al-Taʿrīfāt* (1969), p. 175, *s.v. al-walāyah* and *al-wilāyah*. I say "seems" and "appears" because, of course, the Arabic text is not voc. and could be read otherwise.

[46] Thus, the usual lexicographical association of *walāyah* with *nuṣrah* (as in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, etc.) is based on the many *āyāt* cited in n. 36, above).

[47] See Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 40. Some of these customs are transcultural. For instance, Goldziher points out that the Arabic notion of the *walī al-dam* is the counterpart to the *gō'ēl had-dām* of the Bible, and the Heb., *she'ēr*, is cognate with *thā'ir* (see *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 263).

[48] *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 161. Of course, Islamic law, based on Qur'ānic prooftexts such as the opening verses of *Sūrat al-Nisā'*, altered the traditional Arab *ʿurf* to a considerable extent. For instance, the qāḍī's *wilāyah* (competence

> Obey God and the Messenger and "those in command" (*ūlū l-amr*) among you. [*Sūrah IV*: 59]

Though there may not be an indubitable etymological relation between *ūlū* and the root, *W-L-Y*,[50] the expression, *wilāyat al-amr*, may be understood also with reference to another crucial prooftext, already mentioned earlier,[51] *Sūrah V*: 55–56:

> Your Friend (*walīyu-kum*) is [only] God, His Apostle, and those who believe, perform the prayer, pay alms and bow down [in worship]. And whoso makes God, the Messenger, and the believers his Friends (*man yatawallá Llāha*, etc.)—lo, (they are) the Party of God (*ḥizb Allāh*); they are the Victorious.[52]

Hermann Landolt has pointed out that "the question of *who* 'those in command' were and how the alliance was to be preserved after

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within his jurisprudence) extended beyond even that of the *walī* by *ʿaṣabah* in that, for example, he might lend the money of an orphan or authorize a wife to incur debts (see Schacht, *An Introduction*, p. 188). Some of the overriding effects of Islamic law were later in coming than the Umayyad period, however, as Schacht notes: "The maxim that 'there is no [valid] marriage without a *walī*' . . . was not originally as self-evident as it became later in Muḥammadan law" (*The Origins*, p. 182), earlier Islamic practice often tolerating the more easygoing attitude of *Jāhilīyah* times.

[49] The Medinese, who had "in fact, preserved no trace of the state of affairs under the Umayyads" (*ibid.*), also rejected the *muwālāh*, which they associated with the Syrians, as is evident in their ascription of the trad. to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the Umayyad, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

[50] *Ūlū* (s., *dhū*) means "owners, possessors", and is cognate with *ulāʾī* (those, these).

[51] At n. 37.

[52] See also below, pp. 134–35 at nn. 21–22; and *cf. Qur.* 33: 6: "The Prophet is closer (*awlá*) to the believers than their own souls (*anfusu-hum*)."

the death of the Prophet was, perhaps not surprisingly, the primary concern of [all] the early opposition parties."[53] After all, there could be considerable difference of theological import between the phrases, *ūlū l-amr* (= the "powers that be"), and *tawallī* [= *walāyat*] *alladhīna āmanū* (= the *de jure* righteous heirs of the Prophet)—or, so the sundry groups of "righteous" opposition to the Umayyads may well have argued. Hence, the dissident Khārijites, drawing a sharp distinction between the "imāms of truth" and the "imāms of error," proclaimed that the former were to be obeyed as *awliyā'* of the believers, while the latter should be opposed as infidels."[54] They postulated a state of protestant purity which they called *al-tawallī*, or *al-muwālāh*—"associating (with God, the Prophet and his true community)"—and its concommitant condition, *barā'ah*, or *tabarru'*, "dissociating", or "freeing oneself" from the oppression of compromise.[55]

As Landolt goes on to indicate, the Shī'ites adopted the same duality of principles (later known in Persian as *tawallā* and *tabarrā*), but with the defining difference that the righteous believers to be followed were necessarily 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the later imāms descended from the *ahl al-bayt*.[56] Alī, who was Muḥammad's paternal cousin (*ibn 'amm* = *mawl^{an}*) and son-in-law by marriage to his daughter, Fāṭimah, was, as a matter of fact, the Prophet's *walī* both by blood (*bi-l-dam*) and by fraternal association (*mu'ākhāh*).[57] It is important to keep in mind that these facts are never denied by Muslim historians, and even the standard Sunnite collections of *ḥadīth* generally lend support to the claim of 'Alī's special *walāyah* to the Prophet. One of the most commonly recorded traditions has Muḥammad giving his adopted "brother" assurance:

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[53] "Walāyah," in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. XV, p. 318.

[54] See *ibid.*, p. 319.

[55] See *ibid.* Massignon described the *walāyah* of the *Khawārij* as "the state of those who refuse to tolerate an unjust government, and, even 'if they are only three,' rise up in the name of God, 'selling Him their lives' to avenge the Law" (*Passion*, III, 205).

[56] See H. Landolt, "Walāyah," p. 319.

[57] A number of early *Shī'ī* trads. center around the practice of *mu'ākhāh* (brothering), which took place after the *hijrah*. "This was an agreement by which each [Meccan] emigrant was paired with one of the [Medinan] *Anṣār*, and the two, who thus became brothers, were supposed to inherit each other (see *Qur.* 4: 33). 'Alī, as an exception, was paired not with one of the *Anṣār* but with the Prophet himself" (Uri Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early *Shī'a* Tradition," in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 1 [1979], p. 41). Rubin notes that some ss. had it that the "brothering" between Muḥammad and 'Alī actually took place earlier, in Mecca (see *ibid.*, n. 3).

> Are you not content to stand to me as Aaron (Harūn) stood to Moses—*except that there will be no prophet after me?*[58]

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muḥammad b. ʿIsá l-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892),[59] especially, contains several important traditions extolling the *manāqib* (virtues) of ʿAlī,[60] as does the *Musnad* of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/845), including one report in which the Prophet describes his cousin as the *walī al-muʾminīn* after his own death and designates him as his own *walī* "in This world and the Next."[61] The latter point, that of "designation" (*tawliyah*), is quite significant, since the normative Arab *walāʾ* of kinship, even in the form of deliberate "adoption" (*muwālāh* or *muʾākhāh*), would not, of itself, be sufficient to establish a succession of authority such as transpires in the offices of the *khilāfah*, the *imāmah*, or later *walāyah*. It is for this reason that Shīʿīte apologists rightly set such a high premium on the tradition relating Muḥammad's apparent nomination, or *tawliyah*, of ʿAlī as his spiritual successor at Ghadīr al-Khumm.[62] There, just three months before his death, the Prophet is reported by many witnesses to have declared before the people: "He of whom I am the *Mawlá* ("Lord", as *awlá bi-l-muʾminīna min anfusi-him*)[63]—of him ʿAlī is also the *Mawlá*. May God befriend whoever befriends ʿAlī (*Allāhumma, wāli man wālā-hu*) and be the enemy of him who is his enemy!"[64] If comparatively later Shīʿite sources are to be credited, this kind of language was proliferating by the time of ʿAlī's accession to the caliphate in 36/656. Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 278/891) purports to record the speech of a Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, in which he pledges his allegiance to the new caliph as the *waṣī al-awṣiyāʾ*, "the Regent of the regents (of the prophets)," and *wārith ʿilm al-anbiyāʾ*, the Heir to their special knowledge.[65] Even more fulsome is Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī's praise of Alī, in which an allusion to the Ghadīr al-Khumm proclamation may be discernible:

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[58] Italics mine. See Guillaume's trn. of the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Hishām, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 604. The trad. is found in many *ḥadīth* collections (see *Concordance*, *s.v. nabī*), inc. those refs. cited in nn. 60 and 61, below. For Moses's relation to Aaron, see *Qur.* 20: 29–32.

[59] Not to be confused, of course, with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, who was also a *muḥaddith*. In common with many pietistic and reform-minded, "*uṣūlī*" Muslims in 6th/12th-cent. Andalusia, Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to have particularly favored al-Tirmidhī's collection of *ḥadīth* which was less tied to *furūʿ* "casuistry" (see D. Urvoy, *Le Monde des ulémas andalous du V/XIᵉ au VII/XIIIᵉ siècle*, p. 139).

[60] See esp. Tirmidhī, *Manāqib*, 19 and 20. *Cf.* also Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* [hereafter, Bukhārī], *Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī*, 9, and *Maghāzī*, 78.

[61] *Musnad*, I, 300*sq*. See also I, 177, 179, 182 184; and III, 32.

[62] This was a watering-place with some shade-trees a few miles outside of Mecca on the road to Medina, where the Prophet's party halted on their return from the "farewell pilgrimage" (on the 18th of Dhū l-Ḥijjah/17 Mar., in 10/632).

[63] *Qur.* 33: 6.

[64] See *Musnad*, I, 84 and 330*sq.*, *et al.* While this event had been reported by many Shīʿīte and *Sunnī* sources—inc. Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) in a lost treatise, acc. to Ibn Kathīr (see *Al-Bidāyah wa-l-Nihāyah*, vol. IV, pp. 208–14)—no trace of the trad. remains in our extant version of the *Sīrat al-Nabī* or the *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845). S. Husain M. Jafri gives a full account of the investiture at Ghadīr al-Khumm in his *Origins and Early Development of Shīʿa Islam*, pp. 19–23.

> You are the noblest of the Quraysh in merit and religion! I see God and the Future State through my love for ʿAlī. ʿAlī is *the Aaron (al-Hārūn)*, ʿAlī the *Waṣī*![66]

After the disastrous dénouement of the fourth caliphate, the political aspirations of the *Shīʿat ʿAlī* "went underground" to begin a defining career of conspirational activity, for the most part lying low with the patience of Ulysses, but at times irrupting on the stage of history in startling, brilliant manifestations. With the loss of the worldly *khilāfah* to the Umayyads, who became the *ūlū l-amr* in the political sphere of Islam, the importance of the initiatic instruction (Corbin's *walāyat*) of the imāms as the rightful *awliyāʾ* of God came naturally to the fore. Hence, Shīʿites devoutly believed the Qurʾānic *amānah*, or "trust", of *Sūrah XXXIII*: 72 to spiritually signify the magisterium (*walāyah*) of their leaders, while the "tyrant and fool" of the same verse represented whoever may be the current worldly usurper of their Divine right. Landolt explains this key transformation of Imāmite authority in terms of the two spellings, *wilāyah/walāyah*:

> The transfer of *wilāyah* from Muḥammad to ʿAlī was understood as part of a more general *Heilsgeschichte*, a universal process of revelation to be completed by the imāms as inheritors of the hidden (*bāṭin*) substance and knowledge of previous prophets, Arab and non-Arab, or as a process of transmigration (*tanāsukh*) that leads up to the final

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[65] Al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīkh* (1883), vol. II, p. 179, cited by U. Rubin in "Prophet and Progenitors in the Early *Shīʿa* Tradition," p. 45. Rubin's art. is a good study of the *wiṣāyah*, or *waṣīyah*, as a concept of "testamentary" Divine light. Acc. to a trad. preserved by al-Majlisī, ʿAlī was said to have styled himself *khātam al-waṣīyīn* on the analogy of Muḥammad's title of *khātam al-nabīyīn* (*Qur.* 33: 40).

[66] Muḥ. b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad, *K. al-Kāmil* (Cairo, n.d.), vol. III, p. 205. There is a trad. deriving from ʿĀʾishah which denies that ʿAlī was Muḥammad's *waṣī* (see Wensinck, *A Ḥandbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 15), but no one questions that he was the Prophet's special *walī*.

> revelation of truth and justice with the coming, or return, of "the one who stands up" (*al-qā'im*, probably the gnostic *hestōs*). Despite the repudiation of the more extremist ideas of their enthusiastic followers (*ghulāt*) by the imāms themselves, and although the imāms are not placed above Muḥammad's law according to standard *Shīʿī* doctrine, its major dogma insists that only the transfer of *wilāyah* from Muḥammad to ʿAlī and subsequent imāms makes Islam the "perfect religion" (of *Sūrah V*: 3). In fact, *walāyah*, as adherence to the imāms and as recognition of their mission as the true "holders of the [Divine] Command" (*ūlū l-amr*) and the exclusive possessors of the true meaning of the Qur'ān and the "knowledge of the hidden" (*ʿilm al-ghayb*), remains the key to salvation, without which no pious act of obedience to God (*ṭāʿah*) is truly valid. It is for these reasons that *walāyah*, and not the profession of monotheism (*tawḥīd*), as in *Sunnī* Islam, appears as the principal "pillar" of Islam in the classical collections of *Shīʿī* traditions. . . .[67]

The ultimately successful product of the first two centuries of white-hot flux in the political world of Islam—the ʿAbbāsid caliphate—was, in a sense, a compromise between the Umayyad (Arab aristocratic) mode of organization,[68] on the one hand, and the Shīʿite legitimist principle of spiritual inheritance (of the Divine light, whether conceived as the *nūr Muḥammad* or *nūr Allāh*),[69] on the other. The Medinese *ʿulamā'* eventually fashioned a Sunnite doctrine of *wilāyat al-amr* in collaboration with the ʿAbbāsid caliph, as can be seen in the pronouncement of the jurist, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī (d. 182/798), a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah,[70] who addressed the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809), as "*khalīfah* of God on His earth, to whom God has delegated the command (*tawliyat al-amr*) and given a light"[71] to govern his subjects, as Landolt explains: "At the same time, Abū Yūsuf also strikes a *Ṣūfī* note. He exhorts the Caliph to fulfill the duties of his high office and expresses the hope that God will not 'abandon him to himself' (*i.e.*, to his human weakness); that He will, rather, take care of (*yatawallá*) him as He takes care of His friends (*awliyā'*), 'given that He is the [ultimate] *Walī* in the matter'."[72]

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[67] Landolt, "Walāyah," pp. 319–20.

[68] Represented in its purest doctrinal form by the Syrian Arab school of the *Murji'ah*, as opposed to the "pious opposition" of the Ḥijāz.

[69] In Rubin's "Prophets and Progenitors" (pp. 43–45), an interesting distinction is made between these two conceptions of spiritual light, the "prophetic" and the "Divine", the second of which is implicitly identified with the strong form of the ʿĀlid concept of the *waṣīyat Muḥammad*.

[70] It is worth noting that Abū Ḥanīfah himself evidently had Shīʿite sympathies, and may even have died in an ʿAbbāsid prison because of his support for the failed uprising of the Zaydite imām, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, in 145/760.

[71] Landolt, "Walāyah," p. 319.

Meanwhile, the bona fide Ṣūfīs, in some way in close affinity with the more spiritual Shī'īte theorists,[73] were already formulating a genuine doctrine of mystical *walāyah*, or "sainthood" proper. Unlike most of the (non-Shī'ite) Scriptural, legal and political aspects of the general notion of *walāyah* which we have been considering thus far, the Ṣūfī concept of sainthood became absolutely primary in doctrinal significance,[74] even if this was not articulated early. Massignon gave expression to the spirit which informed Ṣūfī *walāyah* from within, arguing what few orientalists before him had recognized—that this essential leavening is, indeed, attested in the Qur'ān:

> Though for the majority of human hearts the visitation of the Divine word, the victorious illumination that arouses faith, remains a passing phenomenon, a momentary miracle, an immediate grace which interrupts only briefly the inconstancy of the heart's oscillations, the incoherence of its desires; and although in most men, inclined as they are to lie, there is generally a contradiction, a divorce, between the tongue and the heart, between the outer words that God allows their tongue to utter and the inner words that God dictates to their hearts through faith, *the Qur'ān gives us a glimpse beyond the natural religion that it codifies, in a mysterious dim light, of the true believers, of the immortally living elect,*[75] those who have heard and received the word with a heedful, calm, upright, and perfect heart. "Blessed (*ṭūbá la-hum*) are those who believe, and carry out the works of mercy!"[76] Their faith is not a lifeless memory of former grace, a cold intellection of an illumination that no longer exists. Their heart, still faithful and consenting, is ready to receive anew the Divine visitation, resolved that it must respond freely to any new inspiration, continually submissive to any possible Divine commandment. They remain constantly "near" God (*muqarrabūn*). . . .[77]

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[72] *Ibid.* (I have taken the liberty to capitalize pronominal refs. to God in the quote, in accordance with my usage).

[73] The vexed question of the relation between Shī'ism and Ṣūfism, which is beyond the scope of our present undertaking, has recently been taken up in K.M.L. al-Shaibi's *Sufism and Shi'ism* (1991).

[74] See al-Hujwīrī's account of "Ḥakīmite sainthood" in the next chap., pp. 139–43.

[75] Italics mine. *Cf. Qur.* 3: 169–70: "Do not think of those who are killed in the way of God as dead. Rather, they are living with their Lord, by Whom they are provided, rejoicing in that which God gives them of His Grace, joyously welcoming those who have not [yet] joined them, but are left behind: that no fear shall come upon them, neither shall they grieve. . . ." This last clause can be compared with 10: 62: "Verily, the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*) are [those] who shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve." For Abū l-Qāsim b. Muḥ. al-Junayd's (d. 297/910) rationalization of these verses, see *The Kashf al Mahjūb*, pp. 216–17.

[76] *Cf. Qur.* 13: 29.

[77] *Passion*, III, 28–29. On the *muqarrabūn*, see above, p. 116 (and n. 40).

In some of the *āyāt* already cited and in others we will consider below, the doctrine of *walāyah* is at least adumbrated in the text of the Revelation. It may also be said to be implicit for "a people that have understanding" (*qawm^{un} yaʿqilūna*).[78] "He shows you His Signs that haply you may have understanding"[79] and "Have you no understanding?"[80] are frequent refrains in the Scripture, encouraging the believer to apply his own mind (*ʿaql*) to fundamental problems. Hence, both passive faith (= *naql, samʿ*) and reason (*ʿaql, fikr*) could be called upon to apprehend and formulate doctrine. In addition to this, however, there was what Massignon called the "Third Path" to knowledge, what we might style the "initiatic" or "intuitive" way, exemplified in the much-cited Qur'ānic story of al-Khaḍir, to whom God had granted a special, Divine knowledge (*ʿallamnā-hu min ladun-nā ʿilm^{an}*).[81] Not only did this Third Way become the favored *modus operandi* of Ṣūfism, but the image of the saintly al-Khaḍir with his pessimistic attitude toward the prophet, Moses, became the prototype of all Ṣūfīs, or "saints", in their sometimes troublous relations with the (self-appointed) representatives of the Prophet, the *ʿulamā'*—as we shall see in the next chapter.

In Goldziher's monograph on the "Veneration of Saints in Islam," the founder of modern Islamic Studies presents the thesis that the cult of *awliyā'* is essentially non-Arab and extra-Islamic (or, at least, not truly Qur'ānic).[82] While it is quite true, as the orientalist declares, that "within Islam in its original form there was no room for the veneration of saints as it so largely developed later,"[83] it is also the case that *walī*-worship is nowhere explicitly *prohibited* in the Scripture, as is, for instance, the worship of idols (*aṣnām, ṭāghūt*), gods (*ālihah*), Satan,[84] *etc.* The verse that might well be cited to contest this (admittedly, rather academic) observation, *Sūrah IX*: 31, reads as follows: "[The Jews and Christians] have taken their rabbis (*aḥbār*) and monks (*ruhbān*) as "Lords" (*arbāb*) besides God—and the Messiah, son of Mary—when they were commanded to worship but One God."[85] But, as Goldziher concedes, "saintly men and women, who, by their endeavor to renounce worldly goods, to live for God's sake and give willingly their lives as martyrs for Him and rise above the masses, could still be recognized from this point of view, and are therefore objects of admiration and emulation; the Qur'ān itself mentions them and prefers them to all others."[86]

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[78] *Qur.* 2: 164, 13: 4, 16: 12 & 67, 29: 35, 30: 24 & 28, and 45: 5.

[79] *Qur.* 2: 73. *Cf.* v. 242, *et al.*

[80] *Qur.* 2: 44 & 76, *et al.* The expression occurs over a dozen times.

[81] *Qur.* 18: 60–82, cited in *Passion*, III, 54.

[82] *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, pp. 255*sq.*, and p. 297. Goldziher was not the first to take this view: E.H. Palmer, in his *Oriental Mysticism* (1867), opined that Ṣūfism was a manifestation in Semitic Islam of the *Ur-religion* of the Aryans, and the very first European treatise on Islamic mysticism was a Lat. work by Friederich A.D. Tholuck, entitled *Ṣūfism As the Pantheistic Theosophy of the Persians* (1821). Tholuck was perceptive enough, however, to allow that the Ṣūfī phenomenon in Islam was generated by Muḥammad's own mystical practice (see pp. 38*sq.*; cited by Annemarie Schimmel in her *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 9).

[83] *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 258.

[84] See *Qur.* 36: 60, 17: 22, *et al.*; but *cf.* also 18: 102. Usually, Qur'ānic injunc-

We have already seen that the *shuhadā'*, those martyred in the *jihād fī sabīl Allāh*, can be equated with the true *awliyā'* of God inasmuch as both are described as those "upon whom no fear comes, neither shall they sorrow."[87] Massignon had pointed out that the beatific condition of *shahādah* (martyrdom; testimony) constituted the earliest Sunnite version of *walāyah*, adding that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī extended the term to include "one who dies at the end of the fast, of a *ghazw*, or of the *ḥajj*."[88] Next, on the strength of the notion of the "greater *jihād*," *walāyah* was further understood to connote the state of "those who observe the Law with patience (*ṣabr*) and compunction (*ḥuzn*)."[89] This was all quite consonant with the earliest description of the Ṣūfī *walī* as "the pious, devout man," the opposite of the *kāfir*,[90] and it was inevitable that the irrepressible upsurge of popular mystical sensibilities would be attached to a word which already in the Scripture described persons particularly favored[91]—namely, God's

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tions against *shirk* are more general in ref., as in the command to counter the unbelievers with: "I worship not that which you worship" (v. 2 of *Sūrat al-Kāfirīn*).

[85] The Qur'ānic position on the Christian *ruhbān* is somewhat equivocal, as is evident from a comparison of the above-quoted verse with the foll.: ". . . And you will find those who say 'We are Christians' the nearest [of all men] in love to the Believers; that is because some of them are priests (*qissīsūn*) and monks (*ruhbān*), and because they are not proud" (*Qur.* 5: 82). But *cf.* 9: 34 and 57: 27.

[86] *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 259.

[87] See n. 75, above. The poet-*ṣaḥābī*, Ḥassān b. Thābit, sang of the Hāshimite faithful slain at Mu'tah (in 8/629): "They are the *awliyā'* of God Who sent down His Wisdom to them" (Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 538).

[88] Quoted by Abū l-Ṭālib al-Makkī in his *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalat al-Maḥbūb* (1893), vol. II, p. 120 (cited by Massignon in *Passion*, III, 205). On al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, see Hellmut Ritter, "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Studien zür Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit," *Der Islam*, 21 (1933), pp. 1–83 (see also *ibid.*, 14 [1925], pp. 1–75).

[89] See *Passion*, III, 206.

[90] *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 264.

[91] See *ibid.*, p. 262.

awliyā'. While he acknowledges that "the impulse for the veneration of the saints must, indeed, have been strong if it managed to attach itself to this very expression which [in certain contexts, such as *Sūrah XVIII*: 102] was so much decried in the Qur'ān,"[92] Goldziher, in common with all early orientalists,[93] did not recognize a genuine Scriptural basis for the Ṣūfī doctrine of sainthood—except, of course, in the case of what Landolt later styled the more God-oriented, "Meccan" type, or phase, of the notion,[94] attested in the *āyah*:

> Therein Protection/Friendship is with God, the Real. [*Sūrah XVIII*: 44]

This verse is usually rendered "Protection belongs *only* to God," *etc.*,[95] though the adverbial does not actually occur in the Arabic, and, as we have seen, the disposal of *walāyah*, whatever may be its significance, is explicitly extended therein to God's creatures, even in cases where it is clearly to be understood as a positive *religious* relation (*e.g.*, in *Sūrah V*: 55–56, which represents the most developed form of the "Medinan", social concept as the sacred relationship of members of the *ḥizb Allāh*).[96] Finally, it may be possible to detect in some Scriptural expressions of the *walī*-idea remote echoes of a Judeo-Christian *messianic* background, as suggested in Hermann Landolt's explication of the Qur'ānic version of the auspicious birth of Yaḥyá (John the Baptist):

> Zechariah, having no son,[97] and fearing, therefore, the claims of his *mawālī* ["secondary heirs", perhaps priest colleagues?], asks God to give him a "noble offspring" (*dhurrīyah ṭayyibah* [*Sūrah III*: 38]), "a *walī* from You, who will be my heir (*yarithu-nī*) and inherit [prophethood?] from the family of Jacob" (*XIX*: 5–6).[98]

As Landolt indicates, the phrase, "goodly offspring", or "successor" "*from Your presence*" (*min ladun-ka*), is reminiscent of the plea of the downtrodden (*mustaḍ'afūn*) of Mecca[99] in *Sūrah IV*: 75: "Our Lord! Bring us forth from this town whose people are oppressors, and give us from Your presence a protecting Friend (*walī*); and give us from Your presence a Helper (*naṣīr*)!" Similarly, in *XVII*: 80, Muḥammad is inspired to beseech God: "My Lord! Cause me to come in with a righteous in-coming, and to go out with a righteous out-going! And give me from Your presence a helping Power (*sulṭān naṣīr*)!"[100] The possibly eschatological significance of this latter phrase is evidently corroborated in the solemn pronouncement immediately following:

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

[93] *E.g.*, Carra de Vaux, as we noted earlier (see n. 14).

[94] As represented by the parable at *Qur.* 18: 32–44 (see above, p. 114 at n. 29).

[95] As in the trns. of A.J. Arberry, R. Paret (where the adv. is in parentheses), and Muḥ. M. Pickthall. *Cf.* also R. Blachère's reading in *Le Coran, loc. cit.*

[96] See above, pp. 114*sq.* *Qur.* 5: 55–56 is quoted on p. 118.

[97] But recall that he was already the virgin Mary's *kafīl*, or "guardian", acc. to *Qur.* 3: 37.

[98] "Walāyah," p. 316 (with bracketed additions and minor changes).

[99] These Meccan petitioners are evidently the same ones who were *denied* the *walāyah* (friendship) of the Muslims of Medina in *Qur.* 18: 44.

> Say: "The Real/Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*) has come and falsehood (*al-bāṭil*) has passed away!" Verily, falsehood was ever passing away (*kāna zahūq*^{an}). [*Sūrah XVII*: 81]

Whether or not it is warranted to label such passages as "messianic", the connection of the Qur'ānic story of Yaḥyá with Christianity is probably indisputable. Indeed, as Landolt pointed out, many of the stories (*qiṣaṣ*) or traditions (*akhbār*) of the Muslim saints—the first comprehensive collection of which may be found in the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā' wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'* of the Ṣūfī biographist, Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038)—can be traced back to legends of pre-Islamic prophets,[101] especially John the Baptist and Jesus,[102] a fact which may evince an Essene or Gnostic provenance.[103] This is especially evident, for example, in stories related about Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī in such (admittedly late) hagiographies as the *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'* of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. *c.* 617–27/1220–29) and the *Sirr al-Maknūn fī Manāqib Dhī l-Nūn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).[104] More distinctly *eastern* mystical traces are also in evidence, of course, including possible Hindu (*Advaita* Vedāntin) influence in the *shaṭḥīyāt*, or *shaṭaḥāt*, of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī,[105] while the popular biography of the very early "Ṣūfī Sulṭān," Ibrāhīm Ibn Ad'ham (d. *c.* 160–70/776–86), was modeled on the life of the Buddha, as we have already had occasion to note.[106] Indeed, "marvelous is their story; and they know marvelous stories!"[107]

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[100] Arberry rendered this rather dubiously as "authority from Thee, to help me."

[101] "Walāyah," p. 321.

[102] Jesus is called "the imām of ascetics in this world and of the *sālikūn* in search of the life after death, whose benedictions are manifest for those who follow his steps" (Massignon, quoting Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī, in *Passion*, III, 207).

[103] See "Walāyah," p. 321 (*cf.* also J. Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, p. 40, on the possible Gnostic influence on Sahl al-Tustarī). The so-called *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, which circulated widely in Muslim society in the post-Qur'ānic period, are also frequently disguised Jewish and Christian *aureae legendae*—*e.g.*, those of Jirjīs and Buluqyā (see J. Horowitz's art., "Nabī", in *E.I.* 1, vol. III, p. 803a).

[104] The latter is unpub. as far as I know. See Nicholson, ed., *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, vol. I, pp. 114–17, for Aṭṭār's biography of Dhū l-Nūn, tr. by Arberry in his *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, pp. 87–99. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) account can be found in the 1858 edn. of the *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarat al-Quds*, on pp. 35–39.

[105] See Robert C. Zaehner, "Vedānta in Muslim Dress," in his *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (1960), pp. 86–109; *cf.* also Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, pp. 35–37).

The suspiciously pre-Islamic (or, at times, almost anti-Islamic)[108] character of the *qiṣaṣ al-awliyā'*, together with the peculiar ambiguity of reference of the Qur'ānic *walī*-idea, may have contributed to the singular anonymity of the earliest "saints". No early document calls them by name; rather, as Landolt indicates, in a Ṣūfī *ḥadīth* they were said to be hidden "under God's tents, unknown to anyone but Him."[109] This, again, is consonant with the "Meccan" type of *walāyah* represented in the early spiritual ideals of *faqr* (poverty), *taqwá* (piety) and *tawakkul* (trust in God), as exemplified in another popular Ṣūfī tradition:

> He [God] said:[110] "The most blessed of My Friends (*aghbaṭ awliya'-ī ʿind-ī*) is a man of faith who has but few possessions (*khafīf al-ḥādh*) and delights in prayer, who performs the service of his Lord, and obeys Him in secret. He is concealed (*ghāmiḍ*) among men; they do not point to him with their fingers. His sustenance is (just) sufficient, and he is content with that." Then he [Muḥammad?] shook his finger and said: "His death (*manīyah*) is hastened, he is not wept over much, and his legacy (*turāth*) is small."[111]

In a similar vein, Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham is quoted by the great mystical/moral theologian of Baghdad, al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857):[112]

> If you desire to be the Friend of God (*walī Allāh*) and have God befriend you, then renounce This world and the Next, desiring neither. Free yourself from both Worlds and turn your face toward God

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[106] See p. 21, n. 54.

[107] "Walāyah," p. 321.

[108] For instance, the refusal of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Khayr (d. 440/1049) to perform the pilgimage to Mecca (on the grounds that the Kaʿbah visited *him*).

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] This is usually understood as a *ḥadīth qudsī* (saying attr. to God), as it was, for instance, by Ibn al-ʿArabī (see next note).

[111] *Musnad*, V, 252 & 255; Tirmidhī, *Zuhd*, 35; and Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Mishkāt al-Anwār fī-Mā Ruwiya min al-Akhbār*, pp. 4–5, *no.* 3, in the edn. of Aleppo, 1927 (tr. by William A. Graham in his *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* (1977), pp. 120–21, which is based, in part, on Ibn al-ʿArabī's collection of Divine sayings). Graham points out that Muḥ. b. Yazīd Ibn Mājah reports a shorter version of this trad., with *aghbaṭ al-nās ʿind-ī* instead of as above (in his *Sunan* [hereafter, Ibn Mājah], *Zuhd*, 4: 3).

[112] See Josef van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṭ al-Muḥāsibī* (1961).

> [*wallī Llāha*], so that He turns His face towards you and fills you with His grace. For I have learned that God revealed this to Yaḥyá b. Zakariyā': "O Yaḥyá! I have determined that no one of My Servants shall befriend Me . . . except that I become his hearing by which he hears, his sight by which he sees, his speech by which he speaks, and his heart by which he understands."[113]

It is interesting to note that the well-known sacred saying, *Kuntu samʿa-hu wa-baṣara-hu*,[114] is here identified as a revelation given to John the Baptist. Elsewhere, Massignon observes that many of the Divine dicta were published in apocryphal *ṣaḥā'if* attributed to the earlier prophets, Idrīs (= Enoch), Dā'ūd (David), and Yaḥyá, most of them being "genuine collections of 'psalms', the repentant soul's dialogues with God, [and] exhortations to poverty and chastity."[115] In an admirably consistent case of the message following the medium, the extra-Qur'ānic, "hyper-traditionary" character of these inspired outbursts even went so far as to evoke the profoundly controversial issue of the alleged superiority of the saint over the prophet (*tafḍīl al-walī ʿalá l-nabī*) in such potentially explosive proclamations as the so-called *ḥadīth al-ghibṭah*:[116]

> Know that God has Servants who are neither prophets nor martyrs [*shuhadā'*], and whom the prophets and martyrs will *envy* by reason of their station and their proximity to God. . . . These are the *awliyā' Allāh*.[117]

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[113] *Faṣl fī l-Maḥabbah*, f. 12, quoted by Massignon in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, pp. 226–27.

[114] In an abbreviated (the orig.?) form, this trad. became the famous *ḥadīth al-taqarrub bi-l-nawāfil* of Bukhārī, *Riqāq*, 38 (2): "God said: 'Whoever treats a Friend of Mine as an enemy (*man ʿādá lī walīy^{an}*), on him I declare war. My Servant draws near to Me by means of nothing dearer to Me than that which I have established as a duty for Him. And My Servant continues drawing nearer to Me through supererogatory acts (*al-nawāfil*) until I love him; and when I love him, I become his hearing . . .,'" *etc.* (see Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word*, p. 173). The first half of this trad. also occurs in *Musnad*, VI, 256. For refs. to Ibn al-ʿArabī's many adversions to this *ḥadīth*, see Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, p. 161, n. 12.

[115] *Passion*, III, 36–37 (n. 81). Massignon continues: "It was necessary to study the way in which these words of God became engraved in the hearts of these faithful in order for their lips to have uttered them with the same respect as that accorded the Qur'ānic verses, whose constant recitation gave them a 'psalter' model, the language norm in which God speaks to the heart" (p. 37).

[116] *Ghibṭah*: "emulation, envy w/o jealousy". It is to say of s.o., "How fortunate he is!" (*Ṭūbá la-hu*), and to desire the same blessing for o.s., but not wishing for the other's blessing to be diminished, contrary to the case with *ḥasad* (see *ibid.*, p. 206, n. 213; and Lane, *s.v. ghabaṭa*).

[117] Chodkiewicz, tr., *Seal*, 25 (see Tirmidhī, *Zuhd*, 53; and *Musnad*, V, 229, 239, 328 and 341–43; another version of the trad. is given by Massignon in *Passion*, III, 206, citing al-Makkī, *Qut al-Qulūb*, vol. I, p. 222).

In the spirit of the sacred tradition ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī—"I desire the one who desires Me"[118]—Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham took up this theme of the saintly *ghibṭah* in the *ḥadīth* (related by al-Muḥāsibī) already quoted above, which continues:

> O Yaḥyá! I [God] will be the Guest of his [the *walī*'s] heart, . . . I will invest him with a mission (*mabʿath*) which will be *envied* by the prophets and messengers [*rusul*]. Then will I command a crier to cry: "Here is X, the son of Y, a saint and sanctified by God, His elect of all of His creatures. . . ."[119]

In the greater Muslim *ummah* (= church) these are like that cornerstone "which the builders had rejected,"[120] or, otherwise, those necessary but unknown "pillars of society" without whose upright example the whole edifice would fall down. They "care charitably for the community in its illnesses and cure hearts of their sickness by reminding them of God's graces and goodness, and making them love God in persevering to serve Him in His law and in patiently submitting to Him in His decrees, because they themselves, having renounced all, live in God's constant friendship [*khullah* = *walāyah*]."[121] But the excessive self-abnegation and world-denial of some of God's "friends", by an oft-noted irony, seemed to accompany the extreme self-indulgence in a rather worldly, antinomian liberty of others—the strait path of spiritual exile (*al-ghurbah*) from the approval of men turning into the wide road of facile exemption (*ibāḥah*) from the law. Thus, even as the very name, *walāyah*, is almost meaningless in its equivocal relativity, so the nature of "sainthood" itself, if the whole truth be told, is hopelessly multivalent. But if, indeed, there is a higher sense in which "the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom,"[122] then, perhaps, as Ibn al-ʿArabī apparently concluded, our best hope lies in aiming very high.

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[118] *Man ʿashiqa-nī ʿashiqtu-hu* . . . (see *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*, p. 107). Massignon gives the rest of the *ḥadīth*: "Such men do not forget Me even when others forget. Here are those whose word is the very word of the prophets; here are the true heroes, those whom I remember, when I want to strike the people of earth, to remove this calamity from them" (*Passion*, III, 206, n. 218).

[119] Quoted by Massignon in *Essai sur les origines*, p. 227.

[120] *Matt.* 21: 42, *Eph.* 2: 19–22, *et al.*

[121] *Faṣl fī l-Maḥabbah*, in Massignon, *Passion*, III, 207, referring to al-Muḥāsibī's teachings. On *khullah*, see al-Makkī, *Qūt al-Qulūb*, vol. II, pp. 77–78.

[122] From William Blake's "Proverbs of Hell," in the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (G. Keynes, ed.), p. 150.

VI. THE SEAL OF THE SAINTS

"... and greater works than these shall he do..."
—*John* 14:12

The *tafḍīl al-walī am al-nabī* question had become a major *cause célèbre* in the heart of Islamdom by the end of the volatile 3rd/9th century, a period which opened with the populist *Shuʿūbīyah* tendency in the East and wound up with the emergence of the revolutionary *Qarmaṭīyah.*[1] Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī's trial for heresy during the (still nominally) Muʿtazilite caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61) may have been instigated less by the celebrated mystic's opposition to state-sponsored viewpoints on the *khalq al-Qurʾān* (as is generally reported) than by his role in propagating such élitist, pro-saint notions as the *karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*,[2] phenomena contemptuously scorned by the rationalist Muʿtazilites, who taught that "every faithful Muslim who obeys God is a *walī.*"[3] Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī was thought to have placed the *awliyāʾ* above the *anbiyāʾ* with the alleged saying, "We [the Ṣūfīs, saints] plunged into a Sea, while the prophets remained standing on its shores."[4] Much of the disturbance caused by the career of the introspective Ṣūfī theorist, Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896),[5] can well be viewed in the light of the explosive nature of his radical insights on sainthood,[6] as we will see. Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) and, of course, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī were also promulgating forms of the *walāyah* doctrine at the same time in *fin de siècle* ʿIraq.[7] But Massignon has shown that even as early as the beginning of the third century A.H. in Syria, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 215/830) foreshadowed the *tafḍīl al-walī* bias by declaring that John the Baptist was superior to the law-giving prophet, Jesus,[8] and his disciple, Aḥmad Ibn Abī l-Hawwārī (d. 246/860),[9] would later be banished from Damascus for daring to advocate this dangerous inversion.

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[1] The former, anti-Arab, pro-Persian movement (the name of which derives from *Qur.* 49: 13) was basically literary and intellectual, but also had a religious and political aspect. The more dangerous, Ismāʿīlite *Qarāmiṭah,* whose activities Massignon linked with the development of trade guilds and Freemasonry in Europe (see his art., "Ḳarmaṭians," in *E.I.* 1), also had an important intellectual aspect inasmuch as the vastly influential Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Brethren of Purity) were evidently associated with the sect (see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 444–46).

[2] On the Ṣūfī doctrine of miracles, see Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* [Abu Bakr al-Kalābādhī's *K. al-Taʿarruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf*], pp. 57–66; and Nicholson, tr., *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 226*sq.* See also below, n. 16.

[3] Carra de Vaux, "Walī", in *E.I.* 1, vol. IV, p. 629a. See also *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 213 and 215*sq.*

[4] Compare the verse of ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) from his *Tāʾīyah al-Kubrá* (v. 760): "Haste ye to share my eternal Union by whose light/the tribe's elders are still but the babes I knew in childhood!" (both this and the quote from Abū Yazīd are cited by Martin Lings in *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century* [1961], p. 163). On Ibn al-Fāriḍ, see Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint*: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine (1994).

[5] His *nisbah* connects him with al-Ahwāz, whence he was banished to Basra.

Discussions of the nature of the *walī/nabī* dichotomy typically took the form of comparisons between the prophet, Moses, and the saintly wonder-worker of the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, as we have already had occasion to note in the *ʿAnqāʾ* itself.[10] In the long Chapter LXXIII of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* (in Question 83, dealing with prophecy), Ibn al-ʿArabī relates a *ḥadīth* which he had from the great Ṣūfī imām of the 6th/12th century, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī:[11] "The companies of the Prophets (*maʿāshir al-anbiyāʾ*) were given the title (*al-laqab*), but

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[6] "A great variety of aphorisms and anecdotes, factual and legendary, convey the idea that al-Tustarī viewed himself as a Ṣūfī 'saint' (*walī*) who, parallel to a prophet, is in direct rapport with the divine sphere and in little need of the religious regime devised by the learned of the law" (Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam*: Qur'anic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī [1980], p. 67).

[7] See A. Schimmel, *The Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 55. I am inclined to see this as more than just a felt need at the time "for a systematization of mystical thought," and, rather, as evidence of the growing *walī-nabī* controversy at the turn of the 4th/10th cent., which was ultimately resolved in the latter's favor with the crucifixion of al-Ḥallāj in 309/922.

[8] John the Baptist was often regarded as the "esoteric counterpart" (= *naẓīr*) to Jesus even as Aaron was to Moses, in accordance with a particular reading of *Qur.* 19: 53: "We bestowed upon [Moses] of Our Mercy his brother, Aaron, *a prophet*." On the latter relation, echoing the *Ismāʿīlī* syzygy of Muḥammad (= *nāṭiq*)/ʿAlī (= *ṣāmit*), see C. Glassé, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, pp. 9–10).

[9] Or: *al-Ḥuwwārī* (see *Passion*, III, 208–09, and n. 236).

[10] See pp. 87 and 92. *Qur.* 18: 60–82 is the subj. of numerous allusions in the *ʿAnqāʾ*. The story was esp. apt for illustrating two salient features of the "inspired state of sainthood" singled out by Massignon, *viz.*, the "patience, or serenity [of God's presence within]" (*ṭumaʾnīnah*), and the "license (*ibāḥah, rukhṣah*) toward moral and legal prescriptions without" (see *Passion*, III, 208).

[11] Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (or *al-Jīlī*, as Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to him, who died in 561/1166, one year after our Ṣūfī's birth) was probably the most celebrated saint in the later Islamic East (as Abū Madyan was in the West), being the hononary "founder" of the immensely successful *Qādirīyah* order of Ṣūfīs. The name of this "sober Ḥanbalite preacher" became surrounded with the most extravagant legends of miracles (see D.S. Margoliouth's art., "ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲jīlī," in *E.I.* 1). Ibn al-ʿArabī describes him as "a just one (*ʿadl*), the *quṭb*

we were given what they were not given."[12] The Shaykh goes on to explain:

> As for his saying, "They [*viz.*, the Prophets] were given the title," it means that use of the expression (*lafẓ*), "Prophet", is lost to us [the Saints], even though "General Prophethood" (*al-nubūwah al-ʿāmmah*),[13] continues among the greatest of the Ṣūfīs (*akābir al-rijāl*). As for his saying, "We were given what they were not," its meaning is the same as the pronouncement of al-Khaḍir—to whose justice and precedence in Knowledge God (Be He Exalted!) testified[14] when Moses, the chosen, intimate "Speaker [with Him]" (*al-kalīm al-muṣṭafá l-muqarrab*), was troubling him with his requests (for instruction). For even though the [exoteric] religious scholars (*al-ʿulamāʾ*) view Moses as superior (*afḍal*) to al-Khaḍir, the latter had said to him: "O Moses, I have Knowledge that God has taught me which you, for your part, cannot know."[15]

Pre-eminently, the elevation of the *awliyāʾ* manifested itself in popular stories of the miraculous deeds and knowledge of such super-*walī* types as al-Khaḍir, Jesus, Dhū l-Nūn and ʿAbd al-Qādir (as opposed to Moses, the historical Muḥammad, and whoever the current religious authority might be), necessitating awkwardly contrived scholastic distinctions between the evidentiary "miracles" of the prophets (*muʿjizāt, āyāt*) and the (merely marvelous) *charismata* of the saints (*karāmāt*),[16] as well as between the objective "revelation" (*waḥy*) and *ʿiṣmah* (Divine immunity from sin) of the former and the subjective "inspiration" (*ilhām*) and *ḥifẓ* (protection) afforded the latter.[17]

As Goldziher observed, it became possible to ascribe to the Ṣūfīs such spiritual distinction only after the effective transformation of the

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of his time" (*Fut.* I, 201 [21]) and "*imām* of the age" (*Fut.* II, 90 [30]), *etc.*, and he is enlisted in the honor-roll of *malāmī* saints in *Fut.* III, 34 (11).

[12] *Fut.* II, 90 (31).

[13] As we will see below, by "general, or universal, prophethood" Ibn al-ʿArabī means virtually "sainthood".

[14] That is, in *Qur.* 18: 65: "We taught him Knowledge from Our presence."

[15] *Fut.* II, 90 (31–34). These words attr. to al-Khaḍir do not occur in the Qurʾān, but *cf.* 18: 65 & 68. For the remainder of this passage, see below, p. 158.

[16] It was sometimes acknowledged (for instance, by the Ashʿarites, Ibn Fūraq and al-Juwaynī) that the only real difference between the "miracles" of the prophets and the saintly *karāmāt*—which were also evidentiary, in fact, if not in theory—was merely formal and dogmatic.

[17] The reluctance to extend the term, *waḥy*, was solidly based on such prooftexts as *Qur.* 6: 93: "Who is guilty of more wrong than one who forges a lie against God? or who says, "I have received a revelation" (*ūḥiya ilayya*), when he has not received a revelation at all? or one who says, "I will reveal the like of that which God has revealed?" But in practice no logical criteria to distinguish between the prophetic *waḥy* and *muʿjizāt*, on the one hand, and the *ilhām* and *karāmat* of the

original Islamic view of Muḥammad's prophecy: "It would have been impossible for the idea of supernaturally gifted men to develop alongside the figure of a prophet such as that presented by Muḥammad . . . , [who] had, after all, to be above the crowd of *awliyā'*, the head of which he was destined to become in the course of the development of the cult of saints."[18] So it is that one of the first Ṣūfī masters to articulate a coherent theory of sainthood, Sahl al-Tustarī, was also an "originator" of the fundamental doctrine of the primordial, prophetic "Light of Muḥammad" (*nūr Muḥammad*), out of which Adam and all of mankind were created.[19] For while the mortal human Prophet of the Qur'ān was thus raised to an infinite power in apotheosis, so was mankind in general likewise promoted—or, rather, man in special, he whom God Himself "desires" (*al-murād*), upon whom the election of "friendship" (*walāyah*) is bestowed even before creation—as we read in the following passage from the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, where Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī has Sahl al-Tustarī extol the exalted status of the saints in an address of God to Adam:

> O Adam, among My servants I have those who are chosen, cherished and choicest, whom I have lodged within your loins. They are like [the apple] of My eye among My creation. I make them mighty through My might. I draw them near to union with Me. I grant them My mark of honour (*karāmat-ī*). I disclose to them My favour. I make their hearts the treasure-troves of My Scriptures. I shield them with My Mercy; I prepare for them a [place] of safety in the midst of My servants. . . . They are My Friends (*awliyā'-ī*) and My Beloved (*aḥibbā'-ī*) . . . so I give them My pure love (*maḥabbat-ī*) to drink with [Me] the cup of intimacy (*uns*). Persistent is their longing for encounter with Me (*liqā'-ī*), [but] even stronger is My longing [*shawq-ī*] for them. . . . O Adam, when I behold them, it becomes easy for Me to forgive the sins of the sinners because of the honour in which I hold them.[20]

Reconstructing al-Tustarī's *tafsīr* of the important *Sūrah V*: 55 ("Your *Walī* is God and His Apostle and the believers"),[21] Gerhard Böwering presents this Ṣūfī's two-fold doctrine of *walāyat Allāh* and *walāyat al-rasūl*:

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saints, on the other, were ever discovered. The same can be said of the *ʿiṣmah* of the prophets and the *ḥifẓ* of the saints.

[18] *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 259.

[19] See Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam*, pp. 147–49*sq.*

[20] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'* (1938), vol. X, pp. 193*sq.* (tr. by Böwering in *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, p. 233).

[21] Quoted above, p. 118 at n. 52.

> The "friendship of God" is the election (*ikhtiyar*) of one of whom He takes possession (*istawlā-hu*). The "friendship of the Prophet" is God's notification of the Prophet that he is the Friend of the believers (*walī al-mu'minīn*). Thus, the Prophet is bound to be a friend (*yuwālá*) of one whose Friend is God (*man walá Llāha*).[22]

From this it may be gathered that the principal beneficiaries of al-Tustarī's innovations are rather the *awliyā'*, the Ṣūfīs themselves, than the Prophet (despite his new, quasi-Divine status) or, through him, the other prophets as a class.[23] Both the *awliyā'* and *anbiyā'* are styled *murād* ("desired, sought" by God and man) as distinguished from the generality of mankind, who are *murīdūn*, still "seeking".[24] Both saints and prophets are "reminders" (*tadhākir*) of God for mankind, but while the former only implicitly recall the Divine presence, the prophets are charged with the explicit propagation (*tablīgh*) of the true faith therein.[25] Commenting on *Sūrah X*: 62 ("No fear shall come upon God's Friends"), however, al-Tustarī appears to make the case somewhat stronger for the *awliyā'* (although the description must be understood to apply also to the prophets *as a subclass* thereof):

> [The saints] are those whom the Prophet described [as being] "those who, when they are seen, God is remembered" (*alladhīna idhā ru'ū, dhukira Llāhu*).[26] They are those who struggle for God (*al-mujāhidūna fī*

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[22] *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, p. 234. Böwering goes on to point out that al-Tustarī calls *Qur.* 2: 257 ("God is the *Walī* of the believers") the *walāyat al-riḍá*, "For God is the One Who takes care and charge (*al-Mutawallī*) of them by fore-ordaining (*sabaqa*) for them His guidance and His gnosis, according to their profession of His oneness" (*ibid.*).

[23] As Böwering indicates, there is actually very little evidence of a formal differentiation of the *anbiyā'* and *awliyā'* in al-Tustarī's *Tafsīr* as far as it can be reconstructed, but what little distinction *is* made is clearly in favor of the prophets, as one would expect (see *ibid.*, pp. 238–40). By emphasizing the pro-*walī* position here, I mean only to suggest what I take to be implicit in the overall trend of 3rd/9th-cent. Ṣūfism.

[24] See *ibid.*, p. 232. *Cf.* also below, p. 139 at n. 54; and see Fig. I (p. 115).

[25] See *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 239–40. But note that the subtle "reminder" of the saints may be conceived as based on a manifest (and, therefore, intrinsic) quality, rather than the accidental attribute of a message which must be expressed. Moreover, it is God (= the Socratic "Good") Who is "remembered" (*madhkūr*) and "sought" (*maṭlūb, murād*) in the *awliyā'*.

[26] See Ibn Mājah, *Zuhd*, 4, where they are said to be "the best of you" (*khiyāru-kum*), but are not identified as *awliyā'*. *Cf.* Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 43 (*tarjamah*): "I am with My servant whenever he remembers Me (*dhakara-nī*)" (recorded also by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his own collection of trads., the *Mishkāt al-Anwār* [hereafter, *Mishkāh*], p. 9). See also below, p. 141 at n. 62.

> *Llāhi*) and arrive first at Him (*al-sābiqūna ilay-hi*).[27] They are those whose actions constantly progress towards consistency (*al-muwāfaqah*)—those are the real Believers (*al-mu'minūna ḥaqq^{an}*).[28]

According to al-Tustarī, God reveals His wondrous "Signs" (*āyāt*) to His friends, the saints, "and He makes happy the man who believes in them, [giving his assent] to their charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*)."[29] Hence, whoever denies the signs of God's friends (*āyāt al-awliyā'*) denies *His* power, for it is God's omnipotence which reveals the signs to His friends; on their own they would be incapable of revealing them. Perhaps related to this (since the term, *āyāt*, also denotes Qur'ānic verses), God confers upon the saints the true comprehension of the Scripture (*fahm al-Qur'ān*), as man "only understands to the extent that God discloses to the hearts of His friends the understanding of His Speech."[30] Indeed, al-Tustarī explains in the introduction to his *Tafsīr*:

> God does not appoint anyone of Muḥammad's community as a "friend" (*istawlá walīy^{an}*) except in order to teach him the Qur'ān according to its exoteric and esoteric meaning.[31]

Sahl al-Tustarī's facility in interpreting scripture is apparent in his readiness to abrogate the sense of a Qur'ānic verse ("We will surely question them all together," *Sūrah XV*: 92)[32] in favor of a tradition which has the *awliyā'* proceed directly to Heaven after death without having to stop for "the Reckoning" (*al-ḥisāb*) or face "the horrors" [of the grave] (*al-ahwāl*).[33] The saints are those who "will be kept far from [the trials of Hell]" (*XXI*: 101), and they shall be the first to arrive (*al-sābiqūn*) in Paradise.[34]

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[27] See *Qur.* 56: 10–11 (and *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 233–34). On the *sābiqūn*, *cf.* above, p. 116 at n. 40, and below, at n. 34.

[28] Böwering, tr., *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 236–37.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 235. Here al-Tustarī is commenting upon *Qur.* 40: 81: "And He will show you His Signs. Which, then, of His Signs do you deny?" The *āyāt* relate to God as the *mu'jizāt* do to the prophets and the *karāmāt* to the saints (see *ibid.*, p. 240), so we may infer that al-Tustarī is alluding specifically to the *awliyā'* (as opposed to the prophets) in this passage. *Cf. Qur.* 41: 53.

[30] Böwering, tr., *The Mystical Vision*, p. 236. This is a comment on *Qur.* 18: 109 ("... the sea would be used up before the words of my Lord were exhausted").

[31] *The Mystical Vision*, p. 236.

[32] But *cf. Qur.* 21: 101 (cited *infra*), which mitigates the verse's severity.

[33] See *The Mystical Vision*, pp. 234–35. For many refs. to trads. of "the seven thousand who will enter Paradise w/o a reckoning," see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 182.

[34] *Cf.* above, n. 27.

Among these spiritual outstrippers al-Tustarī declared himself to be first, the *Ḥujjat Allāh* (the Proof/testimony of God)[35] for mankind in general, and "the Proof of the saints" for his own time (*ḥujjat awliyā' zamān-ī*).[36] Now it is worth noting that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī defines his "Seal of sainthood" as "the Proof of God for all of the saints (*ḥujjat Allāh ʿalá jamīʿ al-awliyā'*) on the day of Judgment,"[37] and Abū Nuʿaym has al-Tustarī himself describing the appointment of the Divinely-guided Imām in the following terms:

> Whenever a servant performs something which God has commanded him to do . . . God appoints him as an Imām to be followed, as a rightly-guided Guide (*hād*^{in} *mahdī*) who establishes Religion in his time, . . . being the "Stranger/Unique of his time" (*al-gharīb fī zamāni-hi*).[38]

While even the paragon of Ṣūfī sobriety, Abū l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Junayd (d. 298/910),[39] appears to have endorsed al-Tustarī's self-description in that he is said to have referred to him as "God's Proof for [all of] the Ṣūfīs" (*ḥujjat Allāh ʿalá l-ṣūfīyah*),[40] others took issue with such apparent self-aggrandizement.[41] It seems quite possible that another eminent Ṣūfī master of Baghdad, Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899), had Sahl al-Tustarī in mind when he polemicized in his *Rasā'il* against "certain of the *ahl al-ṣūfīyah*" who made a preferential option for the saints over the prophets.[42]

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[35] Interestingly, the word, *ḥujjah*, generally has neg. connotations in the Qur'ān (*e.g.*, in 4: 165 and 42: 16; but *cf.* 6: 83 & 149, *et al.*; see Marshall Hodgson's art. in *E.I.* 2, *s.v.*).

[36] See Böwering, *The Mystical Vision*, pp. 237 and 64. See also below, p. 144 at n. 79.

[37] See al-Tirmidhī's *K. Khatm al-Awliyā'* (Yahia, ed., 1965), p. 436 (quoted in the next chap., p. 182). *Cf.* also *Khatm*, p. 344.

[38] *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. X, p. 190. The term, *gharīb* (cognate with *mughrib* and *Maghrib*), is also eschatological, with ref. to the trad., "Islam began as a stranger/foreigner and it shall return as a stranger. So, blessed are the strangers (*al-ghurabā'*)!" (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* [hereafter, Muslim], *Īmān*, 232; Tirmidhī, *Īmān*, 13; Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 15; and *Musnad*, I, 184 & 398; II, 177, 222 & 389; and IV, 73, *et al.*). Ibn al-ʿArabī def. the *ghurbat al-ʿārifīn* (exile of the gnostics) as "their separation from their possibility" (*mufāraqatu-hum li-imkāni-him*) in *Fut.* II, 528 (17), tr. by Chittick in *Path*, p. 322 (*cf.* also p. 267). "The Foreigner" (Gr., *ho allogenēs* [= Seth?]) is the title of a Nag Hammadi text tr. by B. Layton in *The Gnostic Scriptures*, pp. 141–48.

[39] Al-Junayd is considered to be the central, pivotal figure in the history of early, classical Ṣūfism (see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 57).

[40] In the *K. al-Samāʿ* (1974, p. 59) of the important Ṣūfī writer, Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd l-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 645/1072), author of the celebrated *Risālah al-Qushayrīyah* (see Böwering's trn. of the passage in *The Mystical Vision*, p. 64).

[41] See *ibid.* for ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī's account of the objections of two Shāfiʿite jurists to al-Tustarī's claiming the title, *ḥujjat Allāh*, etc., in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá* (vol. I, p. 67).

[42] While independence of the *ʿulamā'* (custodians of the Sunnah and, hence,

The real 3rd/9th-century champion of the cause of the *awliyā'* was al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī,[43] however. This polygraphic theosophist from the dynamic Iranian province of Khurāsān[44] was accused of holding heretical views, of claiming prophecy (*yaddaʿī l-nubūwah*) and speaking about love[45]—but we may surmise that it was specifically his doctrine of the *khatm al-awliyā'* (the Seal of the saints) that alarmed the religious authorities.[46] Forbidden by the governor of Balkh from teaching such things, al-Tirmidhī was subjected to a prolonged period of ostracism during which his very life was in danger. Although we are assured that the Ṣūfī came through this trial (*balā'*) victorious, critical scholarship can hardly afford to assume as much for his writings, particularly the *K. Khatm al-Awliyā'*.[47] In these circumstances, the long and sympathetic account of the teachings of the *Ḥakīmīyah* in the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* of the early Persian commentator, ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Hujwīrī (who died in Lahore in the second half of the 5th/11th century),[48] is indispensable for our present undertaking, both because al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī is usually credited with first formulating the Ṣūfī *walāyah*,[49] and also because the author of the *Kashf*

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representatives of the Prophet's heritage) is certainly not tantamount to preferring the *awliyā'* over the *anbiyā'*, the two positions tended to range along a continuum, and only such a rare political virtuoso as al-Junayd was ever able to precisely divine the dividing-line that the consensus of history would draw between them (but *cf. Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 139–40, where al-Hujwīrī tells how certain *ʿulamā'* praised al-Tustarī's judicious combination of *sharīʿah* and *ḥaqīqah*). On the writings of Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, pp. 231–310.

[43] On him, see above, pp. 85–86, n. 57.

[44] It is no accident that al-Tirmidhī shares his *nisbah* (relating to the town of Tirmidh in the Trans-Oxus, near the present-day border between Afghanistan and Kazakhstan) with the famous traditionist, Abū ʿĪsá, since the majority of the great 3rd-cent. compilers of *ḥadīth* were from Khurāsān (al-Tirmidhī's father was himself a *muḥaddith*), as were many of the prominent Ṣūfīs of the period.

[45] And of "corrupting the people," speaking of "forbidden love"—the time-honored slander of Socrates' accusers (see al-Tirmidhī's "autobiography", *Budūw Sha'n Abī ʿAbd Allāh*, in Yahia's intro. to the *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, p. 18).

[46] Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī wrote in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfīyah* that al-Tirmidhī was expelled from Tirmidh because of his having written two works in particular—the *Khatm al-Awliyā'/al-Walāyah* and the *ʿIlal al-Sharīʿah*—that he was accused of teaching that the saints have a seal (*khātam*) even as the prophets do, and that he gave preference to the saints (*faḍḍala l-awliyā'a*), using as a prooftext the *ḥadīth al-ghibṭah* cited earlier (see p. 129, n. 116). (Al-Sulamī is quoted by al-Dhahabī in the *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, vol. II, p. 197).

[47] See *Khatm al-Awliyā'* [hereafter, *Khatm*], pp. 17–21. Exc. for the extensive quotations in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt*, al-Tirmidhī's *Khatm al-Awliyā'* was, until recently, thought to have been lost for over a thousand years.

[48] See Nicholson, tr., *op. cit.*, pp. 210–41; and pp. 141–42.

[49] While al-Hujwīrī states that "certain shaykhs formerly composed books on

was himself so keenly aware of the doctrine's axiomatic significance, writing that "the principle and foundation of Ṣūfism and knowledge of God rest on saintship, the reality of which is unanimously affirmed by all of the shaykhs."[50] The great distinction of the Sage of Tirmidh,[51] according to al-Hujwīrī, lies in his original application of this concept to the theory of Ṣūfism.

The discourse on Ḥakīmite "sainthood" in the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* begins with a grammatical analysis of the nomenclature. As we noticed earlier, al-Hujwīrī glosses the Persian spelling, *walāyat*, with *taṣarruf* (the power to dispose), and *wilāyat* with *imārat* (the possession of command).[52] He then goes on to explicate the passive and active senses in which the word, *walī*, can be applied:

> *Walī* may be of the form, "faʿīl", with the meaning of "mafʿūl", as God has said: "And He takes charge of (*yatawallá*) the righteous" (*Sūrah VII*: 196), for God does not leave His servant to his own actions and attributes, but keeps him under His protection. And *walī* may be the form, "faʿīl", equivalent to "fāʿil", with an intensive force, because a man takes care (*tawallā konad*) to obey God and constantly to fulfil the obligations that he owes to Him.[53] Thus, *walī* in the active meaning is "one who desires" (*murīd*), while in the passive meaning it denotes "one who is the object of God's desire" (*murād*).[54] All of these meanings—

[sainthood], but they became rare and soon disappeared" (*ibid.*, p. 212), his ref. may be to compilers who came *after* al-Tirmidhī, although the latter's near-contemporaries, al-Tustarī, al-Kharrāz and al-Junayd, *etc.*, could also possibly be intended.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[51] Some have supposed that the epithet, *al-ḥakīm*, suggests that al-Tirmidhī studied philosophy (or even medicine), but it probably indicates, rather, a Gnostic, or "theosophical", element in his background. While al-Tirmidhī writes that he once took up astronomy, arithmetic and the use of the astrolabe, he soon abandoned these studies as a result of a vision in which he was warned against such vain pursuits (see his autobiography in *Khatm*, 27). In any case, as Chodkiewicz remarks (see *Seal*, 27–28, *et seq.*), there is very little systematic method in the sage's treatment of the *khatm* concept.

[52] See above, p. 113, n. 25. Nicholson voc. "sainthood" as *wilāyat* (Per.).

[53] *Cf.* al-Jurjānī's *Taʿrīfāt* (partially quoted above, p. 117), where *walī* is def. as a substantive in the form of "faʿīl", in the sense of either: 1.) the act. part., "fāʿil", as "one whose obedience is constant (*tawālat*), without disobedience (*ʿiṣyān*) souring it"; or else: 2.) the pass. part., "mafʿūl", as "one on whom the beneficence of God and His favors continually come (*yatawālá*)" (*s.v.*). Al-Jurjānī continues: "The *walī* is the knower of God and His attributes insofar as that is possible for one who perseveres in pious deeds and shuns sinful ones, turning away from engrossment in the self and the passions" (*ibid.*). As Chodkiewicz observes (*Seal*, 24), Ibn al-ʿArabī glossed the "faʿīl"-form Divine name, *al-ʿAlīm*, to connote both the "Knower" (*ʿālim*) and the "Known" (*Maʿlūm*) in *Fut.* III, 300 (31–32).

[54] *Cf.* al-Tustarī's usage of this terminology (above, p. 135).

> whether they signify the relation of God to man or that of man to God—are allowable, for God may be the Protector of His friends, inasmuch as He promised His protection to the Companions of the Apostle, and declared that the unbelievers had no protector (*mawlá*). Moreover, He may distinguish them in an exclusive way by His friendship, as He has said, "He loves them and they love Him" (*V*: 54), so that they turn away from the favor of mankind: He is their Friend and they are His friends.[55]

Thus, the term, *walī*, is doubly reciprocal, applying not only to both God and man *inter alia*, as we saw in Figure I (page 115), but also to each as both the subject and the object of the action. Moreover, the power, or effect, of God's friendship upon man may be either negative or positive, depending upon whether it "enables him to persevere in obedience to Him and keeps him free from sin," or "empowers him to loose and bind, and makes his prayers to be answered and his aspirations effectual."[56] It is noteworthy that here we have an implicit association of the theological notion of *ʿiṣmah* (Divine protection from sin) with *walāyah*-proper (more conventionally understood as God's protection from evil and His guidance to the good), while the positive aspect of sainthood is assimilated with *karāmah* (charismatic power).[57]

Another important typological distinction, this one made by al-Tirmidhī at the beginning of his *Khatm al-Awliyāʾ* (but which, strangely, is not mentioned in al-Hujwīrī's synopsis), is that between the two types or degrees of saints which he represents as the *walī ḥaqq Allāh* (the client/saint of the Truth/Right of God), on the one hand, and the *walī Allāh ḥaqq^an^* (the True/Rightful saint of God), on the other.[58]

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[55] Nicholson, tr., *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 211.

[56] *Ibid.* In his *tafsīr* on *Qur.* 10: 62, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 691/1291) combines both ideas of "obedience" and "empowerment", describing the *awliyāʾ* as "those who are near to God through their obedience, and whom God equips with the gift of His Grace (*karāmah*)" (*Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Taʾwīl, loc. cit.*).

[57] The complementing of *walāyah* with *ʿiṣmah* had also been proposed by al-Tustarī: "The good from God is command (*amr*) and includes on His part 'patronage' (*walāyah*). The evil from God is interdiction (*nahy*) and includes on His part 'divine protection' (*ʿiṣmah*)" (*The Mystical Vision*, p. 177). The prophetological device of *ʿiṣmah* (which was no more established in the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* than was *walāyah*) may be thought of as the *Sunnī* corollary-notion to the Imāmite *wilāyah* as "impeccable authority". Both concepts were also extended to (a part of) the Prophet's community with the principle of *ijmāʿ* (= the consensus of the *ʿulamāʾ*) for the Sunnītes, and the charismatic magisterium, or spiritual guidance, of the imāms (and the later *wilāyat-i faqīh*) for the Shīʿites (see G.-C. Anawati's art., "ʿIṣmah," in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. VII, p. 465).

[58] See *Khatm*, 117, *et seq.* See also Fig. I, above (p. 115).

The first mode of sainthood, as Chodkiewicz explains,[59] is apparently based on the feudal virtue of "faithfulness, or sincerity" (*ṣidq*), implying the complete fulfilment of all vassal obligations due by right (*ḥaqq*) to the liege lord. Here *walāyah* signifies "worship, or pious observance" (*ʿibādah*)—that "care and trouble over many things" of St. Luke's parable—whereas the higher mode connotes what al-Tirmidhī (and, later, Ibn al-ʿArabī) intends by *ʿubūdīyah*, "absolute servitude to/poverty in God"[60]—which is the "one thing needful."[61] For the pure emptiness of the truly poor in spirit becomes the immaculate vessel into which the holy Shekīnāh (*al-sakīnah, al-ṭumaʾnīnah*) descends so that the Divine Fullness might take on intelligible form, in accordance with the Ṣūfī *ḥadīth*:

> The Saints among you are those who, whenever they are seen, *God is remembered.*[62]

Reasoning that inasmuch as "the traditional and intellectual proofs of this religion are to be found among the *ulamāʾ*, it follows that the visible proof (*burhān-i namūdār*) is to be found among the saints and elect of God,"[63] al-Hujwīrī turns to a critique of the two polar-extreme sects which he specifies as being especially opposed to the genuine Ṣūfī concept of *walāyah*—namely, the Muʿtazilites and the *Ḥashwīyah*, by which latter he means the so-called "anthropomorphists" (*mujassimah, mushabbihah*)[64] of Khurāsān:

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[59] See *Seal*, 29; *cf. Khatm*, 117–18, nn. 13–14.

[60] "The awareness of a radical ontological poverty" (*Seal*, 29). Chodkiewicz continues: "'*Ibādah*, which is situated at the level of action, does not totally exclude the illusion of autonomy. *ʿUbūdīyah*, which relates to the level of being, annihilates the illusion utterly. The 'right of God' over His creature has as an implicit corollary the right of the creature over the Creator. Thus, the *walī ḥaqq Allāh*, whose sanctity consists in the service of the 'right of God,' gives in order to receive, but the [true] *walī Allāh*, for his part, serves only God Himself, and has nothing to do with bartering" (*ibid.*). An example of this degree of pure servanthood to God is the virgin Mary's response to the annunciation of the holy Spirit, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord," *etc.* (in *Luke* 1: 28–38). Conversely, Zechariah might be taken to represent the *walī ḥaqq Allāh* (see vv. 11–23).

[61] *Luke* 10: 41–42.

[62] See *Seal*, 29; and *Khatm*, 361 and 372–74 (*cf.* also pp. 181–83 and 399–400). For refs. to this *ḥadīth*, see n. 26, above. The first beatitude is transformed into a new mode of the sixth: "the pure in heart shall *be seen as* God" (*cf. Matt.* 5: 3 & 8).

[63] *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 213.

[64] But *cf.* R. Strothmann's art., "Tashbīh," in *E.I.* 1, in which he shows that in Islam there really were no definite *mushabbihah* sects (see vol. IV, p. 685b). In fact, *ḥashwīyah* is simply a term of derogation. As Strothmann notes, "*tashbīh* is dreaded as a transition to idolatry and paganism [= in our present context, the Oriental

> The Muʿtazilites deny that one Muslim is specially privileged more than another. But if a saint is not specially privileged, neither is a prophet specially privileged; and this is infidelity. The vulgar Anthropomorphists allow that special privileges may be conferred, but assert that such privileged persons no longer exist, although they did exist in the past. It is all the same, however, whether they deny the past or the future, since one side of denial is no better than another.[65]

Rather, the prophetic authority remains operative in the present-day saints:

> God, then, has caused the prophetic evidence (*burhān-i nabawī*) to remain down to the present day, and has made the saints the means whereby it is manifested, in order that the signs of the Truth and the proof of Muḥammad's veracity may continue to be clearly seen. He has made the saints the governors of the universe. . . .[66]

What is particularly worth noting here is that our commentator seems to have proposed a false dilemma in pretending to steer a middle course between the Charybdis of the *Muʿtazilah* and the Ḥashawite Scylla, since elsewhere he himself states that the latter "school" call themselves *awliyāʾ* and "maintain that the saints are superior to the prophets"[67]—in this agreeing with the opinion of the Hindu Brahmins (although they call themselves Muslims) who point out that *messengers sent by kings are usually inferior to the person to whom they are sent.*[68] In short, the real option is between the anti-*walī* doctrine of the Muʿtazilites and other *ʿulamāʾ*, on the one hand, and the extreme pro-*walī* position of a loose conspiration of groups, including Shīʿites and Ṣūfīs, who were to some degree disaffected with the *status quo* of Islamic religiosity, on the other;[69] and al-Hujwīrī's real

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influence of Hinduism as represented in the extremist ʿĀlids], *taʿṭīl* as a preliminary to atheism and pantheism [= Hellenism, represented here in the Muʿtazilites]" (p. 687b).

[65] *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 213.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 236–37. To this al-Hujwīrī responded that while a messenger sent to a single person (such as Gabriel to Muḥammad) should be inferior to him, when one is sent to a large number of people (such as Muḥammad to the Quraysh or the Arabs), he must be superior to them "as the apostles are superior to the nations" (*ibid.*).

[69] On the historical relation between Shīʿism and Ṣūfism, see, *e.g.*, M. Momen's *Introduction to Shīʿī Islam* (1985), p. 90, *et al.* For a synchronic comparison, see Corbin's *The Man of Light in Iranian Ṣūfism* (Eng. trn., 1978), which deals with the teachings of such 7th/13th-cent. masters as Rūzbihān Baqlī, Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrá, Najm

dilemma is how to promote the moderate interests of the latter while addressing the legitimate concerns of the former. To this end he cautiously omits any mention of al-Tirmidhī's trademark notion of the *khatm al-walāyah*, and even fails to refer to the crucial Ḥakīmite dichotomy of sainthood discussed above.[70]

It remained for Ibn al-ʿArabī, writing three-hundred years later, to resurrect the issue of the Seal of sainthood and to address himself to the challenge posed by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī—to say *who* is the Seal of the saints.[71] The author of the *Khatm* himself never positively identified this personage.[72] Massignon states that al-Tirmidhī "gives a particular role to Jesus" in his *walāyah* doctrine,[73] but this apparently did not extend to his being designated or even hinted at as the Seal.[74] According to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Warrāq (d. 290/903), the disciple of al-Tirmidhī, the latter used to be visited every Sunday by the immortal itinerant, al-Khaḍir,[75] so that we might well imagine that this archetypal *walī*-figure is to be taken as representing al-Tirmidhī's Seal of sainthood. The popular Muslim association of Jesus with the rightly-guided Mahdī who is to come at the end of time would obviously have prepared the ground for *his* being described as the last saint who will appear on earth,

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al-Dīn al-Rāzī and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawlah al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336), and paradigms of the "cycle of initiation" (Per., *dāyirat-i walāyat*).

[70] See pp. 139*sq*. Al-Tirmidhī's notion of the *walī Allāh ḥaqq*^{an} would have made clear that he had in mind a radical, not a moderate, ideal of sainthood.

[71] See *Khatm*, 161 (Question 13): "Who is it that shall be worthy of [being called] the Seal of the saints (*khātam al-awliyāʾ*) even as Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) is worthy of [the title] Seal of prophecy (*khātam al-nubūwah*)?" In App. IV, 593–601, I have tr. al-Tirmidhī's 13th, 14th and 15th questions, dealing with the Seal, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's "answers" to them. These initially took the form of the elliptical responses of the *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm ʿan-Mā Saʾala ʿan-hu l-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm*, written in 603/1207, which was later expanded into the full treatment of Chap. 73 of the *Futūḥāt* (inc. in the footnotes of Yahia's edn. of the *Khatm*, 142–326; and also in the footnotes of *Fut.-Y.*, XIII). Using a characteristic *Ismāʿīlī* device, al-Tirmidhī's *asʾilah* were ostensibly intended to test the intuition of those claiming sainthood, but actually serve to subtly hint at the *walāyah*-doctrine we have been considering. As Chodkiewicz points out, the teacher of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrá, ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī (d. 590/1194), had discussed al-Tirmidhī's *Khatm al-Awliyāʾ* in his *Bahjat al-Ṭāʾifah* (*Ms. Berlin 2842*, ff. 43b-44) before Ibn al-ʿArabī, but apparently w/o actually probing the matter very deeply (see *Seal*, 40; and *Khatm*, 470–71).

[72] "Being guileless (*salīm*) of heart, he never revealed it," Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote of him at the beginning of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (pp. 230–31, after n. 25).

[73] See his art., "al-Tirmidhī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh," in *E.I.* 1, vol. IV, p. 797b.

[74] Jesus is barely mentioned in the *Khatm al-Awliyāʾ* or *Budūw al-Shaʾn*, but I do not doubt that he may be so presented in other Ḥakīmite works.

[75] See *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 141. On p. 142, al-Warrāq, who was himself called

however.[76] That this is undoubtedly at least one sense in which we are to understand the notion of sainthood's "Seal", is suggested in the fact that an imperfect (future tense?) verb is used with reference to the expression in al-Tirmidhī's thirteenth *su'āl*.[77]

The question of Ibn al-ʿArabī's originality in designating Jesus as the Universal Seal depends upon whether or not such an indication will be found in the voluminous writings of al-Tirmidhī or, at least, in a tradition relating to him or his school. Many of the truly Ḥakīmite works have been irretrievably lost, however, and it is doubtful that much more will be forthcoming on that issue. As the matter stands, therefore, it would appear that Ibn al-ʿArabī's explicit promotion of Jesus to this high office in the spiritual hierarchy is unique among the major Ṣūfī theorists. But more significant than that, at any rate, is another question: Was Ibn al-ʿArabī the first to nominate *himself* as a particular, historical Seal of sainthood?[78] Here his originality is much less likely. We have seen that Sahl al-Tustarī called himself the "Proof of the saints" for his own time (*ḥujjat awliyā' zamān-ī*) as well as the *Ḥujjat Allāh*, and that the latter epithet was applied by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī to the Seal of sainthood.[79] As regards al-Tirmidhī himself, I concur with those who suppose that he probably also laid a personal claim to the supreme rank of sainthood, although there is apparently no firm evidence for this.[80]

Once the concept of the Seal of the saints (as the ideological counterpart to the Seal of the prophets) had gained currency, it would only be natural for many to animate it with the personae of al-

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"the instructor of the saints" (*mu'addib al-awliyā'*), is made to relate a story in which al-Tirmidhī refers to al-Khaḍir as his brother.

[76] Otherwise, the special "saintliness" of Jesus was a commonplace among Muslims. Thus, he is said to be the *khatm al-wilāyah* in Glassé's *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, by virtue of being "the prophet whose [inner] sanctity manifested itself outwardly to the highest degree" (pp. 353–54).

[77] Quoted in n. 71, above. *Cf.* n. 80, below.

[78] See above, pp. 55–59, *et seq.*, on Ibn al-ʿArabī's claim to sealhood.

[79] See above, p. 137 (at n. 36).

[80] J. Baldick writes that "it is clear from his account of one of his wife's dreams that al-Tirmidhī saw himself as having this leading position [of the Seal of the saints]" (*Mystical Islam*, p. 43), after which he describes the dream recounted in the *Budūw al-Sha'n* (inc. in *Khatm*, 28–31) of the Turkish prince who confirms the Ṣūfī's leadership of "the forty" gathered from all the peoples of the world. I cannot entirely agree with Baldick, however, that for al-Tirmidhī the expression, Seal of the prophets, "does not mean that Muḥammad is the last prophet, but rather that the gift of prophecy granted to him is provided with a special seal, which protects him from the devil and the lower soul" (*Mystical Islam*, p. 43).

Khaḍir and/or Jesus, the *Masīḥ*—especially the latter, by virtue of his traditional connection with the eschaton. As I believe that the very *raison d'être* of the Seal-doctrine has to do with the *tafḍīl al-walī* controversy, however, my surmise is that the real import of its promulgation was invariably a personal bid for spiritual authority on the part of one or another aspiring Ṣūfī.[81] That this is so in Ibn al-ʿArabī's case is clearly evinced, I think, in the discernible evolution of the terms of his *walāyah* doctrine, from the highly symbolic, even cryptic allusions of such Maghribine works as the *ʿAnqā' Mughrib* and *R. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn*, to the terse expressions of the still early *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* (= Response to al-Tirmidhī's Questions)[82] and the more systematic elaborations of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*; and, finally, to the stunningly forthright declarations of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom), where the Great Master lays all of his cards on the table.[83] It is not without significance that the latter book was conceived and produced in that "refuge of the prophets," the Damascus of the powerful Banū l-Zakī family, under whose patronage Ibn al-ʿArabī is known to have enjoyed considerable freedom and security in his golden years.[84]

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[81] I do not mean this in a political sense, of course, but rather with respect to the self-realizational aspirations of man which necessarily require the existential freedom of Divine creativity. This notion would ultimately be styled the "perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's mature thought. Ralph Austin has elucidated the relation between this concept and that of Islamic sainthood: "... The Perfect Man is that human individual who has perfectly realized the full spiritual potential of the human state, who has realized in himself and his experience the Oneness of Being that underlies all the apparent multiplicity of existence. The concept of the Perfect Man is, however, in itself more of a spiritual archetype than an actual human condition. Its principal manifestation in the human individual is that of Sainthood, or *wilāyah*, within the context of which all other spiritual functions are performed. Ibn al-ʿArabī lays particular emphasis on the fact that the Arabic word for a saint (*walī*) is also one of the Names of God, the Friend (*al-Walī*), as if to stress the very intimate connection between Sainthood and Divinity. In other words, the title of 'saint', strictly speaking, may be conferred only on one whose individual identity has become ... the 'friend' of One Whose 'friendship' allows of no sense of otherness. This is the one who sees beyond 'the God created in belief,' beyond the conflicts and tensions implicit in cosmic and human complexity and variety, to the undifferentiated truth of the ever-present Reality" (*The Bezels of Wisdom* [1980], intro., p. 37).

[82] Yahia, *no.* 177 (see n. 71, above).

[83] But it must be kept in mind that the second recension of the *Futūḥāt* was actually begun in Damascus in 632/1235, five years *after* the composition of the *Fuṣūṣ*. Representative samples of each of these phases of the Akbarian theory of sainthood are given in App. IV, 589–613.

[84] On this Shāfiʿite clan's patronage of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see below, p. 218; and

In the second chapter of the *Fuṣūṣ*, which is devoted to the word of the "prophet", Seth (Shīth),[85] Ibn al-ʿArabī makes his strongest case for the supreme authority of the Seal of the saints. Apropos of Abū Bakr's agnostic dictum that "Inability to attain unto Realization (*ʿajz ʿan dark al-idrāk*) is [itself] realization,"[86] our Ṣūfī points out that, true though this may be, there is a higher form of the knowledge of God which instills silence, not inability. Then he proceeds to declare that one can only gain access to this knowledge from the prayer-niche (*mishkāh*) of either the Seal of the apostles (*khātam al-rusul*) or the Seal of the saints:

> Thus, none of the Prophets or Apostles can contemplate [this Knowledge] apart from [= except in the light of] the Prayer-niche of the Apostle-Seal (*mishkāt al-rasūl al-khātam*),[87] and no Saint may contemplate it save from the Prayer-niche of the Saint-Seal (*mishkāt al-walī al-khātam*)—so that, indeed, [even] *the Apostles cannot contemplate it, when they do so, except from the Prayer-niche of the Seal of the Saints.*[88]

In other words, in accordance with the principle that "all apostles are prophets and all prophets are saints, but not *vice versa*,"[89] even the Prophet Muḥammad had to receive his knowledge of God *via* the prayer-niche of the Seal of the saints![90] A clearer indication of Ibn al-ʿArabī's true position on the *tafḍīl al-walī* could hardly be expected; but it is a sad commentary on the situation that the detrac-

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Addas, *Quest*, 254–56. Ibn al-ʿArabī spent the last seventeen or so years of his life in the Syrian capital.

[85] Seth (the third son of Adam and Eve) is not mentioned in the Qur'ān. As the heir of Adam, a prototype of Jesus (see *Qur.* 3: 59; and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Alif*, tr. by Abraham Abadi in *J.M.I.A.S.*, 2 [1984], pp. 26–28), Ibn al-ʿArabī may be identifying with Seth inasmuch as he viewed Jesus as his own spiritual "father" (see *Fut.-Y.*, I, 45, tr. in App. IV, 591, after n. 11). In the earliest strata of Christian Gnostic literature, Seth is the very type of the gnostic heir of Christ (for refs., see the ind. of Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, *s.v.*).

[86] *Fuṣūṣ* (ʿAfīfī, ed.), vol. I, p. 62. See also p. 336 (at n. 81) of the trn., below; and App. IV, 605 at n. 110.

[87] *Mishkāh*: "a niche in a wall in which the light of a lamp, placed therein, is brighter" (*cf. Qur.* 24: 35). For other interpretations of this Amharic loanword, see Lane, *s.v.*, and A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* [hereafter, Jeffery] *s.v.*

[88] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 62; tr. by Austin in *Bezels*, 66.

[89] See *Fut.* II, 256 (35). Austin's assertion that the class of "apostles" are inclusive of "prophets" (*Bezels*, intro., p. 38) is unsupported by the prooftext which he cites. On the relation of "prophets" and "apostles", see below, pp. 159–62.

[90] This is explicitly stated elsewhere in the same chap.: "The Seal of the apostles, by virtue of his sainthood, is to the Seal of sainthood what the [other] prophets and apostles are to him, for he is a saint, an apostle and a prophet" (*Fuṣūṣ*, I, 64; see below, at n. 94).

tors of the Shaykh al-Akbar have dared to exercise more verisimilitude than most of his admirers in the representation of this particular tenet.

This, of course, is perfectly natural, however, especially since Ibn al-ʿArabī himself saw fit to pull his punches, continuing from the above passage:

> Apostleship and Prophethood (*al-risālah wa-l-nubūwah*)—I mean Lawgiving Prophethood and [Lawgiving] Apostleship (*nubūwat al-tashrīʿ wa-risālatu-hu*)—shall come to an end, whereas Sainthood will never end. Hence, the Apostles (*al-mursalūn* [those who are sent]), inasmuch as they are Saints, may not contemplate That of which we have been speaking except by way of the Prayer-niche of the Seal of the Saints—so how much more those Saints ranking below them! For although the Seal of the Saints is a Subject-Follower (*tābiʿ fī l-ḥukm*) of the Legislation brought by the Seal of the Apostles, this does not lessen his Station or contradict what we have maintained; but, indeed, while in one sense [the Seal of the Saints] is below [the Seal of the Apostles], in another sense he is *above* . . .[91]

Pointing out that it is not necessary that one who is "perfect" (*al-kāmil*) be pre-eminent in all things, as the wise have regard only for God-knowledge, not that of "the passing phenomena of generated beings" (*ḥawādith al-akwān*), Ibn al-ʿArabī cites two historical cases from the life of the Prophet in which the judgment of the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was deemed superior to Muḥammad's in the mundane matters of the treatment of prisoners at Badr and the pollination of date-palms at Medina.[92] The obvious assumption is that ʿUmar here represents the *walī* who may occasionally adduce knowledge superior to that of the *nabī*, but in reality the analogy makes more sense if we take the Prophet Muḥammad in this instance to stand for the saint (or the Seal of the saints), who, in the relatively unimportant ritual and social regulations of the law, defers to the technical knowledge of the lawgiver (or Seal of the prophets).

Elsewhere in the same chapter, after making the astonishing assertion that "the Seal of the Apostles [*viz.*, the historical Prophet Muḥammad] is to the Seal belonging to Sainthood (*al-khātam li-l-walāyah*)[93] what the [other] Prophets and Apostles are to him [Muḥammad]—for he is Saint, Apostle and Prophet"[94]—Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to stipulate in the next breath that the Seal of sainthood is also "the Saint-Heir (*al-walī al-wārith*) who draws [his Knowledge directly] from the Source (*al-aṣl*)," *etc.*[95] Now the "Source" mentioned here is none other than the hypostatic Reality of Muḥammad—otherwise, the "Muḥammadan Heritage" (*al-irth al-Muḥammadī*), the Islamic *Logos*, or Prophetic Light. The relation of this quasi-Divine principle to the personage of the Seal is a metaphysical/theological problem the profundity of which could only be compared to the fathomless Christological controversy in the West. As Islam has mercifully been spared that cross, we shall not take it up here,[96] but what is important to note—what we saw earlier in the case of Sahl al-Tustarī (the originator of the *nūr Muḥammad* doctrine)[97]—is that the mortal human Prophet of the Qur'ān is apotheosized (*en passant*, one may suspect)[98] by way of advancing the greater glory of the *saint*, who, in the Seal of his confrères, is the real "Third Person" of the new Ṣūfī trinity.[99]

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[91] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 62 (tr. in *Bezels*, 66).

[92] The Prophet had ordered that the Muslims spare his uncle, al-ʿAbbās (who sided with the Quraysh) following the battle at Badr, but the impetuous ʿUmar refused, declaring that he deserved to die (see Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 301), a judgment that was later confirmed by the revelation of *Qur.* 8: 67. On the matter of the fecundation of the dates at Medina, see App. IV, 606, n. 114.

[93] This probably refers to Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, although the ref. could also be

The inferiority of the revealed law to the Ṣūfī's secret, inner light is clearly implicit in Ibn al-ʿArabī's famous parable of the two bricks (one gold and the other silver) lacking from the wall of prophecy,

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to Jesus as super-*walī*. In any event, that both Seals are regarded as (at least secondarily) historically manifest is clear from the paragraph preceding this passage (see trn. in App. IV, 607–08).

[94] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 64.

[95] *Ibid.* For the remainder of the passage, see App. IV, 608.

[96] Chodkiewicz treats of the Reality of Muḥammad in this connection in *Seal*, 60–73 (Chap. 4). Large portions of the *ʿAnqā'* are devoted to the *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah* (*e.g.*, pp. 372–87 and 420–23, *et al.*) and even to the specific relation between the latter and the Seal of sainthood (see my n. 1 on p. 527), but the metaphysical problem remains formidable.

[97] See p. 134, above. The same could be shown of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and others.

[98] Of course, the point should not be pressed too far. The remainder of the paragraph from the above quote duly continues with the express glorification of the historical Prophet: "[The Seal of the saints is himself merely] one of the excellences (*ḥasanāt*) of the Seal of the apostles, Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), the First of the community [of believers] and Lord of the children of Adam with respect to the opening of the Door of intercession (*fatḥ bāb al-shafāʿah*)," *etc.* (*Fuṣūṣ*, I, 64; see App. IV, 608).

[99] That is, of God, Muḥammadan Reality and Seal of sainthood. Those who are too scandalized by the stumbling-block of comparativism may fall into the pit of isolationism. Roughly speaking, the Seal of the saints is to the human world (*al-ʿālam al-dunyā*) what the Muḥammadan Reality is to the cosmic universe (*al-ʿālam al-kawn*).

revealed in a vision recounted in both the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣ*.[100] As Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in his famous *Muqaddimah* explained the vision (which he thought was to be found in the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*),[101] the Seal of the saints—whom he calls "the Fāṭimid," the Mahdī—was symbolized by the silver brick, while the golden one represented the Seal of the prophets, Muḥammad. But if the good qāḍī found that idea to be outrageous, imagine his indignation had he learned that, as a matter of fact, Ibn al-ʿArabī's silver brick is to be understood as representing the Seal's external dependence on the Prophet's law, whereas *his independent access to the very source of the law* is symbolized by the more excellent, golden brick:

> Indeed, I had a vision of myself in [a dream] such as this,[102] which I took to be a message of Good-Tidings (*bushrá*) from God. For it corresponded to a Prophetic Tradition from the Apostle of God (May God bless and keep him!) in which he gave us an example of himself as among the Prophets (Upon whom be Peace!), saying: "My likeness (*mathal-ī*) among the Prophets is as the likeness of a man who built a wall, and he completed it except for one brick (*labinah*). And I am that 'Brick'. For there shall be no Apostle after me, nor any Prophet."[103] Thus, he assimilated Prophecy to the Wall and the Prophets to the Bricks of which it consists—this being a most beautiful comparison (*tashbīh*), since the very meaning of this "Wall" [*sci.*, Prophecy], that which it represents, does not become manifest except in the "Bricks" [= Prophets], and he is (May God bless and keep him!) the [very] Seal of the Prophets.[104]
>
> I was in Mecca in 599 [= 1202–03, when] I saw (as a dreamer might see) the Kaʿbah made up of silver and gold bricks, intermittently.

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[100] *Fut.* I, 318–19, and *Fut.-Y.*, V, 68–69 (tr. below; and by S. Hirtenstein in "Universal and Divine Sainthood," *J.M.I.A.S.*, 4 [1985], pp. 20–21); and *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 63 (tr. in App. IV, 606–07).

[101] See *Muqaddimah*, II, 189–90 (n. 960 contains some inaccuracies). Ibn Khaldūn apparently derives his mistaken information on the *ʿAnqāʾ* from a book by a certain disciple of the Murcian-born Ṣūfī monist, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1270–71), named Ibn Abī Wāṭīl(?). On Ibn Sabʿīn, see Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (Eng. trn., 1993), pp. 263–65.

[102] Ibn al-ʿArabī has been referring to man's dream-visions (s., *manām*) of the super-sensual worlds.

[103] *Cf.* Bukhārī, *Manāqib*, 18; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, 20–23; and *Musnad*, II, 297, 398 & 412. For trads. mentioning gold and silver bricks (see below), *cf. ibid.*, II, 305, 362 & 445; and Bukhārī, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, 48, and the latter's *tafsīr* of *Qur.* 9: 15. The orig. *ḥadīth* is perhaps based on *Psalms* 118: 22 and *Matt.* 21: 42 (*cf.* also *Eph.* 2: 19–22).

[104] As the chief and ultimate component, the Seal uniquely embodies the essence of the whole. Similarly, Christ is regarded as the *head* of the church (in *Eph.* 1: 21–22, and *Col.* *1*: 17–19).

> The building [appeared to be] quite complete, with nothing in it remaining undone, and I was gazing upon its beauty [as I circumambulated it], when I came upon the side between the Yemenite and the Syrian Corners, [where] somewhat closer to the Syrian Corner,[105] [I noticed] a place (*mawḍiʿ*) in which two bricks were missing, one of silver and one gold—from the topmost row a golden one and from the adjacent row a silver. And I saw myself as impressed in the place of those two bricks,[106] the "Wall" [now being truly finished] and the Kaʿbah lacking for nothing. I stood gazing [at this], and I knew that I was [the one] standing there, and I knew that I was [at the same time] those very two "Bricks". I had no doubt of that, that both were my very esssence (*dhāt-ī*), as I woke up and gave thanks to God (Be He Exalted!), saying most truly: "Indeed, my type (*ṣinf-ī*) among the Followers [*sci.*, the latter-day Saints] (*al-atbāʿ*)[107] is as the Apostle of God (May God bless and keep him!) among the Prophets (Peace be upon them!), so it may well be that *I am such a one that God seals Sainthood by me*, as 'that is not a difficult thing for God'."[108]

The specific relation between the symbolic gold and silver bricks of the Kaʿbah wall is made clear in the version of the *Fuṣūṣ* (found also in the Sethian chapter):

> The requisite cause of [the Seal of Sainthood's] being a beholder of *two* bricks is that, externally, he is a Follower of the Law of the Seal of the Apostles, and that is the place of the Silver Brick, that being his Exterior (*ẓāhiru-hu*) and the legal ordinances (*al-aḥkām*) that he follows [in his external life], just as, in his Innermost Being (*al-sirr*), he derives [directly] from God that which he appears outwardly to [merely] follow in. For he beholds the Matter just as it is, and without fail he sees it thus—that being the placing of the Gold Brick, esoterically. Thus, he derives [his Knowlege] from the same Mine (*al-maʿdin*) as does the Angel [Gabriel] who reveals it to the Apostle. If you have understood what I am alluding to, then you have acquired the Knowledge of benefit in all things![109]

This is not the occasion for us to go further into the intricacies of Ibn al-ʿArabī's theory of *walāyah*. Much additional material has been presented and very ably discussed in Michel Chodkiewicz's *Seal*

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[105] That is, one of the two northern sides of the Kaʿbah.

[106] *Fa-ra'aytu nafs-ī qadi nṭabʿat fī mawḍiʿi tilka l-labinatayni.* The subj. is actually *nafs-ī* (my soul), as the fem. verb indicates.

[107] *Inn-ī fī l-atbāʿi fī ṣinf-ī.* The Seal/Mahdī is frequently styled "the follower" (*al-tābiʿ*) in the *'Anqā'* (see *e.g.*, pp. 397–98 at n. 98, *et seq.*).

[108] *Qur.* 35: 17. The passage is from *Fut.* I, 318 (29)–319 (4).

[109] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 63 (see App. IV, 606–07, for the entire passage).

of the Saints,[110] but a definitive treatment of the subject must await the translation and digestion of yet more texts from the *Futūḥāt* and other sources. The approach to the subject which I have made here, following the *tafḍīl al-walī* angle, is offered as merely one possible interpretation of the general theme of "sainthood" in the teachings of such Ṣūfīs as Ibn al-ʿArabī. Many passages from Akbarian works dealing with *walāyah* but in a manner not amenable to the hypothesis developed here—or even directly contradictory of it—could easily be cited.[111] I think, however, that the ambiguity or "confusion" in the evidence is due less to the inherent complexity of the issue (though that be considerable) than to its extreme sensitivity in Islamic society, which has constrained Ibn al-ʿArabī to equivocate, especially in works written before the *Fuṣūṣ*. Above all, it must be kept in mind that the Shaykh al-Akbar was not a logical thinker but an intuitive seer and sensitive writer, in some ways closer to Baudelaire and Nietzsche than to Plotinus and Augustine—in spirit as well as in history.[112]

There are yet two relevant factors which must be further examined in this chapter, since, *ex hypothesi*, they are subsumed under the rubric of Akbarian *walāyah*: the concepts of prophecy (*nubūwah*) and apostleship (*risālah*) as they relate to the general notion of sainthood.[113] It was commonly believed that prophets and apostles were chosen by God from among the saints, who were themselves the elect of mankind.[114] Support for this assumption was found in the Scripture, where Idrīs (Enoch?) and Abraham were referred to as *ṣiddīq*s (strictly faithful) [and] prophets[115]—which, especially in the case of Idrīs, many explained to mean that they were saints in their youth and prophets in maturity.[116] Thus, as Ibn al-ʿArabī explained, the *nabī* would simply be a saint whom God had set apart from his peers by granting him a special knowledge of the unseen world, while the *rasūl* was further distinguished by his reception of a written law which he was to proclaim to a particular people—or, in the unique case of Muḥammad, to all of mankind.[117]

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[110] Chaps. 3, 7, 8 and 9 deal with Ibn al-ʿArabī's *walāyah* doctrine. Mention has also been made of M. Takeshita's *Ibn ʿArabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*.

[111] Some of this material is quoted and cited in *Seal*, 52–53, *et al.* In general, Chodkiewicz favors the pro-*nabī* interpretation of *walāyah*, for which he provides the best presentation.

[112] My reference is to the "modern", more *existential* preoccupations and tone which I detect in all of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings (and occasionally in St. Augustine, as well). In particular, I think that interpretive work in Ibn al-ʿArabī's (still inchoate) views of moral philosophy (*e.g.*, his notion of *malāmah*, "blame") remains a desideratum of vastly more significance than the subj. of his cosmology and ontology. Corbin, Izutsu and Chittick have greatly advanced our appreciation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's epistemology, but a more thoroughgoing investigation of the "metaphysics of imagination", taking in also aesthetics, might yet be attempted (perhaps along the lines suggested by Michael Sells in "Towards a Poetic Translation of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*," *Com. Vol.*, and in his *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*).

[113] On the notion of *nubūwah* and its many species in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, see *Muʿjam, no.* 590.

[114] See, *e.g.*, al-Kalābādhī's proem to his *Taʿarruf* (Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, p. 1).

In nine chapters of the *Futūḥāt* (CLII–CLX)[118] Ibn al-ʿArabī elaborates his doctrine of *walāyah–nubūwah–risālah* as three concentric spheres of activity in terms of three modes of each (generic, human and angelic). The sphere of sainthood is the "universal, or general, circumference" (*al-muḥīṭah al-ʿāmmah*) and "great perimeter" (*al-dāʾirah al-kubrá*),[119] which encompasses the other two, special offices or commissions, rather as the white crescent (= *walāyah*) embraces the two shades of gray (*nubūwah*) and the black (*risālah*)-filled areas in the diagram on the following page. The gray sphere of *nubūwah* is divided into two crescents to signify the main innovation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's general *walāyah*-doctrine: the dichotomy of prophecy into two distinct modes—legislative (*bi-l-tashrīʿ*) and non-legislative (*muṭlaqah, ʿāmmah*).[120]

In many passages Ibn al-ʿArabī equates "legislative prophecy" with apostleship and the "non-legislative" type with saintship, making *nubūwah* to be the indeterminate "gray area" between them, with

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[115] See *Qur.* 19: 41 & 56.

[116] See, *e.g.*, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *K. Maʿrifat al-Asrār* (Muḥ. I. al-Geyoushī, ed.), pp. 66*sq.* The relative "youthfulness" of the saints may help to account for the association of Jesus and John the Baptist with the class. Recall also that the (juvenile) Mary and Joseph (son of Jacob) are both referred to by the term, *ṣiddīq*, in the Qurʾān (5: 75 and 12: 46).

[117] See *Fut.* II, 258 (13).

[118] *Op. cit.*, II, 246–60 (*cf. Seal*, 55–57*sq.*). Chap. 161 is an important treatment of the *maqām al-qurbah* (station of proximity) between *ṣiddīqīyah* and *nubūwah* (see *ibid.*).

[119] See *Fut.* II, 256 (34).

[120] This corresponds to that other characteristic feature of Akbarian doctrine, the division of *walāyah* itself into "general" and "special" modes, which we have already considered in connection with the two Seals (see pp. 55–58*sq.*; and below, App. IV, 593–96). The precise signification of the adjs., *ʿāmmah/muṭlaqah* × *khāṣṣah/juzʾīyah*, as applied to both *nubūwah* and *walāyah* (as well as the *khatm* of the latter) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought remains somewhat ambiguous. In the usage of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, "general sainthood" is the exoteric Ṣūfism of the *walī ḥaqq Allāh*, while the "special" variety is the esoteric sainthood-proper of the true *walī Allāh*. This is not necessarily consonant with Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage, however, at least with regard to the *khatm*.

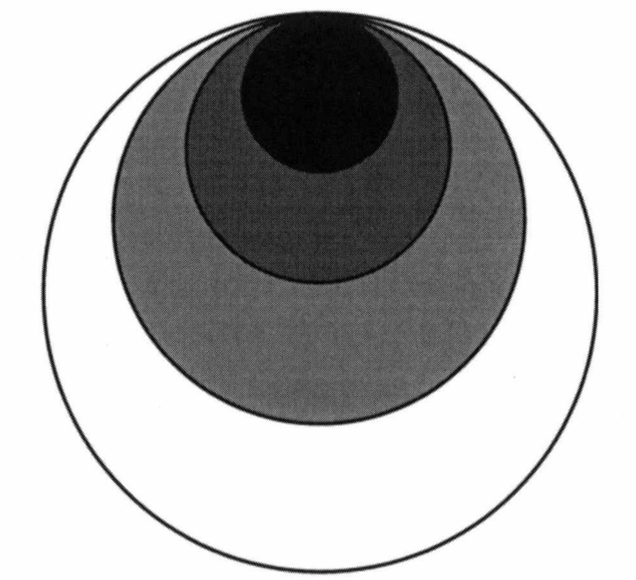

Figure II. The spheres of *walāyah, nubūwah* and *risālah.*[121]

some "prophets" (such as Noah, Abraham and Moses) being apostles, while others (*e.g.*, John the Baptist and, according to some, Jesus)[122] remain content with the "prophecy of sainthood" (*nubūwat al-walāyah*). But in the following poem we see that the "boundary area" (= *barzakh*) is itself bifurcated:[123]

[*Sainthood Superior to Prophecy*]

Between Apostleship and Sainthood lies a certain Isthmus[124]
  in which is Prophecy, the rule of which none will dismiss.[125]
But the latter is of two sorts: One given priority—
  that's the mode of Lawgiving—or so says the majority;[126]

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[121] White: *walāyah*; light gray: *nubūwat al-walāyah* (*ʿāmmah*); dark gray: *nubūwat al-tashrīʿ* (*khāṣṣah*); black: *risālah.* If the *nubūwat al-walāyah* is regarded as equivalent to *walāyah*, then the white area can be taken to represent the fourth "pillar of religion," *īmān* (faith) or, possibly, *walāyah ʿāmmah* as the "unconscious sainthood" of mankind.

[122] This was the view of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 141). But as Nicholson points out, Ibn al-ʿArabī taught that "the Jews believed in Jesus until he, as an apostle, reformed the Mosaic law" (*ibid.*, n. 5).

[123] *Fut.* II, 252 (19–24), the opening poem of Chap. 155. The metre is *al-kāmil.*

[124] *Barzakh*: "an interval, or interworld; partition, barrier; isthmus" (*cf. Qur.* 23: 100, 25: 53, and 55: 20; see also Jeffery, *s.v.*).

[125] "The rule of which": *ḥukmu-hā* (*ḥukm*: "authority, jurisdiction").

[126] "The majority": *al-jamīʿ*. "Lawgiving, legislation": *tashrīʿ*.

Another kind of Prophecy is without legislation,
and that's considered the lower in this Nether Station.[127]
But as for us [the Ṣūfīs], it appears to us that, rather,
"One sent-down"[128] [is lower], which is to say the *other*;
For the Legislation of existence shall cease and desist,[129]
and at that time it will appear that *this* mode is the best,[130]
It being Universal, unto its Source with Deity:
for sooth it is the Perfect Elevation of the *Walī*.[131]

Recall that, for al-Ghazzālī, the interim between apostleship (along with prophecy) and sainthood was the state or stage (*ṭawr*) of *ṣiddīqīyah*,[132] personified in the caliph *par excellence*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who was the only person deemed worthy to be buried next to the Prophet in Medina. When the Mahdī comes and passes away, he will be interred between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. This is reflected in Ibn al-ʿArabī's subordinating the *mahdīyah* to *ṣiddīqīyah*, as we have seen;[133] but for him the super-gnostic office of the *qurbah* (nearness = *walāyah*), especially as exemplified in the Seal of sainthood, is superior to the agnostic dignity of the *ṣiddīq* ("Acknowledgement of the inability to know is itself knowledge").[134]

Yet another analytic division of *nubūwah* has to do with whether the prophetic knowledge was delivered by an angel or simply by the Spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-quds*) without concrete angelic agency.[135] In the first case, the prophets are the disciples (*talāmidhah*) of the angel, but this mode of prophecy is no longer operable since the mission of Muḥammad. Now it is significant that in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the *walī* (= *ṣiddīq*) is described as being supported by the Spirit without an angelic form, while both the *rasūl* and the *nabī* are said to be given *angelic* revelations.[136] In this early work the two-fold *nubūwah* is determined, not by the involvement of angelic agency, but by whether or not the prophet is a follower (*tābiʿ*) of some other lawgiver. Here, then, even as no prophet as such is himself "followed" (*matbūʿ*), so all are themselves "followers", in a sense, of angels, whereas some apparently do not subscribe to any formerly revealed law.[137] This basic criterion is confirmed in another passage of the *Futūḥāt* where Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to allow that the *nabī* may receive a truly objective "apostolic" vocation/message (*risālah*) and, in that sense, could be said to be an apostle; but if he is precluded from being followed by others, then he is, properly speaking, a *nabī*, not a *rasūl.*[138]

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[127] "The lower": *al-anzal. Nāzil^{un} ʿalá ḥukmi-hi* means "to bow, submit to s.o.'s authority". "This nether station": *hādhihi l-dunyā* (this world).

[128] *Munzal*: "sent down, revealed" (= the *sharīʿah*).

[129] *Fa-yazūlu tashrīʿu l-wujūdi wa-ḥukmu-hū*: "the legislation of existence and its authority shall cease."

[130] "The best": *al-afḍal* (the most preferred).

[131] *Wa-hwa l-aʿammu, fa-anna-hu l-aṣlu lladhī/ li-Llāhi, fa-hwa nabā* [metrical for *nabʾu*] *l-walīyyi l-akmalū*: "It being the more general, for, indeed, it is [at] the source which belongs to God; for it is the perfect elevation/prominence/protrusion (reading *nabʾ*, cognate with *nabī*)," *etc.*

[132] See H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in al-Ghazzālī*, p. 298.

[133] See above, p. 87 (and n. 68 there).

[134] See above, p. 146, and the refs. in n. 86.

[135] This is the subj. of Chap. 156 of the *Futūḥāt* (II, 254–55).

Another tenet which can be inferred from the *ʿAnqāʾ* passage cited above[139] brings us to the crux of the matter regarding the *tafḍīl al-walī am al-nabī* issue. There the sphere of *walāyah* is denominated the eleventh "station" (*manzilah*) of man, *nubūwah* the twelfth, and *risālah* the thirteenth and last, the very perfection of man's being (*tamām wujūd al-insān*). What is interesting to note, however, is that the eleventh station, sainthood, is correlated with the *first*, which is that of man's unitary essence (*maʿnā-hu*), whereas the other two, prophecy and apostleship, seem to be the counterparts of the second and third, respectively—man's "two states" (s., *ḥālu-hu*) and his "three worlds" (s., *ʿālamu-hu*).[140] The superior universality of sainthood is clearly spelled out in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* in the chapter dedicated to the word of the "prophet", Ezra (ʿUzayr):

> Know that Sainthood is the "General, All-encompassing Sphere" (*al-falak al-muḥīṭ al-ʿāmm*), and, hence, it will not come to an end, possessing, as it does, the [function of] General Informing (*al-inbāʾ al-ʿāmm*). As for Legislating Prophecy (*nubūwat al-tashrīʿ*) and Apostleship (*al-risālah*), they are terminable (*munqaṭaʿah*), and, indeed, in Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) have come to an end. After him there is neither any Prophet—that is, either one who reveals a [new] Law or one who abides by a [previously revealed] one[141]—nor any Apostle,

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[136] See below, p. 397 at n. 95, *et seq.*

[137] See p. 398, n. 98.

[138] See *Fut.* II, 258 (14–15). The next line (16) is ambiguous, but seems to suggest that a *nabī* may also be called a *rasūl* if he communicates his knowledge (*tablīgh*) even though it is in some way peculiar to himself and not intended to be followed by others(?).

[139] See n. 136, citing p. 397 of the trn.

[140] See p. 398 (and n. 105); *cf.* also what precedes that.

[141] *Musharriʿ*^{an} *aw mushharraʿ*^{an} *la-hu.* I concur with Chodkiewicz's interpretation of this passage in *Seal*, 50*sq.*

> or Revealer of Law *par excellence.* This report constitutes a terrible blow to the Saints,[142] since it implies the suspension of the experience (*dhawq*) of total, perfect Servanthood (*al-ʿubūdīyah al-kāmilah al-tāmmah*). For the name relative to [perfect Servanthood—namely, "the Servant" (*al-ʿabd*)]—can no longer be applied to one, since the Servant has no desire to share a name with his Lord (*sayyidu-hu*)—that is, God. But while God does not take the name of "Prophet" or "Apostle", He *does* call Himself the "Friend" [of the Believers] (*al-Walī*); and He is described by this Name, for He has said: "God is the Friend of those who believe,"[143] and "He is the Friend, the Praiseworthy."[144] This Name [*al-Walī*, alone] remains to encroach upon [the domain of] mankind in this World and the Hereafter,[145] so that, indeed, with the cessation of Prophecy and Apostleship, the Servant has no name remaining which is peculiar to him [alone] and not the Real [*i.e.*, God].[146]

The "terrible blow" to the saints mentioned here is definitely mitigated, however, by the fact that God has not closed the door to what Ibn al-ʿArabī styles "*general* prophethood," nor has He failed to spare them a generous portion of the independent exercise of judgment in legal affairs, as the Shaykh makes clear in the same chapter:

> But God has acted kindly to His Servants, for He has left to them the General Prophethood which comprises no Lawgiving authority, and He has even caused [a degree of] Legislation (*al-tashrīʿ*) to remain in the exercise of independent judgment (*al-ijtihād*) in establishing legal decisions, having left them with the [Prophetic] Heritage (*al-wirāthah*) concerning the Lawgiving authority, as [the Prophet] has said: "The Knowers [of God] are the heirs of the Prophets."[147] The "inheritance" (*mīrāth*) in that is simply that they exercise independent judgment in matters of legal decision, and, thus, they do legislate.[148]

In *The Meccan Revelations* Ibn al-ʿArabī writes further on the legal authority (*ḥukm*) remaining to the independent spiritual effort (*ijtihād*) of the *awliyā'*:[149]

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[142] Lit., "it breaks their backs."

[143] *Qur.* 2: 257.

[144] *Qur.* 42: 28.

[145] *Jāra ʿalá ʿibādi Llāhi dunyᵃⁿ wa-ākhiratᵃⁿ*. The functions of *rasūl/nabī* will have no place in the Afterlife, where all are blessed or damned.

[146] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 134–35 (tr. by Austin in *Bezels*, 168).

[147] *Al-ʿulamā'u warathatu l-anbiyā'i* (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, 10; and Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, 19). Of course, the orig. referents of the first word in this trad. were the religious scholars, or legists (= *fuqahā'*), not the Ṣūfīs (*ʿulamā' bi-Llāh*), but I have tr. as Ibn al-ʿArabī intended. The Jewish *tannaim* and *amoraim* (sages of the Talmud) were said to be the heirs of the Biblical prophets.

[148] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 135 (for more from this chap., see App. IV, 611–13).

[149] *Fut.* II, 252 (31–34).

> The Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) declared that Apostleship and Prophecy have indeed come to an end (*inqaṭaʿat*).[150] But they have not [really] ended except in one particular sense—use of the names, "Prophet" and "Apostle", has ended. It is for this reason that the Prophet said: "There will be no Apostle and no Prophet after me."[151] But then he allowed that veridical Dreams of glad-tidings (*al-mubashshirāt*) and the legal judgment of independent scholars (*ḥukm al-mujtahidīn*) should yet remain, even though the name ["Prophet"] has been taken from them. [Thus] he made the judgment/authority (*al-ḥukm*) [of the Prophets] to remain; and he commands those who are ignorant of the Divine Judgment (*al-ḥukm al-ilāhī*) to consult the People of [God's] Remembrance (*ahl al-dhikr*) [*i.e.*, the Ṣūfīs], so that they may direct them in accordance with the results of their spiritual judgments (*ijtihādu-hum*)—even though they may differ among themselves, just as the laws (*al-sharāʾiʿ*) themselves differ. [As God has declared:] "For each of you We have made a Law and a Way (*shirʿah wa-minhāj*)."[152]

In another place in the *Futūḥāt*, referring to the legislative type of prophecy as "outer, manifest" (*al-ẓāhirah*), and the non-legislative, Ṣūfī mode as "inner, esoteric" (*al-bāṭinah*),[153] Ibn al-ʿArabī even stipulates that the Divine power of the prophetic *waḥy* remains active in the world:

> "Manifest Prophecy" [alone] is that the manifestation of which has come to an end [with the passing of Muḥammad]. As for the *Bāṭinī* mode [of Prophecy], it shall not end in this World or the Hereafter, because Divine Revelation (*al-waḥy al-ilāhī*) and the Lordly "Sending-down" (*al-inzāl al-rabbānī*) can*not* come to an end since the very preservation of the World (*ḥifẓ al-ʿālam*) is [sustained] thereby.[154]

In the final analysis it would appear that precious little of real substance was to be denied the friends of God. At the same time, the pretense that the *anbiyāʾ* (at least in the person of the Prophet Muḥammad) were categorically superior to the *awliyāʾ* had to be maintained at all costs. The obfuscation to which even such a forthright advocate as Ibn al-ʿArabī had to resort is evident in the following subterfuge designed to support ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's pro-*walī* dictum quoted earlier[155] while, at the same time, side-stepping any open challenge to the prophets' privileged status. Referring to ʿAbd al-Qādir's saying, "The companies of the Prophets were given the title (*al-laqab*) [*sci.*, the name, 'Prophet'], but we [the Saints] were given what they were not given," after explaining its meaning as we saw above, Ibn al-ʿArabī reflects on its purport:

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[150] This is evidently not quoted as a *ḥadīth* (but *cf.* Ibn Mājah, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, 1: 4).

[151] Many trads. contain this phrase or part of it (see *Concordance, s.v. nabī*). See, for example, the refs. in nn. 60 and 61, p. 120, above; and *cf. Musnad*, III, 338, and VI, 369 & 438; and Ibn Mājah, *Jihād*, 42.

[152] *Qur.* 5: 48.

[153] Strictly speaking, *bāṭin* should not be tr. as "esoteric, secret", since, at least in *Ismāʿīlī* usage, the term connotes rather the specific idea of "requiring interpretation (*taʾwīl*)"—as opposed to "manifest, literal"—whether or not the matter is actually secret (see V. Ivanow, *A Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, p. 24).

[154] *Fut.* III, 285 (34–35).

> Now if [ʿAbd al-Qādir] (May God be pleased with him!) intended by "Prophets" here the "Prophets [as among] the Saints" (*anbiyāʾ al-awliyāʾ*)—that is, the people of the "General Prophethood" (*ahl al-nubūwah al-ʿāmmah*)—then it would be quite correct to say that God has given him [*viz.*, ʿAbd al-Qādir] what He did not give to them, for, truly, [God] has made them [the Prophets] to excel and be excelled [among themselves].[156] That is undeniable.[157]

That is, to follow the tortured logic of the argument: ʿAbd al-Qādir's apparent claim of saintly superiority over [at least some of] the prophets is valid if by "prophets" he is understood to have meant "the prophets *of the Saints*" (to use Ibn al-ʿArabī's hybrid expression), on the strength of Scriptural prooftexts stating that God had made some prophets superior to others![158] But, of course, ʿAbd al-Qādir (or whoever invented the saying and ascribed it to him) certainly did *not* mean that but, rather, just what he said—that, in some way, *the saints have what the prophets do not.* If Ibn al-ʿArabī means to say that the "prophets of the Saints" may well be inferior to the greatest of the Saints (*akābir al-rijāl*, such as ʿAbd al-Qādir) or to the "Saints among the *Prophets*" (such as Muḥammad or Jesus), the syllogism will at least make some sense though its logical inelegance verges on sophistry. A similar argument is presented in a more cogent form in the *Fuṣūṣ* (Ezran chapter):

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[155] See above, pp. 132–33.

[156] *Cf. Qur.* 17: 55 & 21. *Cf.* also 2: 253, *et al.*

[157] *Fut.* II, 90–91. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, the Akbarian epigone and distinguished descendant of ʿAbd al-Qadīr al-Jīlānī, also cited the above saying with some qualification derived from Ibn al-ʿArabī. Nicholson's comments are relevant in the context of our present discussion: "Certain Ṣūfī saints claimed to have outdistanced the prophets, but al-Jīlī decides in favour of the latter. He admits that saintship . . . is the essence of prophecy, and that the prophet *quâ* saint is superior to the prophet *quâ* prophet. . . . The Ṣūfī shaykhs, whom God brings back from the state of trance (*fanāʾ*) in order that they may guide the people to Him, are vicegerents (*khulafāʾ*) of Muḥammad and, as such, are invested with 'the prophecy of saintship' and bound to observe the laws of the last of the institutional prophets, Muḥammad, who in both respects is supreme and unique" (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 141).

[158] See the refs. in n. 156.

> Whenever you see the Prophet speaking in a mode of expression (*kalām*) outside of his Legislative authority (*al-tashrīʿ*), that is on account of his being a Saint and a Gnostic (*ʿārif*). Thus, his Station as a Knower [of God] (*ʿālim*) is more complete and perfect than [his Station] as an Apostle or Lawgiver (*rasūl aw dhū tashrīʿ wa-sharʿ*). So if you hear one of the People of God [*sci.*, the Ṣūfīs] saying—or if it be related to you that one of them said—that Sainthood is higher than Prophethood, then [know that] he only means what we have just indicated. Or should one ever say that the Saint is above the Prophet and the Apostle, then, surely, he means by that *in one [and the same] person* (*fī shakhṣ wāḥid*). That is, the Apostle (May God bless and keep him!) is more perfect by virtue of his being a Saint than he is by virtue of being a Prophet-Apostle. That is not to say that the Saint who follows [the Prophet-Apostle] (*al-walī al-tābiʿ la-hu*) is higher than the latter! For the Follower can never overtake[159] the One Followed (*al-matbūʿ*) *as to that in which he follows him.*[160] Were he to do so, he would not be a "Follower" of his—so *understand*![161]

In other words, Muḥammad as Saint is superior to Muḥammad the Prophet. Here we have the ultimate compromise solution of the *walī* vs. *nabī/rasūl* controversy from the standpoint of the Ṣūfīs: the *de facto* establishment of ascendancy of the saints over [most of] the prophets, while maintaining the *a priori* superiority of *the* Prophet over all.[162] But in lifting up their super-prophet, in reality the Ṣūfīs were simply crowning their own apotheosis.

Despite its grateful reception in many circles,[163] Ibn al-ʿArabī's apparent argument that "*walāyah* is superior to [= 'more complete' (*akmal, atamm*) or 'higher' (*fawqa, aʿlá*) than] *nubūwah-risālah* always and only in the case of one who participates in both"[164] is a patent logical absurdity if sainthood is conceived as a comprehensive class including the subset, prophethood, which, in turn, subsumes apostleship, in accordance with the principle that "every *rasūl* must be a *nabī* and every *nabī* must be a *walī*."[165] Even this latter premise must be considered in doubt, however. We have seen something of the ambiguity of boundaries surrounding the types of "prophet", especially *vis-à-vis* the saint; but the relation between prophet and apostle is problematic, also. The common assumption that the *rasūl* is simply "a *nabī* who has received a *risālah* (a message or prophetic mission) from God in the form of a scripture to be delivered to a particular people" derives, in part, from a fundamental failure of Muslim exegesis to come to terms with the Judaeo-Christian basis of much of the key nomenclature of the Qur'ān. The fact is that the word, *rasūl*, and its cognate, *mursal*, are far more *general* in Qur'ānic (as in Biblical) usage than the term, *nabī*,[166] which invariably signifies a Hebrew religious figure ("prophet" or "patriarch")[167]—with the single notable exception of Muḥammad himself, the apparently unique "Gentile prophet" (*nabī ummī*).[168]

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[159] The verb here is *adraka* (to overtake; to realize), suggesting that there may be an allusion to Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq's maxim quoted earlier (see p. 146). If so, it may be possible to maintain that this caveat does not apply to such advanced Muḥammadan heirs as have reached the *maqām al-qurbah.*

[160] Italics mine, to highlight this significant qualification.

[161] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 135 (tr. also by Austin in *Bezels*, 168–69).

[162] I say "*most* of the prophets," since the argument could be, and was, modified as the need arose to include also such as Jesus, Moses and Abraham, *etc.*, in the category of exceptions.

[163] In his 1971 art., "Al-Tirmidhī's Theory of Saints and Sainthood," Muḥ. al-Geyoushi mentions the theory that sainthood's superority over prophethood applies only to persons who combine both functions, which he implies is to be found in al-Tirmidhī's *K. Maʿrifat al-Asrār* (*Ms. Qastamuni 2713*, f. 147). But while I would not be at all surprised to learn that the argument was current before Ibn al-ʿArabī, I do not find this datum in al-Geyoushī's own edn. of the *Maʿrifat al-Asrār* (1977).

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[164] See *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 135 (9–16), tr. *supra*.

[165] *Fut.* II, 256 (35). Depending upon how the argument is worded, it evidently contains at least two fallacies: Firstly, the "superiority" of *walāyah* in the sense of its greater semantic comprehensiveness/generality or inclusiveness [= *kamālu-hā*] is confused with the homonymous "superiority" of its allegedly greater spiritual/moral or teleological perfection, or transcendence [= *ʿalūwu-hā*]. The first "superiority" is a matter of def., the second is the very point of judgment at issue. Secondly, it is absurd to compare a genus (*walāyah*) with any species or subspecies (*nubūwah, risālah*) contained within it, as if "animals" could sensibly be compared to "mammals" or "primates". Finally, it is by no means clear on what grounds it can be asserted that the above proposition, were it valid, holds true only for apostles and prophets. If Muḥammad is more perfect by virtue of participating in A (= sainthood) than B (= prophecy), a subset of A, then this can only mean that A is superior to B. Obviously, it would not necessarily follow from this that anyone participating in A alone will be superior to s.o. else participating in B (and, *ipso facto*, also A); but, rather, superiority will depend entirely on the *degree* of participation in A. Thus, one who participates only in A, but to an intense degree (this would describe the Muḥammadan Seal of the saints), will, indeed, be superior to one who participates in both A and B, but less profoundly in the former (as, say, for the sake of the argument, the prophet, David). Ibn al-ʿArabī's apparent contention that participation in A always and only renders superiority in the form of the subordination of B to A in a discrete case ("in one person") is either invalid or irrelevant. The syllogism can be made cogent by rephrasing it: that, all things being equal (that is, the degree of participation in A of two individuals), if one individual participates also in B, then he will be superior to one who does not also have that added quality. The real criterion, however, must remain the degree of participation in sainthood, not prophecy.

[166] *E.g.*, in *Qur.* 12: 50, the pharaoh's messenger is called *al-rasūl*, although he carried no written message. There could be no *nabī* of a king or *baʿl*, though they

That Ibn al-ʿArabī, to his credit as a scholar, was quite aware of this fact is evident in his pointing out that, contrary to the usual formula, "not every apostle is a prophet,"[169] inasmuch as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Muʿādh b. al-Jabal, and Diḥyah b. Khalīfah, for example, were all "apostles" (= messengers, envoys) of Muḥammad (*rusul rasūl Allāh*) but were not prophets.[170] As this very usage signifies, the original, Qur'ānic purport of the religious phrase, *rasūl Allāh*, was undoubtedly that of "a messenger from God to a particular nation"; which, in a sense, met Ibn al-ʿArabī's criterion of *having a following*, but it probably did not imply the bringing of a written "message" or scriptural law, and actually tended to preclude the idea, since the peoples

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may have *rusul* (emissaries). *Rasūl* = Gr., *apostolos* (which is tr. as *ḥawārī* when applied to the "apostles [of Christ or another prophet]"). Note that the distinction between (Heb.) *nābī'/nabī* and *apostolos/rasūl* is the same in Christian as in Muslim literature, exc. that Muslims have come to add the notion of a *written* message (= *risālah*) to the latter.

[167] A possible exception is Idrīs, who is frequently identified with Enoch, however, and, sometimes, Elijah (Ilyās). From the time of Moses and Aaron, all of the *anbiyā'* were Jews until Muḥammad, while the *rusul* inc. such native Arabians as Shuʿayb, Hūd and Ṣāliḥ.

[168] See J. Horowitz's art., "nabī," in *E.I.* 1; and A. Jeffery, *The Qur'ān As Scripture*, pp. 27–28. While it may be argued that many, if not most, of the *anbiyā'* mentioned in the Qur'ān did not publish new scriptures and, therefore, presumably did not institute new Divine laws, it is by no means certain that Muḥammad himself knew/believed this. The Qur'ān extends the Biblical concept of the *nabī* to include those called "patriarchs" in Biblical tradition (at the same time omitting mention of most of the actual prophets, major and minor), and the assumption could be made that these personages were conceived to have based their leadership on Divine mandates manifested in some form of scripture. As more was learned about the previous Biblical and Haggadic accounts of the patriarchs, however, it became the consensus of opinion that most of them had *not* received scriptures not cited in the Qur'ān and trads. This led, then, to the arbitrary classification of *nabīs* into those who instituted new laws (*anbiyā' musharriʿūn*) and those who did not, but operated under a previously established law (*anbiyā' musharraʿ la-hum*).

[169] *Fut.* II, 258 (17).

[170] *Ibid.*, ll. 17–18. In the "year of deputations" (9/630), ʿAlī was sent as the Prophet's envoy to Najrān, Muʿādh to Ḥimyar and Diḥyah to Byzantium (see W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medinah*, pp. 357–58 and 366, *et al.*). Diḥyah's mission to Caesar (Heraclius) is described in Guillaume's trn. of the *Sīrah*, pp. 653–57. It is interesting to note that in *ibid.*, p. 653, the messengers sent forth by the Prophet Muḥammad to the various kingdoms are explicitly compared to the apostles of Jesus (*al-ḥawārīyūn*), who, recall, were also dispatched to the nations (see Wensinck's art., "rasūl," in *E.I.* 1).

in question were not always literate.[171] Nevertheless, as the unique messenger of God to a given nation, the *rasūl* could, indeed, be conceived as a special type of prophet, *were the latter to exist as a class except among the Hebrew/Jewish people*, the "People of the Book." Ironically, it is the conjectural similarity of the Hebrew *anbiyā'* to the *awliyā'* of other nations that partially supports the idea of the *rasūl* being a special instance of the *nabī* (= *walī*) class.

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[171] Of the *rusul* of God mentioned as such in the Qur'ān, only Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad (and sometimes Adam and Noah; but not David, even though the *Zabūr*, "Psaltery", is mentioned) are considered to have brought scriptures, so that the "people of the Book" may simply be regarded as a religious-literate exception among the nations.

VII. THE FLIGHT OF THE FABULOUS GRYPHON

> "The Virgin-Secrets (*abkār al-asrār*) are only 'deflowered' with us [in the Occident, the Maghrib]. Thereafter, they emerge before you in your Orient (*mashriqu-kum*) as 'Divorcees' who have ended their period of waiting. . . ."
>
> —Ibn al-ʿArabī (*K. al-Intiṣār*, in *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 20, p. 4).

> "The West is the best."
>
> —Jim Morrison (*The End*).

When Ibn al-ʿArabī died in Damascus, the "Refuge of the prophets" (*maʾwá l-anbiyāʾ*), he was seventy-seven years old (or 75 solar years).[1] He had resided for nearly two apparently quiet decades in the Syrian capital, but, prior to that, had spent over twenty less settled years wandering throughout the greater Holy Land from Mecca to the Tigris and the Anatolian highlands, occasionally settling down for longer or shorter periods in such places as Konya, Malatya and Aleppo. Moreover, the last decade of his earlier, Maghribine period, was also characteristically ambulatory, so that, in fact, *the greater part of Ibn al-ʿArabī's active adult life was spent in travel*, a circumstance which, very obviously, he managed to successfully reconcile with an extensive literary activity. Indeed, many of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings are carefully dated and/or located, at least in some of the more valuable manuscripts,[2] these bibliographic indications being one of our chief sources of information on the author's life, as a perusal of

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[1] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's life in Damascus, see *Quest*, 245–89. "The land of Damascus" is a pre-eschatological, or exilic, expression used in the famous "Damascus Document" of the Qumrān sect of the Essenes (see H. Shanks, ed., *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 81–82), for whom "Damascus" was a symbolic name for "Babylon" (*cf. Amos* 6: 26–27; and *Acts* 7: 43). See also N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism*, pp. 1–51.

[2] *Mss. Veliyuddin 51* and *1579*, and *Chester Beatty 5459* are examples of such particularly informative documents. Also, the provenience of some of Ibn al-ʿArabī's books is indicated in the texts themselves (*e.g.*, in the *K. al-Isrāʾ*, *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*), and in a few instances it is evinced in the very title (*Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah, Al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣilīyah, Al-Fatḥ al-Fāsī*).

Addas's biography, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, will amply testify.[3]

In this connection it is interesting to note that, as Ibn al-ʿArabī emigrated from al-Andalus to the Middle East proper—that is, let us remind ourselves, from continental Europe to Asia, the Occident to the Orient—around the turn of the 7th/13th century at the age of thirty-seven,[4] he actually passed nearly half of his life in the West, the far *Maghrib*, at the extreme "left end," so to speak, of the Islamic world.[5] This fact is quite remarkable when we consider that a vastly disproportionate quantity of Ibn al-ʿArabī's treatises date from the *second* half of his life, when he was resident in the East, the *Mashriq*. This is true even when we figure that some of his Maghribine works were later incorporated into the all-subsuming *Meccan Revelations*; and, again, it is remarkable since we might have expected a greater showing from the writer's more youthful and, presumably, less hectic provincial period. Thus, we can see how important was the element of travel—the actual *physical* transference from his Andalusian homeland to the Arab-Islamic heartland of his spiritual and cultural roots—in the unfolding of the literary and mystical vocation of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

In particular, the pivotal centrality of our Ṣūfī pilgrim's omphalic experience in Mecca, circumambulating the Kaʿbah, has no doubt frequently been noted.[6] All indications are that a veritable explosion of pent-up creative energies was released at this midway point in Ibn al-ʿArabī's life, an experience of both essential anchoring and existential freedom which was to dominate and define not only the remainder of his long and productive career—his *vita nuova* in the East—but also, one suspects, the Western years of the old life that went before. Like the *barzakh*, or "isthmus", separating (and connecting) the two world-oceans, Ibn al-ʿArabī's enchanted first sojourn in Mecca divides his earthly existence into two spheres, one of them, the second, being much better documented in primary historical evidence[7]—the picture which we have inherited of the Shaykh al-Akbar and great Ṣūfī "Reviver of Islam"[8] having actually developed only after his subsequent "resurrection" in the Mashriq.

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[3] The chronological table in the back of her book cites many of the refs.

[4] As he spent Ramaḍān, his birth-month, in Cairo with old friends from Seville in 598 (June, 1202), he was actually close to thirty-eight (= 37 solar) years old when he left the Maghrib.

[5] Ibn al-ʿArabī was born in the Spanish Levant (*Sharq al-Andalus*), which was called *al-aqsá*, "the furthest region [from the central lands]," a description which was quite apt by the end of the 6th/12th cent.

[6] See, *e.g.*, Corbin's *Creative Imagination*, pp. 51–53; and *Quest*, 193–217.

[7] While we have many autobiographical refs. to Ibn al-ʿArabī's life in the Maghrib,

Obviously, if our assessment of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings is to be based on a critical, historical analysis, it would be desirable, if feasible, to begin by trying to form an impression of his thought as it stood "in print" at a period definitely earlier than is represented in his more celebrated *magna opera*, which, even when they were not late productions (as in the case of the *Fuṣūṣ*), are often known or assumed to have been later revised (as were parts of the *Futūḥāt*). Even such acknowledged early works as the *Isrāʾ*, *Mawāqiʿ* and the *Turjūman al-Ashwāq* (The Interpreter of Desires),[9] in the absence of indisputably pristine manuscript evidence, may be presumed to have undergone some change, however minor to all but the perturbable specialist. Earlier we noted the difficulty of determining which books had actually been completed before the *ʿAnqāʾ*,[10] but the same uncertainty surrounds most of the titles dating from the wider *Maghribī* period. All three of Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften* are probably post-Maghribine in part, and even the main body of the *Mashāhid* as we have it now could be. I have reason to believe that the *R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* (The Epistle of Cosmic Unity)[11] was written in the West—indeed, shortly after the *ʿAnqāʾ*[12]—but, again, the textual evidence is uncertain. Indeed, the closer we examine the available material, the more we see most of what we think we know about the Shaykh al-Akbar being postdated beyond the decisive turning-point of his departure from the West in 598/1202.

But before we begin to despair of realizing our intention to discover the Master's doctrine in a coherent, relatively early form, let

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most (though by no means all) of these were written later, in the form of reminiscences. As far as I know, of extant manuscripts, only *Ms. Berlin 3266* itself dates from the Maghribine period (see below, pp. 197–99).

[8] *Muḥyī l-Dīn*. This honorific *laqab* was certainly not bestowed on Ibn al-ʿArabī before his departure from the West, where such *alqāb mashriqīyah* were not approved of (see p. 14, n. 6).

[9] This suite of erotic-mystical poetry was composed in Mecca in 598/1202, as is noted in the book's preface.

[10] See pp. 76–78.

[11] D. Gril has pub. an excellent edn. and trn. with intro. of this work in "Le Livre de l'Arbre et des quatre Oiseaux d'Ibn ʿArabī" (*Annales islamologiques*, 17 [1981]). He gives the complete title as: "Epitre où il est montré comment le créature retrouve son unité dont la rend témoin son être essentiel et comment elle est mise en présence de l'Arbre humain et des quatre Oiseaux spirituels."

[12] Gril also speculated that the *Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* was composed in the Maghrib (see "Le Livre de l'Arbre," pp. 67–68).

us recall that, fortunately, there are at least a few extant works of Ibn al-ʿArabī, most of them quite well represented in good primary material, which were undoubtedly completed in the West (even if they *could* have been recensed later). Of these, the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* is especially apropos in the context of the situation we have just been considering[13] since it was written precisely at the time that Ibn al-ʿArabī must have been seriously contemplating his momentous journey—turning it over in his heart, so to speak—no doubt primarily in terms of his intention to perform the canonical pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to Mecca. In this sense, the theme of the "journey of the heart" (*safar al-qalb*)[14] may well be regarded as something bound up with every level of man's being, the mundane as well as the mystical, the concrete and historical dovetailing with the suprapersonal, transcendent Goal.[15]

A matter of such critical import in the earthly and spiritual biography of our subject bears closer consideration: Why did Ibn al-ʿArabī decide to leave his homeland in the Maghrib, never to return?[16] Was he, as I have suggested, constrained to do so by political or prevailing social circumstances in the ominously unstable situation following the death of the Almohad ruler, Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr (in 595/1199)? There can be little doubt that this was an important factor. Under the Berber hegemony of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, the experience of prominent Ṣūfīs in the generations preceding Ibn al-ʿArabī's, such as Abū l-Ḥakam Ibn Barrajān, Abū l-ʿAbbās Ibn al-ʿArīf and Abū Madyan Shuʿayb,[17] had not been encouraging: Each of these three, summoned to the court at Marrakesh (we may assume, because of their popular following), died sudden, unexplained deaths, either in or *en route* to or from the Berber capital. Another Andalusian Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqī (*fl.* 545/1150), seems to have only escaped this fate by absconding in the East for a time,[18] and it is well known that the Algarvian Ṣūfī-rebel, Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151), likewise, came to a bad end.[19] *Falsafah* also had its martyrs, though not necessarily "in the body": The great Jewish philosopher, Abū ʿImrān Mūsá b. Maymūn (Moses Maimonides, d. 601/1204 in Cairo), had found it expedient to depart his Andalusian homeland, and the final years of Ibn Rushd had been embittered by house arrest and public humiliation.[20]

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[13] *Ms. Berlin 3266* (upon which I have based the present trn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ*) is dated Jumādá l-Ūlá, 597 (Feb., 1201)—that is, over a full year before Ibn al-ʿArabī's departure from Tunis to Cairo.

[14] This is the title of the first *bāb* of the *K. al-Isrāʾ* (p. 57) and the theme of the 1994 Berkeley symposium of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabī Society at which a version of the present chap. was first read.

[15] In the *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, Ibn al-ʿArabī def. the "traveller" (*al-musāfir*) as "the one who travels by means of his mental reflection (*fikru-hu*) upon the intelligibles, which is to understand invisible things through the analogy of visible ones (*al-iʿtibār*), so that he swims (*ʿabara*) from the shore of this world to the further shore" (T.B. al-Jarrahi and R.T. Harris, trs., inc. as an app. to their *What the Seeker Needs* [1992], p. 90).

[16] In fact, we do not know whether or not he intended ever to return. Probably he kept his options open at least until the very encouraging welcome he received in Mecca.

[17] On the relationship between the first two of these Ṣūfīs, who both died in 536/1141, see Paul Nwiya, "Notes sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān," in *Hesperis*, 43 (1956). The exact deathdate

Furthermore, as we saw earlier, there is some evidence to suggest that our Ṣūfī may have had misgivings about his own ambivalent relationship with the Almohad authorities.[21] Are we, then, to consider Ibn al-ʿArabī's removal from his native country as primarily a kind of *hijrah*, or "exodus from spiritual oppression"? The Qurʾān recommends this:

> He who emigrates (*yuhājiru*) in the way of God will find in the earth much refuge and space. [*Sūrah IV*: 100][22]

But while it may be compelling to regard these external circumstances as something like the contractions accompanying a natural birth, there is really no warrant in downplaying the positive attractions

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of Abū Madyan is unclear in the various sources, but it was certainly within a decade of Ibn al-ʿArabī's emigration (see my art., "Ibn al-ʿArabī's 'Cinquain'," pp. 70–71). It is worth noting that all of the Ṣūfīs and philosophers mentioned in this paragraph were Andalusians.

[18] See Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Muʿjam fī Aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī l-Imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī* (1886), p. 139, *no.* 123. His full name: Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh *and* Abū Bakr al-Mayūrqī. He lived in Granada.

[19] See Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥullah al-Siyarāʾ*, vol. II, pp. 197–200; and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, pp. 285–90. Another Ṣūfī from the Algarve was Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. al-Malḥ (regarding whom), see Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá l-Maghrib*, vol. I, p. 384.

[20] Ironically, it was Averroes' grandfather and namesake, an influential Mālikite qāḍī, who had most urgently advocated the deportation of the Jews from Andalusia. As we saw, Ibn al-ʿArabī witnessed the funeral procession of Ibn Rushd in Ṣafar, 595 (Dec., 1198), just one month before having the visionary experience which would result in his writing of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see pp. 52–54).

[21] See pp. 44–47 for the description of the Almohad caliph's attempt to recruit Ibn al-ʿArabī.

[22] See also vv. 97–99.

that the more affluent and sophisticated lands of the East would have held for a man of such ambitious visions as Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Besides the explicit religious injunction to perform the pilgrimage to the holy places (*ḥijjah*) and, if need be, emigrate from a profane place (*hijrah*), there had always been in Islam a strong tradition of travel (*riḥlah*) for spiritual betterment—the *ṭalab al-ʿilm*, or "search for knowledge," having originally been an intensely interpersonal acquisition of choice, privileged information, typically involving more or less travel and travail to arrive at a position in which one could hear and know. As the season for the serious exercise of this laudable mode of learning regressed, the desire for physical—that is, *total*—connection with spiritual power began to take the form of "visits" (*ziyārāt*) to special, hallowed places—usually the shrines of charismatic saints, but sometimes, of course, the abodes of living shaykhs, as well. At the same time, travel for the sake of worldly commerce had always characterized Arab society, and by the late-classical period a kind of "tourism" (*siyāḥah*) in its own right had become a common practice, especially with *Maghribīs*, such as al-Māzinī, Ibn Jubayr,[23] and the globetrotting Ibn Baṭṭūṭah.[24] But beyond all of this, the mystical "journey of the heart"—typically, but not always, taking the *vertical* form of an ascent (*miʿrāj*) through the stations of the spheres—had become a favored vehicle of Ṣūfī expression and one of the first genres to which our young author would himself apply his pen. For in addition to the *Book of the Night-Journey* (*K. al-Isrā'*), otherwise called the *K. al-Miʿrāj* (Book of the Ascent), which was written in 594/1197, one of the earliest firm dates in Ibn al-ʿArabī's bibliography—we will see in a moment how the *ʿAnqā' Mughrib* also employs the trope of journeying, but in an ostensibly earthly, that is, *horizontal* mode, which, yet, is clearly intended as a metaphor of the heart's spiritual progress to its Home.

This is hardly to be wondered at, since, as we have observed, the *ʿAnqā'* was composed at a time when Ibn al-ʿArabī must have been preoccupied with, perhaps even planning, his ultimate move to the East. As Addas demonstrates, an important letter (*kitāb*) from Ibn al-ʿArabī's private correspondence, also written at this time, appears to give an account of the Ṣūfī's farewell tour through Andalusia in the winter of 595/1198–99.[25] The letter immediately following that one is worth quoting for its treatment of what I have styled the "horizontal" mode of mystical wayfaring. It begins:

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[23] Who was with Ibn al-ʿArabī at Ibn Rushd's funeral (see p. 52, n. 23).

[24] Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was a Moroccan who died in his homeland in 779/1377 after having travelled throughout the known world. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥ. al-Māzinī (d. 565/1169–70) and Ibn Jubayr (see preceding note) were Andalusians, as were the great geographers, Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī.

> Peace to the virtuous friend, the distant one who is near! Truly, I journeyed forth to gain [spiritual] health and wealth, and that I might learn that which I did not know. I abandoned (*hajartu*) family and homeland, and emigrated (*raḥaltu*) without hesitation from [my] ancestral country (*arḍ al-badan*),[26] ascending an ascent, the full-moon of my Essence proceeding from the twenty-second lunar Mansion to the twenty-fourth.[27] And I mounted the [steed of] Wayfaring in foreign lands (*al-jawwāb*),[28] heading straight for the Presence of the [Divine] Power (*ḥaḍrat al-mulk*); and I passed from the norm by [God's] Grace,[29] fearful of perdition (*makhāfat al-hulk*),[30] and traversed the vast wasteland until I reached the Ninth Station.[31] For I set forth in the last three nights of the Waning Moon in order that I might achieve success in the first three of the New Moon,[32] "doffing the sandals"[33] when I came to the place of [God's] two Feet (*mawḍiʿ al-qadamayn* [*sci.*, the Divine Footstool]),[34] rending the Veil and opening the Doors. Then I commanded

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[25] *Quest*, 169–73. This is the long, third letter in the *K. al-Kutub*, inc. in *Rasāʾil* (*r.* 21, pp. 5–10).

[26] *Badan*: "body, trunk; the stock, lineage, or parentage of a man", *etc.* (see Lane, *s.v.* [end]).

[27] *Saʿd al-dhābiḥ*: two stars in the constellation, Capricorn, sometimes specified as the 22nd mansion of the moon. *Saʿd al-suʿūd* (the fortune of fortunes) is the name given to an asterism in Aquarius, similarly identified as the 24th mansion (for a fuller account, see *ibid.*, s.v. *saʿd* and *dhābiḥ*).

[28] Perhaps the orig. reading was *al-jawād* (the swift horse). The verb implies that some kind of vehicle is intended (*e.g.*, al-Burāq, the Prophet's phantastic mount in the "night-journey"?). In the light of what we will have to say about the symbolism of the *ʿanqāʾ* (= *Lämmergeier*), it may be significant that *jawb* also connotes the "pouncing down of a bird" (*ibid.*, *s.v. jāba*).

[29] *Wa-fanaytu bi-l-minnati ʿani l-ʿādati.*

[30] Foll. *Ms. Fatih 5322*, f. 76. The *Rasāʾil* edn. has *al-halāk*.

[31] In Ibn al-ʿArabī's version of the *miʿrāj* in Chap. 167 of the *Futūḥāt* (see *Isrāʾ*, 241–51), the rational philosopher is able to accompany the mystic in his ascent as far as the seventh heaven, beyond which he may not go, while no secret remains hidden from the faithful believer. (On this subj., see *Seal*, 147–82; and Morris, "The Spiritual Ascension," in *J.A.O.S.*, 107: 4 and 108: 1 [1987–88]).

[32] *Fa-sirtu fī l-muḥāqi thalāth*^{in} *li-afūza ʿinda l-rujūʿi thalāth*^{in}. Concerning the various significations of the *layālī l-muḥāq* and the three nights foll. them, see Lane, *s.v. daʾādiʾ* and *al-daʿjāʾ*. However these nights are reckoned, they follow the progression through the lunar mansions already hinted at.

[33] *Cf. Qur.* 20: 12 (and *Exo.* 3: 5) and the command to Moses to remove his sandals before ascending the holy mountain. The *mawḍiʿ al-qadamayn* in the foll. clause could conceivably allude to the "foothills" above the sacred valley of Ṭuwá, mentioned in the above-cited verse.

[34] The Divine footstool (*al-kursī*) is the eighth sphere in the trad. Islamic cosmology (*cf. Fut.-Y.*, II, 362).

> the height of the Mountain [of Sinai] (*jabal al-Ṭūr*),[35] and the Inscribed Book (*al-kitāb al-masṭūr*) appeared to me thereupon. . . .[36]

While it is true that the expression, "ascent" (*ṣuʿūd*), is used here—mainly, I think, to provide a rhyme with *Saʿd al-suʿūd* ("Fortune of fortunes," the twenty-fourth lunar mansion)—this passage gives me the impression, rather, of a *lateral*, cross-country itinerary—specifically, of a movement from the West to the East, the Maghrib to the land of Midian (or *Madyan*), where Moses took refuge in his first flight from Egypt, and where he later received the Divine Revelation.[37] (As for the "ascent", it may not be insignificant that popular Arab geography thought of the Occident as being lower than the Orient, conceiving a more or less continual incline from the Atlantic coast to the Iranian plateau).[38] But if the passage is to be understood as recounting some kind of cross-country venture, it certainly must be an imaginary one, for the simple reason that at the time the letter was written Ibn al-ʿArabī had not yet really mounted "the steed of Wayfaring in foreign lands."[39] The same is true, of course, of the very first line of the *K. al-Isrā'*:

> I set out from the land of al-Andalus in the direction of al-Qudus (Jerusalem)—[my] steed, Submission [to the Law] (*al-istislām*), with Holy Struggle (*al-mujāhadah*) my bed and Trust [in God] (*al-tawakkul*) my provision for the journey.[40]

The mention of Jerusalem here poses another question. We asked earlier: Why did Ibn al-ʿArabī leave the Maghrib in 598/1202? Of course, the short answer is simple: It was time to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Now, in the event, we know that Ibn al-ʿArabī travelled from Cairo, where he spent the month of Ramaḍān, in 598 A.H. (June, 1202), to Hebron and Jerusalem before turning south to consummate the pilgrimage in Mecca.[41] Note that this is a sort of reverse re-enactment of the Prophet's Night-journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, followed by his Ascension into the heavens, with the Kaʿbah in the new version taking the place of the latter, the highest goal. The Kaʿbah, we know, symbolizes the Heart to the Ṣūfī.[42] Thus, we see the *Ḥajj* as a Journey of the heart to the Heart. Furthermore, of course, it is *from* the Heart—all of this both in the sense of being mystical (by which I mean transcendental, purely "objective") and, at the same time, imaginary (= "subjective"), as we see in the following passage from the *ʿAnqāʾ*—which, recall, was written in Andalusia over two years before Ibn al-ʿArabī's *hijrah/ḥajj*:

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[35] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 63, 95: 2, and 52: 1.

[36] *K. al-Kutub*, pp. 10–11.

[37] See *Qur.* 28: 20–22*sq.* Could the Suez peninsula be the *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* of 18: 60?

[38] See B.A. Collins, *Al-Muqaddasī, the Man and His Work*, p. 157.

[39] Ibn al-ʿArabī had ventured as far as Tūnis in 590/1194, but this would not have been considered a "foreign land," particularly as it was closely connected with the Balearics and eastern Andalusia by well-established maritime routes.

[40] *Isrā'*, 57. This is also the beginning of the *Bāb safar al-qalb.*

[41] It was not uncommon for pilgrims of means from the Maghrib to precede their *ḥajj*-proper to Mecca with a jaunt to Jerusalem. The geographer and anthologist, Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Saʿīd (d. *c.* 686/1287), for example, like Ibn al-ʿArabī, emigrated

> The Pilgrim intent upon the Ancient House (*al-bayt al-ʿatīq* [the Kaʿbah])[43] will not be able to arrive thereat until he shall have traversed every deep mountain-pass, left close friend and country, relinquished every stopping-place and resting-place, separated from wife and child, becoming estranged in his Wayfaring from everyone; so that, when he arrives at the Pilgrimage rendezvous-point (*al-mīqāt*)[44] he is liberated from the bondage of Time (*riqq al-awqāt*) and becomes free of its [binding] fabric, abandoning its complexity for its simplicity; and as he begins to give answer (*yulabbī*)[45] to the One Who summoned him, he forgets all that of which he was conscious before. And as he ascends the "High Road" (*Kadāʾ*),[46] the Sign of Guidance (*ʿalam al-hudá*) shines forth for him; and as he enters the Sacred Precinct (*al-ḥaram*), becoming sacrosanct, and kisses the [Black] Stone (*al-ḥajar*), giving his assent, he calls to mind the Eternal Covenant (*mīthāq al-azal*)[47] while he circumambulates his [own] Kaʿbah (*Kaʿbatu-hu*), embracing his [own human] Form (*nashʾatu-hu*). Thus, in all of his ritual acts (*manāsiku-hu*) he follows his own ways (*masāliku-hu*). For if he passes by the [external] House (*al-maghná*) and attends to the *spiritual* Pilgrimage (*ḥujjat maʿn*$^{\acute{a}n}$), *that* is the Pilgrim who does well![48]

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from Andalusia in his mid-thirties, travelling to the Ḥijāz and ʿIrāq *via* Cairo and Jerusalem (as did al-Maqqarī, also, in the early 11th/17th cent.).

[42] See, *e.g.*, Ibn al-ʿArabī's gloss on ode *no.* 27 (v. 1) of the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq* (Nicholson, ed. and tr. [1911], p. 103).

[43] See *Qur.* 22:29.

[44] The place where pilgrims to Mecca remove their worldly garb and put on the *ḥullah*, or shroud, signifying the state of sanctity (*iḥrām*). There are five of these sites established by tradition.

[45] The *ḥajj*-song, intoned after the assumption of *iḥrām*, is the *talbiyah*, inc. the refrain, *Labbay-ka!* (At Thy service!).

[46] Dr. Chodkiewicz informs me that *Kadāʾ* is a proper name for the *chemin du haut* by which pilgrims are advised to enter the holy precincts, while *Kudāʾ* (or *Kudayy*^{in} or *Kud*$^{\acute{a}n}$) is the "low road" for exiting thence.

[47] This is the pre-existential covenant between God and the children of Adam commemorated in *Qur.* 7: 172, which pilgrims were to recall as they kissed the Black Stone.

[48] Pp. 246–48 of the trn. *Ḥujjat maʿn*$^{\acute{a}n}$ could also be rendered: "the authentication of inner meaning."

Although my translation here may be slightly interpretive, the inescapable impression conveyed by this passage and the extended poetic allegory of the *ḥajj* which follows is that the real pilgrimage is that of the mystical Heart to the inner, spiritual Sanctum.[49] By the way, the minute details in the *ʿAnqāʾ* poem of some of the stations of the *ḥajj*- ceremony between the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* and Mount ʿArafāt might well suggest to one who did not know better that the author had already first-hand knowledge of the area.

Elsewhere in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the human body (*jism*) is likened to Noah's Ark adrift on the flood (*fulk bi-baḥr al-jawd*),

> —stirred by a Western Wind laden with the Secrets,
> While the Ark's Passenger (as long as it is driven
> by the Wind of the Law) is preserved and blessed.[50]

The point to which I would like to draw attention in these verses is the fact that the wind powering the Ark is said to be from the *west* (*rīḥ min al-gharb*).[51] Unlike the gentle Zephyr of Greek literature, the westerly wind (*al-dabūr*) of the Arabs was not portrayed as beneficent. In the chapter devoted to the Arabian prophet, Hūd,[52] in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, God drives the wrongdoers to Gehenna by means of the westerly wind,[53] which He uses to purge them of their lower-souls (*nufūsu-hum*): "For He shall seize them by their forelocks,[54] while the Western Wind—it being the very passions (*al-ahwā'*) by which they used to be swayed—drives them to *Jahannam*, that being the distance (*al-buʿd*) which they used to imagine [as separating them from Reality]."[55] In light of such negative connotations, it is remarkable that our poet chose to use the expression, "a wind from the West," in the above passage from the *'Anqā'* unless, perhaps, he simply meant to allude to the mystical Night-flight (*al-isrā'*) from "the land of al-Andalus in the direction of al-Qudus (Jerusalem)."[56] In both cases the movement is *eastward*. But what might this geographical orientation portend?

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[49] Of course, variations on this theme had been commonplace in Ṣūfism from the classical period. For Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Khayr's extreme view, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 61–62 and 25 (*cf.* also Nicholson's trn. of the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 326–29; and his edn. of Abū Naṣr ʿAbd Allāh al-Sarrāj's *K. al-Lumaʿ fī l-Taṣawwuf*, pp. 166–74 [esp. pp. 172–73] of the Arabic text, and pp. 45–46; and F. Meier's *Abū Saʿīd-i Abūʾl Ḫair*: Wirklichkeit und Legende (1976). It must not be inferred from what I have said that Ibn al-ʿArabī, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca on numerous occasions, did not sincerely acknowledge the legal obligations of the *ḥajj*.

[50] Trn., pp. 268–69 (see nn. 44 and 45 there). "The ark's passenger": *rākib al-fulk*.

[51] Lane quotes the *Ṣiḥāḥ* in its description of the "westerly wind" (*al-dabūr, al-qabūl*) as "the wind that faces the House [of God, *i.e.*, the Kaʿbah], . . . as though yearning towards [it]" (*s.v.* *ṣab^{ān}*).

[52] Hūd, a kinsman of the Arabian people of ʿĀd, is one of the twenty-seven prophets named in the Qur'ān and, hence, treated in the 27 chaps. of the *Fuṣūṣ*. In the vision of all of the prophets which Ibn al-ʿArabī beheld in Cordoba in 586/1190, Hūd was said to be the only one who actually spoke to him (see *Fut.* IV, 77 [27–28*sq.*], tr. in *Quest*, 74–75).

[53] *Cf. Qur.* 19: 86. *Cf.* also App. I, 539, where a fire from Aden replaces the western wind as one of the ten signs of the eschaton. For the probable basis of these various scenarios, see the trad. of the three clouds recounted in Wensinck's art., "Hūd," in *E.I.* 1.

[54] *Bi-nawāṣī-him* (*cf. Qur.* 11: 56, where Hūd describes God thus).

In the chapter on the word of Moses in the *Fuṣūṣ*, Ibn al-ʿArabī interprets the Qur'ānic expression, "the Lord of the East and the West (*Rabb al-mashriq wa-l-maghrib*),"[57] in terms of another verse: "He is the First and the Last, and the Manifest and the Hidden (*al-Ẓāhir wa-l-Bāṭin*)"[58]—indicating that the "East" in the Ṣūfī's symbolic universe corresponds to the external, phenomenal manifestation of creation (*al-maẓhar*), whereas the "West" stands for the ineffable, more spiritual Unseen (*al-ghayb*).[59] This paradigm would appear to be quite significant for its sheer originality, since it has always been a commonplace in literature to associate the East, the place of the rising sun, with the notions of enlightenment and new life, while the West has ever been viewed as the land of darkness and death. Thus, it is interesting to read in Ode XIV of the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq* the opening verse:

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[55] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 107–08 (tr. in *Bezels*, 131). See also below, p. 192 (at n. 176). Ibn al-ʿArabī's theodicean ingenuity is fully exercised in the remainder of the passage: "When [God, thus] drives them to that place, they [finally] attain unto true Nearness [to Him], for the distance [separating Them] vanishes and the very meaning of "Hell" ceases for them. And they win the grace of Nearness deservedly (*min jihat al-istiḥqāq*). [*Cf. Qur.* 11: 60: "A far removal for ʿĀd, the people of Hūd!"]. Because they are wrongdoers, and [therefore, God] does not grant them this blissfully sweet Station (*al-maqām al-dhawqī al-ladhīdh*) as a free gift (*al-minnah*), but, on the contrary, they take [that station] in accordance with what their essential realities (*ḥaqā'iqu-hum*) have merited by their own actions which they have pursued. In working at their deeds they were [actually always] in accord with the Straight Path of the Lord, because their forelocks were in the hand of One who has this Attribute (*al-ṣifah*) [*sci.*, the Western Wind?]). Thus, they do not walk by their own strength (*bi-nufūsi-him*), but, rather, by compulsion (*bi-ḥukm al-jabr*) until they arrive at true Nearness" (I, 108).

[56] *Isrā'*, 57, quoted above (p. 170). But *cf.* below, pp. 192–93.

[57] *Qur.* 26: 28.

[58] *Qur.* 57: 3.

[59] See *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 208 (tr. in *Bezels*, 262).

He saw the Lightning in the East,
and, so, longed for the East;
But had it flashed forth in the West,
he would have longed for *that*,[60]

—For the poet himself went on in his commentary, the *K. al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-Aʿlāq* (The Book of Caches and Treasures),[61] to gloss "the East" in this line as "the locus of phenomenal manifestation" (*mawḍiʿ al-ẓuhūr al-kawnī*), and to paraphrase the verse as meaning: "If [instead of being the Divine Self-Revelation in external forms (*al-tajallī fī l-ṣuwar*)] it had been a manifestation to the [inner] Hearts—that is, the Self-Revelation of the Divine Essence which is alluded to analogically as "the West"[62]—the mystic Lover (*al-muḥibb*) would also have longed for the World of Transcendence and the Unseen (*ʿālam al-tanzīh wa-l-ghayb*)."[63]

In another Akbarian treatise, the *R. al-Intiṣār* (The Epistle of Victory), the theme of mystical *eros* is again presented in connection with the East-West polarity.[64] Writing in response to some questions on Ṣūfī tenets conveyed to him from a certain ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh of Baghdad,[65] Ibn al-ʿArabī begins by abasing himself as "the meanest Ṣūfī of the Maghrib, the least of them in comportment (*sulūk*) and the most deficient as to spiritual endowment (*fatḥ*),"[66] but goes on to assure his Eastern correspondent: "But, by God, were you to behold those among us who have arrived at the very Source/Essence of Reality (*al-wāṣilūn min-nā ilá ʿayn al-ḥaqīqah*), you would surely pass away in the Real at the first flash of your Realization (*la-fanayta fī awwali lamḥati fanāʾi-ka fī l-Ḥaqqi*),"

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[60] *Turjumān*, 20 and 74–75. *Cf. Matt.* 24: 27–30.

[61] Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote this comm. in Aleppo in 611/1215 (see the end of the text) in response to criticism that his *Turjumān* was merely love poetry w/o redeeming spiritual application.

[62] *Tajallī l-huwīyati lladhī kuniya ʿan-hu bi-l-gharbi.*

[63] *Al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-A'lāq* (1968 edn.), p. 65. This poem, by the way, is particularly germane to our present concern since it also mentions the "east wind" (*al-ṣabā*) in the role of messenger between the *loci* of phenomenal manifestation (= "the east," its origin) and the Beloved Himself in the poet-lover's heart (= "the west," its destination).

[64] See *op. cit.* in *Rasā'il, r.* 20, pp. 4–5. I am indebted to Dr. Chodkiewicz for calling my attention to this passage. He also has pointed out the interesting correlation between the east and *nubūwah* (= the *maṭāliʿ al-ḥikam*) and the west and *walāyah* (= *mawāqiʿ al-ḥikam*) in *Seal*, 119.

[65] The questions (at least some of which concern the meaning of sayings of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and al-Ḥallāj) were apparently addressed to Ibn al-ʿArabī by a certain Shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharīf [or *al-Sharafī*?] of Fez (mentioned on the first page of the *risālah*), who may possibly be the fourth *shaykh* treated in the *Rūḥ* (see *Sufis*, 76–79; and *Fut.* I, 206 [16–17]). If so, the *R. al-Intiṣār* should perhaps be counted among Ibn al-ʿArabī's Maghribine works.

[66] *R. al-Intiṣār*, p. 4. He is also burdened with "the thickest of veils [from the truth] (*akthafu-hu ḥijāb^{an}*)."

> For the spiritual Opening of the West (*fatḥ al-maghrib*) is unrivalled by any other Opening, since its allotted existential time is the Night (*al-layl*), and [the Night] precedes the Daytime (*al-nahār*) in the Glorious Scripture in every passage.[67] In [the Night] the "Night-Journey" (*al-isrāʾ*) takes place for the Prophets, and therein the spiritual Benefits (*al-fawāʾid*) arise [for the Saints], and the Self-Revelation of the Real shall come to pass for His Servants. . . .[68]

"So, then," the devotee of the nocturns continues, "Praise be to God Who has made the Opening of this West an Opening of Secrets, and other than that":[69]

> . . . For the "Virgin-Secrets" (*abkār al-asrār*) are only "deflowered" with us [in the West]. Thereafter, they emerge before you in your East (*mashriqu-kum*) as "Divorcees" (*thayyibāt*) who have ended their period of waiting.[70] Then you marry them at the horizon of the Orient. For we share equally in the pleasure of "marriage", but we [in the West, particularly] win the pleasure of "deflowering"![71]

Thus, we may say (only somewhat facetiously) that, for Ibn al-ʿArabī, to quote a popular California lyric, "the West is the best."

In his response to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's question, "Where is the Door [*al-bāb*] of this [Greatest] Name, [which] of all its doors, is hidden from mankind?" Ibn al-ʿArabī answered in his *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm:* "[The Door is] in the Furthest West (*al-maghrib al-aqṣá*)."[72] Later, in the *Futūḥāt*, he elaborated, quoting a version of a putative saying of the Prophet:[73]

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[67] Or, possibly: "in every locality [on earth]." But the ref. is probably to the fact that whenever night and day (*al-layl wa-l-nahār*) are paired in the Qur'ān the former is always mentioned first (see, *e.g., Qur.* 3: 27 and 17: 12).

[68] *R. al-Intiṣār*, p. 4. *Cf.* also below, p. 493.

[69] *Wa-ghayru-hu.* The pron. refers to "opening" (*fatḥ*), not "secrets."

[70] *Thayyibāt*^{in} *qad faraḍna ʿiddata-hunna.* A *thayyib* is "a woman who has become separated from her husband for any reason," through his death or divorce, *etc.* Secondarily, it signifies "a woman (or man) who is married" and, hence, as here, no longer a virgin (see Lane, *s.v.*). I have tr. *faraḍna* as though it were *iftaḍaḍna* (verb used in the preceding sentence). As it is, the phrase should evidently be rendered: "they have set the time of their *ʿiddah.*" The dir. obj. is the "legal period of time that a divorced or widowed woman must wait before marrying again" (see Lane, *s.v. iftaḍḍa-hā* [end] and *ʿiddah*).

[71] *Fa-tasāwaynā fī ladhdhati l-nikāḥi, wa-fuznā bi-ladhdhati l-iftiḍāḍi.* The second verb is not inherently plur. as is the first.

[72] See *Khatm*, 308, n. 176.

> Until the Day of Resurrection there shall not cease to be a Party (*ṭā'ifah*) among the people of the Maghrib who are Knowledgeable of the Real (*ẓāhirūn ʿalá l-Ḥaqq*).[74]

"The Sun will rise out of the West when the Door of Repentance (*bāb al-tawbah*) shall be blocked and closed," Ibn al-ʿArabī explains, "so no soul can be benefited by its faith [after that time]."[75] And yet, he reasons, the closing of this Door is really God's sealing of the true believer (*al-mu'min*) in his victory, so that, as John the Divine wrote, "he shall go no more out":[76]

> And God makes [the Door] to be in the West because that is the Locus of the Secrets and Concealment (*maḥall al-asrār wa-l-katm*)—which is a secret unknown except to the people of Distinction (*ahl al-ikhtiṣāṣ*). But were this Door to have been in the East, it would have been apparent (*ẓāhir*) to [both] the Common people and the Élite (*al-ʿāmm wa-l-khāṣṣ*), [without distinction] and transgression would have come upon it among the public—in this, negating the Good (*al-ṣalāḥ*) that the World finds in [the Door of Repentance]. . . .
>
> [But] vice (*al-dhamm*)[77] has come [into the World] from the side of the East, that being the Station of the Emergence into this World (*manzilat al-khurūj ilá l-dunyā*) and the Abode of Affliction (*dār al-ibtilā'*) for all and sundry; while the West is the Exit-station from this World and the Entrance to the Hereafter.[78] Indeed, it is a Transition to the Abode of Distinction and Manifestation (*intiqāl ilá dār al-tamyīz wa-l-bayān*) and to the Gnosis of Stations and the mystical Degrees (*maʿrifat al-manāzil wa-marātib*) as they are with God (Exalted be He!).[79]

In *The Fabulous Gryphon* the qualifier, "western", is almost invariably used to evoke one of the key conceptual personae featured in the book—namely, the rightly-guided Mahdī, commonly identified as the "Sun [rising in] the West" (*shams al-maghrib*), which is one of the five expected signs of the eschaton (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*) described in Prophetic tradition and included in the theological creeds.[80] The five signs are: the appearance of the "Antichrist" (*al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*),[81] the "beast of the earth" (*dābbat al-arḍ*),[82] and Gog and Magog (*Yājūj wa-Mājūj*);[83] the descent of Jesus son of Mary from Heaven;[84] and the rising of the sun out of the place of its setting, the Maghrib.[85] Perhaps originally denoting no more than a natural wonder such as that produced by the proto-eschatological conqueror, Joshua son of Nun, who caused the sun to stand still,[86] the *Shams al-Maghrib*, or "Western Sun," soon became a standard metonym for the promised, charismatic leader of the last days, the Mahdī.

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[73] See *ibid., et seq.*; and *Fut.* II, 121 (17–27, esp. l. 18).

[74] Instead of "the people of the Maghrib" most of the canonical versions have *ummat-ī* (my community): see Bukhārī, *Iʿtiṣām bi-l-Kitāb wa-l-sunnah*, 10; Muslim, *Īmān*, 247, and *Imārah*, 170 & 173–74; Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 27 & 51; Ibn Mājah, *Muqaddimah*, 1, and *Fitan*, 9; and *Musnad*, V, 34, 269 & 278–79. Ibn al-ʿArabī's substitution of *ahl al-maghrib* here is based on his association of the "door of repentance" (closed by the sun's rising in the west) with the hidden door of the Seal/Mahdī (see *infra*).

[75] See Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 32; and *Musnad*, II, 231, 313, 350, 372, 398, 445 & 530; III, 31; and V, 165. See also below, pp. 258 (at n. 13), 487 (n. 26), and 504 (n. 169).

[76] *Rev.* 3: 12.

[77] *Al-dhamm* (pl., *dhumūm*, "vices, faults") is contrasted with *ṣalāḥ*.

[78] *Manzilatu l-khurūji mina l-dunyā wa-l-dukhūli ilá l-ākhirati.*

[79] *Fut.* II. 121 (21–25).

It is important to note, however, that the name, *al-Mahdī*, does not actually figure in the above list of "signs of the Hour," since, in fact, the final, complex formulation is a relatively late development in Islamic theology, dating from after the crystallization of the classical *Sunnī* creeds. Furthermore, at no point does the Mahdī notion actually achieve canonical status in Islam,[87] nor even a very significant degree of coherence among the many who did promote the popular idea. While belief in a final restorer (*mujaddid*) of faith is common to the eschatology of all Muslims, there is no agreement that he shall be called the "Mahdī", especially among *Sunnīs*. Even when the latter do subscribe to the tradition, they frequently stipulate that the Mahdī is simply Jesus returned to earth, in accordance with a well-known *ḥadīth*, related on the authority of the great 2nd/8th-century saint, al-Ḥasan of Basra: "There will be no Mahdī but Jesus son of Mary."[88] Indeed, there is no doubt that expectation of the return of Jesus at the end of time (the Islamic reflection of the *Parousia*) long antedates any recognizable dogma of the Mahdī.

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[80] See *e.g.*, E.E. Elder, tr., *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam*, pp. 165–66. The five "signs of the Hour," also called *āyāt* (wonders), mentioned by Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142–43) in his *ʿAqāʾid*, are expanded to ten by al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) in his comm. thereon (see *ibid.*; and *cf.* the *ḥadīth* quoted in App. I, 539).

[81] Mentioned by Ibn al-ʿArabī on p. 259 at n. 25, below; and described further on p. 502.

[82] See *Qur.* 27: 82 (*cf. Rev.* 13: 15); and pp. 258 (at n. 14) and 504 (n. 168), below.

[83] See p. 503, below.

[84] See pp. 258 (at n. 15), 259 (nn. 21 & 24), and 519–20 (n. 59), *et al.*

[85] See p. 258 (at n. 11), where the *ṭulūʿ al-shams min maghribi-hā* is given first in the long series of eschatological signs, immediately before the closing of the ***bāb al-tawbah***.

[86] See *Josh.* 10: 12–14. As the successor and heir of the prophet, Moses, Joshua is a prototype of the all-conquering Messiah/Mahdī.

[87] Even such a "popularizing" theologian as al-Ghazzālī makes no mention of the Mahdī in his chap. on eschatology (*dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿda-hu*) in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (tr. by T.J. Winter in *Al-Ghazālī: The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*).

The Mahdī idea was to prove quite attractive to the generality of Muslims and ever more useful to ambitious pretenders, however. Soon plenty of support for the belief was to be found in many collections of *ḥadīth*, particularly in such later, specialized compilations as the *Tadhkirah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtá wa-Umūr al-Ākhirah* (The Reminder concerning the States of the Dead and Affairs of the Afterlife) of the Andalusian religious scholar, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272).[89] Wilfred Madelung observed that "a new dimension in the career of the Mahdī" appears in the material of the *Tadhkirah*, according to which the deliverer would first emerge in the frontier fortress (*ribāṭ*) of Māssah, in the Sūs al-Aqsá of the far Western Sahara, "and only later would receive a second oath of allegiance in Mecca":[90]

> He would, moreover, gather an army of Berber tribes and cross the straits to al-Andalus, whose earlier plight and spoliation at the hands of the infidels is graphically described. The Mahdī would then preach in the mosque of Seville, receive the allegiance of all the Muslims and conquer seventy towns of the Rūm [*sci.*, Byzantium]. Finally, he would sack the Church of Gold (*kanīsat al-dhahab* [*sci.*, Hagia Sophia]), but as his followers would quarrel over the division of the staff of Moses found there, the Rūm would gain the upper hand and pursue the Muslims as far as al-Fayyūm in Egypt before the final victory of the

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[88] *Lā mahdīya illā ʿĪsá* (Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 34). One version of this *ḥadīth* "was given added prestige by the fact that [the famous *mujtahid*] al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) transmitted it from [Muḥ. b. Khālid] al-Janadī" (W. Madelung, "al-Mahdī," *E.I.* 2, vol. V, p. 1234a). Even Shīʿites often accepted this trad., explaining it to mean that there will be no Mahdī except the one whose relationship to the Muḥammadan law (*al-sharīʿah al-Muḥammadīyah*) is as that of Jesus to the Mosaic law, in following without abrogating it (*al-itbāʿ wa-ʿadam al-naskh; cf. Matt.* 5: 17).

[89] Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr of Cordoba, a *mufassir* and *muḥaddith*. The 10th/16th cent. Ṣūfī writer, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, made an abridgment of al-Qurṭubī's *Tadhkirah* (see *G.A.L.*, II, 443 [*no.* 19]).

[90] "Al-Mahdī," in *E.I.* 2, vol. V, p. 1234b (in the foll. quote the italics are mine). Madelung thought that this development stems from the precedent of Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130) as Almohad Mahdī, but I would suggest that it evinces more the popular sentiments reflected in such Ṣūfī movements as that of Ibn Qasī (d. 536/1141) and, not least, of Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, as Ibn Khaldūn argued (see *ibid.*; and *infra*). The date given by Madelung above (= the turn of the 7th cent., H.) is obviously in synch with Ibn al-ʿArabī's own agenda (see the beginning of this study).

> Mahdī. These traditions, according to one of which *the Mahdī was to appear in 599/1202–03*, are of late origin.

Ibn Khaldūn reported that even in his day uneducated people in the Maghrib awaited the Mahdī at Ribāṭ Māssah.[91] He also relates a prediction ascribed to the great 3rd/9th-century "philosopher of the Arabs," Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī,[92] to the effect that the promised leader will conquer Andalusia and, crossing the Alps, reach Constantinople *via* Rome, when "rule over the whole earth will be his."[93] Further, he quotes a disciple of the Ṣūfī philosopher, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1271),[94] as implying that Ibn al-ʿArabī taught in the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* that the Mahdī would appear (like a star) in the Maghrib (*al-imām al-nājim bi-nāḥiyat al-maghrib*).[95] For the most part, however, in his long section on the Mahdī ("the Fāṭimid"),[96] Ibn Khaldūn patiently relates and critiques the dozens of putative traditions which present the Islamic deliverer as a descendant of the Prophet's family—typically, by Fāṭimah, Muḥammad's daughter, the wife of ʿAlī, and mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn—who will suddenly make justice triumph and restore religion, leading the faithful in prayer. Alas, his reign of peace will be short, however, as the Antichrist will afterwards appear, whom Jesus will then come down to slay.[97]

Amid the cacophony of details the one common note that rings out in virtually all of the traditions is the legitimist insistence on descent from the Prophet's noble house—an indication of the qualified prevalence of *Shīʿī* sentiment in the normative Islamic creed. While we cannot entirely agree with Ibn Khaldūn that "the earliest Ṣūfīs [that is, those antedating the Fāṭimid dynasty] did not go into anything concerned with [the Seal/Proof of sainthood]"[98] since it would appear that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and Sahl al-Tustarī did, at least,[99] it must be admitted that the notion of the *quṭb* (hierarchic "pole") adopted/adapted by the later Ṣūfīs bears a close affinity to the sectarian "Fāṭimid," amounting to formal identity.[100] In many passages in the *ʿAnqāʾ* and elsewhere, Ibn al-ʿArabī specifically defines the Mahdī as being related to the Prophet by blood, sometimes expressly contrasting him with the Seal of sainthood in this particular.[101] But one can hardly concur with the great historian's assertion that the later Ṣūfīs "were saturated with *Shīʿah* theories"[102]—at least this is not true of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who routinely downplays or even "explains away" the traditional criterion of physical relation to the Prophet. Ibn Khaldūn himself provides an example of this equivocating tendency when he quotes the disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn, Ibn Abī Wāṭīl,[103] as explaining that the Imām may be related to Muḥammad "either externally, by being a descendant of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [the grandfather of the Prophet and of ʿAlī], or inwardly, by belonging to Muhammad's 'family' [*āl*] according to the real meaning of [the word]: 'those at the time of whose presence the one who is their [true] *family* is not absent'."[104]

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[91] See *Muqaddimah*, II, 196–97*sq.*

[92] See *ibid.*, 191, n. 966, for refs. to al-Kindī's *Risālah fī Mulk al-ʿArab*. On the role of al-Kindī (d. 259/873) in the history of *falsafah*, see Richard Walzer's art., "The Rise of Islamic Philosophy," in *Oriens*, 3 (1950).

[93] *Muqaddimah*, II, 191. See also p. 193, where the Mahdī is associated with the seizing of Byzantium as ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had conquered the Persian empire.

[94] The disciple's name is given as Ibn Abī Wāṭīl, reportedly the author of an (otherwise unknown) comm. on Ibn Qasī's *K. Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn* (upon which Ibn al-ʿArabī himself wrote an important *sharḥ*).

[95] See *Muqaddimah*, II, 190. The context of these remarks is the verse in the opening poem of the *ʿAnqāʾ* where Ibn al-ʿArabī gives the *hijrī* date of the Seal/Mahdī's appearance under the figure of the letters, خ, ف and ج (see trn., p. 233 at n. 42). There is no mention of the Maghrib at that point, however, and, in fact, nowhere in the *ʿAnqāʾ* is the Seal/Mahdī said to hail from the West (apart from the *shams al-maghrib* trope).

[96] *Muqaddimah*, II, 156–86.

[97] Or else Jesus will descend at the same time as the Mahdī and help him kill the Antichrist, then stand behind him in the communal prayers (acknowledging him as the true *imām*). Needless to say, there were as many variations in detail as there were interpreters of the trad.

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[98] *Cf. ibid.*, 186.

[99] See above, pp. 137 and 143–45. By *al-mutaqaddimūn min al-mutaṣawwifah*, Ibn Khaldūn may have meant those preceding al-Junayd (d. 297/910), but the point of his argument is apparently that later Ṣūfism was specifically influenced in its notion of the Seal/Mahdī by propaganda of 4th/10th-cent. Shīʿism (recall how some alleged that Ibn Masarrah had been an agent of the Fāṭimid regime).

[100] Even in some details the resemblance is striking. For instance, Ibn al-ʿArabī's symbolism of the *seventh* cent./month (see above, pp. 2–7) is obviously reminiscent of the *Ismāʿīlī* preoccupation with the septad.

[101] See pp. 239 (at n. 22), 294–96, 495 (nn. 88–89) and 508–09, *et al.*; and *Fut.* II, 50 (18–20), tr. in App. IV, 600; and *Fut.* III, 329 (27–28), tr. by Morris in *Illuminations*, 124.

[102] *Muqaddimah*, II, 187.

[103] Prof. Rosenthal was not able to further identify this individual (see *ibid.*, 188, n. 957).

[104] *Ibid.*, 189. *Āl* (= *ahl*): "family, folk, relations; adherents", *etc.* *Āl* is sometimes distinguished as meaning "one's followers, coreligionists, *etc.*, whether related by blood or not" (as in *Qur.* 3: 11 and 8: 52 & 54), a usage close to that of *awliyāʾ* (see Lane, *s.v.*).

Ibn Khaldūn next goes on to explicitly identify the "Fāṭimid" with Ibn al-ʿArabī's Seal of the saints as presented in *The Fabulous Gryphon.*[105] The same identification is implicit in the interesting theory of cycles propounded by the *Sabʿīnī*, Ibn Abī Wāṭīl, in which, as represented by Ibn Khaldūn, the phase of prophecy (*al-nubūwah*) was followed by the *khilāfah*, and that, in turn, was followed by royal authority (*al-mulk*), which reverted to a tyranny comparable to the ignorance of pre-Prophetic times [*al-jahl*]. Then, "since it has been observed to be God's procedure to have things return to their original state,"[106] prophecy will be revived by sainthood (*al-walāyah*), which, accordingly, is to be succeeded by the caliphate again. Then will come the time of the Antichrist (*al-dajl*), which will take the place of *al-mulk.*[107] The series could be schematized, thus:

6. *Dajlīyah* (= *mulkīyah*)
5. *Khilāfah*
4. *Walāyah* (= *imāmah*)
3. *Mulkīyah* → *Jahlīyah*
2. *Khilāfah*
1. *Nubūwah* (= *imāmah*)
Jahlīyah

As the caliphate succeeding (Muḥammad's) prophecy (= *no.* 2 in the diagram) belongs to the Prophet's tribe, the Quraysh, so, the Ṣūfīs reasoned, the true, spiritual imamate (*sci.*, *walāyah* [= *no.* 4]) must belong to one who is "even closer to the Prophet than the Quraysh."[108] This clearly does not signify the ʿĀlids, however, but, rather, as we saw above in the explication of the term, "family" (*āl*),[109] it leaves the door wide open to anyone who may be deemed *really* close to the Prophet's heart. The classic example of this esoteric/contrived relation to the Prophetary house by spiritual adoption is that of Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 35/656), the legendary Persian proto-Ṣūfī and seeker of the truth, who, recognizing the signs of prophecy in Muḥammad, became so devoted to him that he was adopted into his family.[110]

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[105] *Muqaddimah,* II, 189.

[106] *Ibid.*, 188.

[107] The triad, *imāmah–khilāfah–mulkīyah,* is reflected in the Biblical history represented by Moses, Samuel and David. Note also that this paradigm in some ways parallels Ibn Khaldūn's own cyclic theory of historical development.

[108] *Ibid.*, 189.

[109] See n. 104.

[110] Of course, Persian Shīʿites have embraced Salmān al-Fārisī (see Massignon, "Salmān Pāk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien" [1934], in his *Opera*

One may speculate that the device of the Seal of sainthood was invented in order to by-pass the inconvenient Shīʿite principle of physical descent in which the Mahdī-notion had become ossified in the popular perception. In the *ʿAnqā'* the alleged Prophetary lineage of the Mahdī was greatly surpassed by the higher nobility (*sharaf aʿlá*) of the Seal, who, "even if he is not of the noble house of the Prophet, yet he shares with him in the 'Heavenly Lineage' (*al-nasab al-ʿulwī*), for he belongs by right to [the Prophet's] *uppermost* House (*baytu-hu l-aʿlá*), not the Lower one (*al-adná*)" of *this* world.[111] At the same time, the innovating Ṣūfīs needed to associate their new hero with the broad, quasi-canonical credentials—not to mention the deep, popular appeal—of the Mahdī *persona*. Hence, when al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī rhetorically asked in his *Khatm al-Awliyā'*, "Could any [Saint] living in the present time be equal to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?"[112]—making a distinction between deeds and rank [by Grace] (*al-aʿmāl wa-l-darajāt*) he answered in the negative with respect to the former, but as to the latter, "Why not?"—

> For who will keep the Mercy of God (Be He Exalted!) from the people of this time, that no [saintly] "Forerunner" (*sābiq*) or "One-brought-near" (*muqarrab*),[113] or "Selected one" (*mujtab*$^{\text{ān}}$)[114] or "One chosen" (*muṣṭaf*$^{\text{ān}}$) should exist among them? Will not the Mahdī be in existence at the end of time? He will establish Justice in the time of indifference (*al-fatrah*), for that is not something He is incapable of. And shall there not exist at the end of time[115] One to whom belongs the Seal of Sainthood—he being the Proof of God (*ḥujjat Allāh*) for all of the Saints on the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-mawqif*)?[116]

To this most Muslims would answer: "The Mahdī we have heard of in the Prophet's tradition; but who is this *Seal of the saints* at whom you hint?"

In *The Fabulous Gryphon* Ibn al-ʿArabī gave a definitive answer to

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minora), and many "extremist" *Shīʿī* groups have even deified him beyond ʿAlī and Muḥammad (see G. Levi della Vida's art. in *E.I.* 1, *s.v.*). Ibn al-ʿArabī mentions Salmān in the context of the Seal's "higher lineage" in the *ʿAnqā'* (pp. 474–75).

[111] P. 473 of our trn.

[112] *Khatm*, 436.

[113] On the *sābiq* and *muqarrab*, which were understood to be type(s) of the highest degree of sainthood, see *Qur.* 56: 10–11, *et al.*

[114] Foll. B. Radtke's 1992 edn. (entitled *K. Sīrat al-Awliyā'*) in *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmid̲*, p. 125 (Arabic text).

[115] Foll. *ibid.* Yahia's edn. is wanting "at the end."

[116] *Khatm*, 436; and *Drei Schriften*, Radtke, ed., pp. 124–25.

this question, fleshing out al-Tirmidhī's abstract sketch of sainthood's Seal with the popular persona of Jesus, at the same time wrapping the Ṣūfī deliverer in the mystique of apocalyptic with its evocative imagery and subliminal emotive force. As we saw earlier, the seminal experience of the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ* took the form of a complex revelation of light described in the chapter, "A Trustworthy Hoopoe Bringing Sure Tidings,"[117] culminating in the vision of a solar figure setting in "the Occident of the Unseen (*maghrib al-muʿammá*) until the advent of the appointed time (*al-ajal al-musammá*)"[118] when it would reappear in the West as the "Sun of guidance" (*shams al-tawjīh*) and a manifest Leader (*hād*^{in}).[119] Now what is remarkable about this obvious Mahdī imagery is that *it appears to be transfigured into the Seal of sainthood* at the end of the chapter in the very anomalous passage already discussed on page 55.[120] In the following chapter, entitled "Purest Sealed Wine" (*Raḥīq Makhtūm*), the Seal is portrayed in the heady hue of the "Western Sun":[121] Inspired by the light/wine of the Seal/Mahdī, the author beholds the true form of the latter as "the Seal of the saints of God, the Real, in the Seat of the Universal Imāmate and the Truth."[122]

Furthermore, we are not limited to the judgment of Ibn Khaldūn that Ibn al-ʿArabī's Seal in the *ʿAnqāʾ* is to be identified with the Mahdī. No less an authority than ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Aḥmad al-Qāshānī

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[117] See pp. 277–80. The imagery is based, in part, on the Qur'ānic story of Abraham and the three luminaries (6: 74–83).

[118] P. 278 (at n. 12), already quoted above (p. 54).

[119] *Cf.* p. 278. That the Mahdī is the referent here is made explicit on p. 282 at n. 10, where he is referred to as the *shams al-maghribīyah.*

[120] At n. 43. See also p. 279 at n. 29. There the solar figure is apparently identified as the "particular Muḥammadan Seal" (*khātam al-imāmah al-Muḥammadīyah al-juzʾīyah*) in a line which may have been edited by Ibn al-ʿArabī at the time of the copying of *Ms. Berlin 3266* in 597 H., in Fez (see *ibid.*). The parenthetic interpolation could have been made to provide a plausible explanation for the paradox of the (Fāṭimid) Mahdī's transfiguration into the Seal—otherwise, the *Hebrew*, Jesus—since the Muḥammadan Seal was, at least, Arab. In any event, the passage certainly does not seem to be reconcilable with Ibn al-ʿArabī's later claim to be the Muḥammadan Seal himself.

[121] See pp. 281–87.

[122] *Khatm awliyāʾ Allāh al-Ḥaqq fī maqʿad al-imāmah al-iḥāṭīyah wa-l-ṣidq* (pp. 282–83 at nn. 15–16). The precise interpretation of the remainder of the paragraph is unclear to me. See also p. 480 (at n. 61), where the reader's own "copies" (s., *nuskhah*) of the Mahdī and the Seal are again distinguished. The former is treated of in the section I have called "Microcosmic Correspondences concerning the Mahdī" (pp. 484–504 [but *cf.* pp. 502*sq.*, in particular]), while Jesus as the Seal is the subj. of the next three major sections comprising the remainder of the book.

(d. after 730/1330)[123] equates the two notions in a gloss on the expression, *Khātam al-walayah,*[124] and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī (d. *c.* 810–20/1408–17) subsumes the Mahdī, Seal of sainthood and *Khalīfat Allāh* under the rubric of the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*) in his famous book of that title.[125] Yet another epigone of the Akbarian school, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) identifies the *Muḥammadan* Seal with the Mahdī.[126] If we recall that the Seal of the *ʿAnqāʾ* is none other than Jesus the Messiah (ʿĪsá l-Masīḥ), who, certainly in *ḥadīth* and arguably in the Qurʾān, is presented as an eschatological figure—"a just Imām and upright Judge (*imām muqsiṭ wa-ḥakam ʿadl*)"[127]—if not the Mahdī himself,[128] it would seem reasonable, indeed, to adduce an underlying identity for these "twin" personae. This, in the final analysis, is implicit in the very title of the book: "*The Fabulous Gryphon* concerning the Gnosis of the Seal of the Saints *and* the Sun of the West."

But before we consider the possible significance of this remarkable title, it will be necessary to form a clearer picture of the third, most prominent personage featured therein—namely, the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (Lat., *gryphus fabulosus*) itself. It would be difficult to find a more universally prevalent figure in all of world mythology. The Arabian *ʿanqāʾ*, in brief, is a phantastic creature, generally conceived in the monstrous form of a gryphon (an eagle-headed lion with wings and, frequently, canine ears, *etc.*), but also sometimes in the more natural ornithological form of a gigantic eagle, hawk or vulture (*Lämmergeier*), or else an extremely beautiful species of long-necked, migratory aquatic bird, such as the swan, heron, stork or crane (*ghirnīq*).[129] From the ancient Chinese *Fung Hwang* and the cosmic

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[123] Al-Qāshānī (a.k.a. "al-Kāshānī" or "al-Kāshī") was a disciple of Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Jandī (d. *c.* 700/1300), who, in turn, was the disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274).

[124] See his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah* (1981 edn.), p. 159 (not to be confused with Ibn al-ʿArabī's work commonly known by the same title).

[125] See, *e.g.*, T. Burckhardt, tr., *Universal Man*, p. 55; and Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 135. Chap. 61 of al-Jīlī's *Insān al-Kāmil* treats of mystical eschatology.

[126] In his unpub. work, *Al-Radd al-Matīn* [= *Ms. Ẓāhirīyah 9872*, f. 45b], cited by Chodkiewicz (see *Seal*, 136 and 144, n. 40). *Cf.* above, n. 120.

[127] See Muslim, *Īmān*, 42 (*cf.* also *Concordance, s.v. muqsiṭ*, for other versions).

[128] See above, n. 88.

[129] The latter species of the creature tends to be associated with the phoenix-element of the myth, while the eagle suggests more the typical gryphon-motif. As Ibn al-ʿArabī distinguished the *ʿanqāʾ* and the eagle (*ʿuqāb*) in his *Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* and *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, this could be taken to support the trn. of the former term by "phoenix"

Lwan-bird, and the Egyptian Sphynx and the solar *Benu*-bird, to their only marginally less prehistoric descendents, the Persian *Rokh* and *Senmurv* and the Hellenic Gryphon and Phoenix, elements of this fabled "King of the animals" in one guise or another have been found to haunt nearly every ancient and classical body of legend that I have looked into.[130] In the aural lore of the Native Americans it was the "Thunderbird",[131] and in the culture of high literature it has been reborn in the form of *Sīmurgh* in the *Shāh-Nāmah* of Firdawsī and 'Aṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr*,[132] and in Dante's great Eagle, "woven with the praises of God's grace,"[133] in the *Paradiso* (*Cantos XVIII–XX*).

The *'Anqā'*, then, is an amalgam, or hybrid, of various ancient traditions coalescing in the Middle East, and can well be represented as either a gryphon, phoenix or sphynx, depending on the aspect of the full description in such Arabic parazoölogical treatises as those of Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ, Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, or Abū l-Baqā' al-Damīrī that one wishes to emphasize.[134] I have opted for the translation, "gryphon", in part, because the Greek, *gryps*, seems somehow philologically related to the Hebrew, *kerūb* (the Biblical "cherub"),[135] which, in addition to being suitably sacrosanct, has the merit of evincing in its Scriptural usage both of the primary mythic functions of the *'anqā'*—that of guardian of the *eastward approach* to

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(by Gril and others). Moreover, the etymology of the word, *'anqā'*, evidently points to the meaning of "long-necked". Nevertheless, the essential def. of "a creature which is known but never seen," *etc.*, does not really apply to the phoenix (= crane)—which was periodically sighted, after all—but rather to the gryphon (= eagle), which appeared only to bring sudden, unexpected doom (indicative of its "apocalyptic" character).

[130] On this mythical creature, see P. Brown, *The Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological.*

[131] Fr. Marquette was one of many witnesses of a gigantic relief of a "man-eating" gryphon figure carved in the bluffs of the Mississippi River near Alton, Illinois. Now worn away, it was still visible as late as 1860 (see C.M. Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Our Own Land* [1896], vol. II, pp. 112–13).

[132] See *Plate I* (frontispiece) for an early Persian representation of Aṭṭār's *Sīmurgh.*

[133] *Canto 19*, vv. 37–38.

[134] Al-Jāḥiẓ describes the *'anqā'* as the eagle (*'uqāb*) in his *K. al-Ḥayawān* (vol. III, p. 438), while al-Qazwīnī, Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Damīrī recount versions of the wide-ranging *'anqā'* legend (see, *e.g.*, the latter's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, vol. II, pp. 177–80, where Ibn al-'Arabī is incidentally mentioned). But al-Damīrī also called the eagle *'anqā' mughrib* (*ibid.*, pp. 139*sq.*), and his descriptions of the *nasr* (vulture), *ghurnayq* (crane), and *ghurāb* (crow), *etc.*, also incorporate aspects of the gryphon-idea.

[135] The root, *k-r-b*, is not native to Hebrew. Ms. Gray Henry informs me that in an unpub. monograph on the sphynx, A.K. Coomaraswamy noted the connection between the guardian *cherubim* of *Gen.* 3: 24 and the Hellenistic sphynx, as well as the gryphon.

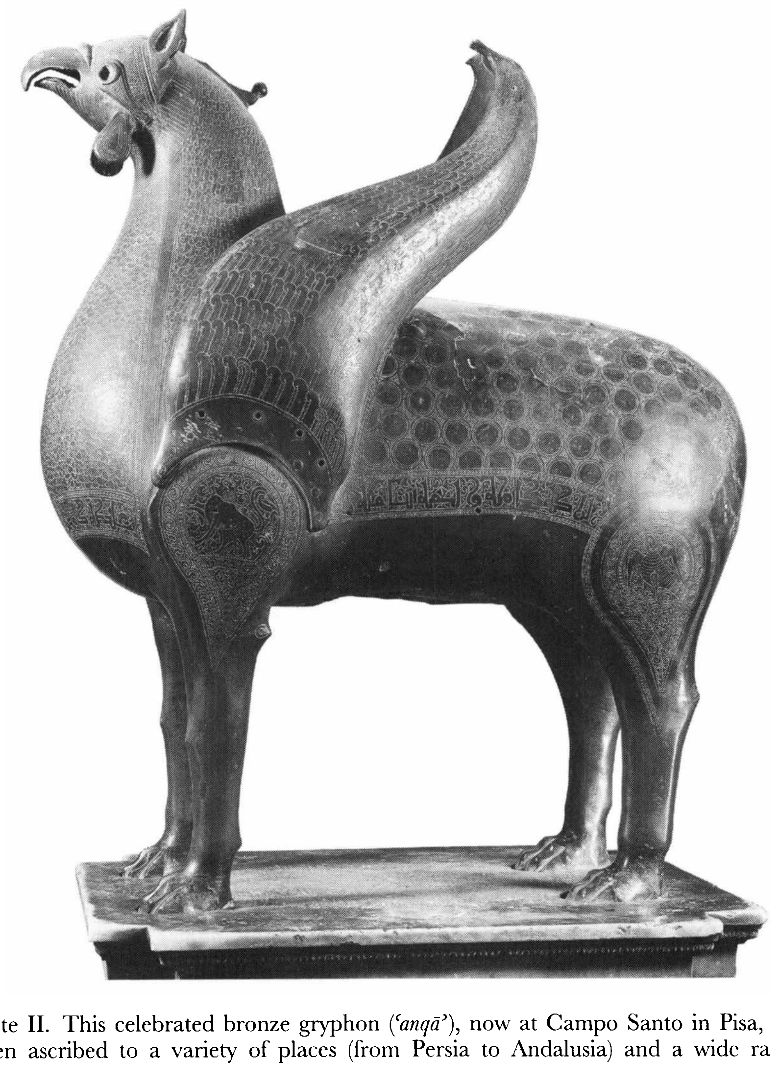

Plate II. This celebrated bronze gryphon (*ʿanqāʾ*), now at Campo Santo in Pisa, has been ascribed to a variety of places (from Persia to Andalusia) and a wide range of dates, but is probably a work of 5th/11th-century Fāṭimid Egypt. It is thought to be the largest free-standing bronze statue from the Islamic world. (Photo courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, New York).

the Tree of Life (keeping fallen man therefrom by means of the "flaming sword which turned every way," in *Genesis III*: 24),[136] and, most significantly for our present concern, that of bearer, or vehicle, of God. For while the cherubim draw the chariot of God in *Ezekiel I* and *X*,[137] the Lord is said to ride directly upon a *kerūb* in *Psalm XVIII*: 10,[138] suggesting that the *kerūbim* of the Hebrew Bible correspond to the archangelic "thrones" (= s., *kursī*), as well as the *kheroubim* of the Greek-Christian celestial hierarchy.[139]

But what is the meaning of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* in our present context? Contrary to his reputation among those who have only read *about* him, Ibn al-ʿArabī is not generally given to mystification in his language. Even the artificial constraints and temptations of the rhyme-scheme (for, as we have seen, the *ʿAnqāʾ* is written entirely in rhymed prose, or *sajʿ*) are usually mastered by the true breadth of his vision and sincere depth of his feeling. Still, lapses from the norm do occur, and nowhere in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, nor in any other writing of which I am aware, are we given any hint as to precisely what the "Fabulous Gryphon" in the title of this book is actually meant to signify. The term, *ʿanqāʾ*, by itself, is defined by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt* as a metonym, or stock symbol, for the fine, atomic or cosmic "dust" (*al-habāʾ*), in which God "hollows out/builds up," as it were, the bodies of this world.[140] Elsewhere, he expressly traces this notion back to Sahl al-Tustarī—who regarded the *nūr Muḥammad*, or Prophetic light, as "a kind of prime matter, shaped by God out of His own Light, from which issue all existent beings"[141]—and, through him, back to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[142] This intermediary role of the Divine Light-substance may be detected in another description of the *ʿAnqāʾ* by Ibn al-ʿArabī, in his *R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī*, where he has the "Marvelous Gryphon" (*al-gharībah al-ʿanqāʾ*) declare of herself:

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[136] *Cf. Ezek.* 28: 11–19 (esp. v. 14).

[137] *Cf.* also *Sirach* 49: 8. As "winged sphynx," the gryphon may be conceived as combining all four species of the *kerūbim*, or "living creatures" (Heb., *ḥayyōt*)—lion, bull, man and eagle—described by Ezekiel (in 1: 10, *et al.*).

[138] See also *Psalms* 80: 1 and 99: 1, *et al.*, inc. *1 Par.* 13: 6 (and *cf.* 28: 2) and *Rev.* 4: 6–7, in the trn. of *The Jerusalem Bible*.

[139] See *Pseudo*-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* (tr. by C. Luibheid), pp. 160–61, where the thrones, cherubim and seraphim are said to form "a single hierarchy which is truly first and whose members are of equal status." Actually, the two roles referred to are one, inasmuch as the tree (or fountain) of life, like the throne, is ultimately just the visible representation of the Deity, as the tree's metamorphosis into the Divine king in numerous Mesopotamian seal-impressions would seem to suggest. Thus, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt, shajarah* (tree) is glossed as "the perfect man," and in the *ʿAnqāʾ* the gryphon is implicitly assimilated to the *sidrat al-muntahá*, or "lote-tree of the furthest boundary" (see p. 289 at n. 15; and *cf.* p. 290 at n. 30).

[140] *Fataḥa Llāhu fī-hi ajsāda l-ʿālami.* The *Rasāʾil* edn. of the *Iṣṭilāḥāt* (*r.* 29, p. 12) incorrectly reads *al-hawāʾ* (the air) instead of *al-habāʾ* (the fine dust). The latter is a metonym of the philos. notion of first matter, or *hylē* (*hayūlá*).

[141] Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, p. 150. This was the view of ʿAyn

> I am [the] *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*;[143]
> my home is in the Maghrib
> in the Intermediate Station,
> on the shore of the Surrounding Ocean.
> From both sides the Glory encloses me,
> and no finite essence discloses me.[144]

In the poem immediately following,[145] this mysterious personage goes on to portray itself:

> I am the one with no essence existent (*mawjūd*),
> the one for whom no predication is absent (*mafqūd*):[146]
> The "Fabulous Gryphon,"[147] the name of which is known,
> but access unto whose subsistence there is none![148]

This definition of the *ʿanqāʾ* is actually reminiscent of Aristotle's description of a *chimaera*, a phantastical creature, as "a word which has a definite meaning but does not denote anything that exists in reality"[149]—that is, for the Peripatetic, that could be *found in some place.*

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al-Quḍāh al-Hamadhānī (d. 526/1132) in his *Tamhīdāt*, which is supported by Ibn al-ʿArabī's ref. to al-Tustarī in connection with his doctrine of the *habāʾ* in the *Futūḥāt* (see the Yahia edn., II, 226–27).

[142] See *ibid.*; and *Fut.* II, 432 (2–5).

[143] Exc. among lexicologists (pedantic in this regard), the expression generally occurs w/o def. arts., indicating that it is to be taken as a proper name. The adj., *mughrib*, may mean "stupifying, or amazing", in the trans. sense, or it may suggest the idea of "estranging s.o., carrying s.o. far away". The foll. passage is not actually a metrical poem, but rhymed prose.

[144] D. Gril, ed., *R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* (*Annales islamologiques*, 17 [1981]), p. 83.

[145] This poem is inc. in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān* on p. 39. As the poems from the *Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* follow those of the *Isrāʾ*, *Mawāqiʿ* and *ʿAnqāʾ* in the *Dīwān*, it would appear likely that this *risālah* also dates from the Maghribine period. The metre of the poem is *al-kāmil.*

[146] "Essence": *ʿayn*. "Predication": *ḥukm*. Prime matter (= *al-habāʾ*) is "nowhere as to essence," and, therefore, does not exist as such; but it subsists, at the same time, everywhere, in that whatever has existence predicated of it can only be actualized in matter. For Peripatetics, *hylē* is the principle of individuation.

[147] The hemistich should be scanned: *ʿAnqāʾu Mugh/rib qad tuʿū/rifa dhikru-hā.*

[148] *Wa-bābu wujūdi-hi masdūdū*: "The door of his existence is obstructed" (*R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī*, p. 84). *Cf.* the def. of *ʿanqāʾ* in *Fut.* II, 130 (34).

[149] So Aristotle describes the "goat-stag" (Gr., *tragelaphos*) in his *On Interpretation* (16a [l. 17]). In the *Physics* (208a [31]), the "sphynx" is used (along with the goat-stag) to represent such a fabulous creature, the name for which the great Syrian

Hence, the *ʿAnqāʾ* came to paradoxically signify something that existed, but *very far away* (this is one of the connotations of *mughrib*), so that, *ipso facto*, it could not be seen. That idea, in turn, was later taken to represent the Aristotelian concept of prime matter (*hylē* > *hayūlá*),[150] which, while it was "knowable" as a theory, could not actually be known *in se*, since, unlike all other things in existence, it lacked an intelligible form.

But while the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, thus, certainly became a stock emblem for the philosophical *materia prima*, this fact by itself helps us little to appreciate the relevance of the expression in the title of the present treatise. Could it be that there is another signification of the symbol that might shed some light on the connection? We know that the *ʿAnqāʾ* was written at precisely the time that the author was contemplating his exodus from the West, which was to be also his advent, or *début*, in the East. Although Ibn al-ʿArabī did not expressly declare himself to be the Muḥammadan Seal of the saints until sometime after his emigration, there is no doubt that he was aware of the high station of his genius much earlier than that—perhaps we should say from the very beginning.[151] The perspicacious reader of the *Gryphon*, even in the early days before his fame spread abroad in the Muslim world, may well have understood that the author was speaking in such a way that only the consummate Seal of sainthood *could*, after all. Moreover, as I have suggested, we are surely warranted in regarding the Ṣūfī Seal as a kind of spiritual fulfilment of the popular, almost visceral expectations of the promised deliverer. As we noted at the beginning of this study,[152] on the basis of Prophetic tradition most Muslims believed that a "renewer" (*mujaddid*) of Islam would appear at the head of every century, and that time was fast approaching.[153] As the *Ḥujjat al-Islām*, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, had come at the turn of the 6th/12th century with his monumental *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (Revival of the Religious Sciences), so another, updated Ṣūfī

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translator, Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (d. 259/873), rendered as *ʿanqāʾ mughrib*. *Cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's def. in the *Futūḥāt* passage cited in the preceding note.

[150] In Ibn al-ʿArabī, this may be rather akin to the Taoist notion of the "uncarved wood" (see Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 448, quoting Chap. 28 of the *Tao Tê Ching*).

[151] *Cf. Seal*, 126–34*sq*.

[152] See p. 3 at n. 2. See also the quote from W. Madelung on pp. 178–79.

[153] The *ʿAnqāʾ* was written sometime between the years, 595 and 597 H., and Ibn al-ʿArabī left the Maghrib in 598, spending his fortieth birthday in Mecca in the year, 600.

Muḥyī l-Dīn would come a hundred years later, the new messenger himself posing as the message (if we may stretch the analogy so far). In short, I believe that Ibn al-ʿArabī composed the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* in Andalusia two years before his departure thence with a view to presenting himself to the Islamic heartland as a new, authoritative voice of Ṣūfism, a veritable "Sun rising in the West" as a token of the times, the very brilliance of his doctrine being proof of its miraculous nature.[154]

The patient reader will now have guessed what I am about to suggest as to the problem we posed in this section: Is Ibn al-ʿArabī, the Maximum Master, *himself* the Fabulous Gryphon? It would not be difficult to make that argument. In the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, the Shaykh counsels us to "be the *hayūlá* ['prime matter' = *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*] of every form of doctrinal belief"[155] in a precept which calls to mind his celebrated line from the *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*: "My heart (*qalb-ī*) has become receptive (*qābil*) of every form. . . ."[156] We have established that both the Mahdī and the fabled *ʿAnqāʾ* were popularly associated with the Maghrib, whence they were both expected to arise.[157] Could it be that the "apocalyptic" flight of the Gryphon out of the West dramatically alludes to the Shaykh al-Akbar's imminent epiphany to the Islamic East as teacher of a wonderful new doctrine?[158]

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[154] There would be nothing really new in such a claim. The Almohad, Ibn Tūmart, was only the most well-known instance of a *Maghribī* claiming to be the Mahdī, and the Cordoban caliphate of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350–66/961–76) had long ago been celebrated by a court poet as *the sun rising in the west*, destined to extend its reign eastward to Baghdad *via* the Holy Land (see A. Castro, *The Spaniards*, p. 212). No doubt Ibn Ḥazm had tongue in cheek when describing himself as a brilliant sun whose only fault was that it rose in the occident.

[155] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 113 (*cf. Bezels*, 137). On the opening page of İsmail Hakkı Bursevi's (d. 1140/1728) Turkish trn. of passages from the *Futūḥāt*, entitled *Lubb al-Lubb wa-Sirr al-Sirr* (pub. in Gloucestershire, n.d., tr. anon.), the Ṣūfī is compared to prime matter, which "will accept whatever form he is presented with," indicative of the mystic's receptiveness to Divine inspiration and doctrinal openmindedness. Here the *lubb* (kernel, essence) is itself the *materia prima* as pure spirit-matter, the One-Reality.

[156] Nicholson, ed. and tr., pp. 19 and 67 (v. 13). *Cf.* also *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 120–21 (and *Bezels*, 149).

[157] See above, pp. 178–79 and 188. The Egyptian lexicographer, Kurāʿ al-Naml (d. 310/922), like many others, had specified that the *ʿanqāʾ* resided in the place of the sunset (*maghrib al-shams* [see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab, s.v. ʿanqāʾ*]).

[158] Note that in the Christian epiphany, the oriental Magi follow the star of esoteric knowledge *to the west*, where they behold the rising of the new sun of salvation in the *Bayt laḥm* (= the human body). Like Joseph's exile, the Christ's flight (*hijrah*) to Egypt, symbolizing the *ghaybah* in matter, should actually precede the wisemen's homage.

In the long poem from the opening pages of the *Futūḥāt,* Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote to his Tunisian friend, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, that

> If [God] brings to you a Heavenly Wisdom,
> it is as though He would make known the Gryphon. . . .[159]

And in his book, *Tāj al-Tarājim* (The Crown of the Epitomies), he declares that a celestial carpet (? *rafraf*)[160] or a fabulous vehicle (*burāq*)[161] is formed of the genuine Muḥammadan saint's knowledge[162]—calling to mind the ancient Jewish *Merkabah* (chariot-throne) gnosticism, which was also an ascent-mysticism, based on the chapters from *Ezekiel* cited earlier.[163]

In a poem in Part Three of the *ʿAnqāʾ*,[164] an intriguing passage seems to connect Ibn al-ʿArabī's symbolism of the phantastic gryphon with the strange legend of the pre-Islamic (and post-Christian) Arabian prophet, Khālid b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī,[165] whose people, according to some accounts, were oppressed by a fire-breathing creature, sometimes described as an *ʿanqāʾ*, which emerged periodically from the mouth of a cave in the region of two lava-fields near Yathrib (later, Medina).[166] The ʿAbsites prayed for deliverance, and Khālid was empowered by God to dispatch the menace. An alternate legend, however, dealt with the prophetic powers which Khālid was said to have acquired after being disinterred from his tomb (otherwise, a well or ditch [*rass*]).[167] A blending of these variants is detectable in the following verses:[168]

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[159] *Fut.* I, 7 (16). Regarding al-Mahdawī, see above, p. 23 at n. 64.

[160] *Cf. Qur.* 55: 76.

[161] Al-Burāq is the name of the Prophet's phantastic mount in his "night-journey" (for refs., see *Concordance*, ind., *s.v.*). *Cf.* below, pp. 192–93, *et seq.*

[162] *Rasāʾil, r.* 18, p. 19.

[163] See p. 187 at n. 137, above. On this subj., *cf.* G.G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 40–79.

[164] "The Concluding Piece concerning the Preserved Pearl" (pp. 480*sq.*).

[165] Khālid b. Sinān b. Ghayth (or ʿAyth), one of the Banū Makhzūm of the Banū Quṭayʿah b. ʿAbs, acc. to al-Jāḥiẓ (see *K. al-Ḥayawān*, vol. IV, p. 476). Though supposedly "the first prophet of the seed of Ismāʿīl," Khālid may not be considered an Arab in the strict sense, since Muḥammad is specified as the first prophet (= *nadhīr*, "a warner") sent to that nation (in *Qur.* 28: 46, *et al.*).

[166] Hence, the fire was called *nār al-ḥarratayn* in the trads. which presented it as a natural phenomenon (presumably an active volcano).

[167] Ibn al-ʿArabī's chap. on the word of Khālid b. Sinān in the *Fuṣūṣ* is based on a version of this legend (also incorporating elements from the story of Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān).

[168] See pp. 481–82 of the trn. The metre is *al-wāfir.*

When my blossoms bloomed, my Secret/Heart wafted
[its breath] upon my "flowers",[169] making them all chaff;
And when my people were oppressed, a Fire emerged
from the Merciful, which made me a Speaker.[170]
And when I was a Chosen One, Beloved [of God]
(Burāq, my inseparable Companion in my Journey),[171]
With rapid pace I rode [my mount], heedless of all peoples
I left behind—but then did I return in Mercy's name,
Though I was to the Cursed One of [ignorant] remoteness[172]
a fiery Comet "neath the Throne to stone [him]"![173]

By itself, this mention of a fire and a "Speaker" would more readily be interpreted as an obvious reference to the story of the prophet, Moses, as *kalīm Allāh*, and the "burning bush," and, indeed, the historian, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, does relate a fascinating tradition which associates Moses with the Arabian *ʿanqāʾ* myth.[174] But the image of the blighting breath or desert wind from the Yemen (= the "fire. . . from the Merciful" as an ironical complement to the beatific *Nafas al-Raḥmān?*)[175] in the preceding verse, calls to mind the "fire from a pit in Aden" which will drive people to the gathering-place (*al-maḥshar*) on the day of Judgment[176]—for which Ibn al-ʿArabī (in his *faṣṣ* devoted to the prophet, Hūd) substituted the wind from the West (*rīḥ al-dabūr*), which will drive sinners to *Gehenna*, "that being the distance (*al-buʿd*) which they used to imagine [separates them from Reality]."[177] Similarly, the rapacious *ʿanqāʾ* was frequently described as carrying its hapless prey far away,[178] a trait which is apparently reflected in the parallel function of the comet (fire from heaven) in repulsing the hubris of Lucifer Resurgent.[179] Finally, if any further evidence were needed that the above verses probably relate ultimately to the prophet, Khālid b. Sinān (rather than Moses), it is significant that the *Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* (which features, *inter alia*, the Fabulous Gryphon) is dedicated to one Abū l-Fawāris Ṣakhr b. Sinān, who, Denis Gril points out, must be none other than the prophet, Khālid.[180]

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[169] *Nawr-ī.* "My beauties": *zahr-ī.* Perhaps the "flowers" are the human attributes of the poet, annihilated in the theophanic *fanāʾ*.

[170] *Wa-lammā ḍturra ahl-ī, lāḥa nārū/mina l-Raḥmāni, ṣayyara-nī kalīmā.*

[171] *Wa-kāna Burāqu sayr-ī bī lazīmā.*

[172] *Rajīm al-buʿd*: lit., "the stoned/reviled one of remoteness/distance."

[173] The devils were believed to be kept from overhearing the secrets of the higher heavens by means of comets or "shooting stars" (*shuhub*; see *Qur.* 37: 6–10 and 72: 1–10; and *cf.* p. 231 at n. 33, below).

[174] In the *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. III, pp. 19–20.

[175] On the *nafas al-Raḥmān* "from the direction of al-Yaman" and its possible relation to Ibn al-ʿArabī's missive to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, see above, pp. 106–08.

[176] As one of the ten signs of the eschaton in the *ḥadīth* from Ibn Mājah (*Fitan*, 28) quoted in App. I (p. 539).

[177] See *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 107; and above, p. 173 at n. 55.

[178] As we have noted, this is one of the common acceptations of the adj., *mughrib*.

[179] See *Isa.* 14: 12–15.

Besides these negative, downward-tending characteristics, let us note in the above verses also the ascending, uplifting and illuminating aspect of the spiritual intellect, symbolized in the fabulous Prophetic vehicle, *al-Burāq*.[181] Elsewhere, in the opening poem of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, Ibn al-ʿArabī describes a mystic conversation about the Seal of sainthood with the "Courier, or *Furāniq*, of his Lord"—a personage whom I take to be the *ʿAnqāʾ*.[182] But we hardly need resort to such recondite, esoteric sources as these to find a model for our flight of the Gryphon; stories of Near-Eastern heroes who rode eagles to Heaven had been recounted from antiquity. One need only call to mind the Babylonian Etana and the Arabian Nimrod-legend. In *Exodus XIX*: 4, the children of Israel are transported from their Egyptian captivity upon eagles' wings,[183] and Alexander the Great is thus borne aloft in the Ethiopic version of *Pseudo*-Callisthenes' recension of the Alexander romance. Ibn al-ʿArabī, however, probably would have been more familiar with the adventure of Sindbād riding the gigantic *rukhkh* (a more oriental species of the *ʿanqāʾ*) in the *Thousand-and-One Nights*,[184] and there is even some likelihood that he was aware of an

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[180] See "Le Livre de l'arbre et des quatre oiseaux," pp. 62–64. *Ṣakhr* means "a rock", which is also a connotation of *khālid*. *Abū l-Fawāris*: "father of knights," a class of Arab chivalrous heroes distinguished by eloquence (*bayān*) as well as courage and generosity.

[181] Ibn al-ʿArabī does not use the def. art. in the verse under consideration (nor in the ref. cited in n. 161, above), perhaps to avoid seeming to claim the same dignity as the Prophet Muḥammad, whose special mount on the "night-journey" was al-Burāq. The latter name, by the way, means "flashing, gleaming", *etc.*, inevitably suggesting to students of the phenomenology of comparative mysticism a possible relation to the Yogic power of *kundalinī*.

[182] See pp. 229 (at n. 17) and 457 (n. 104). The Būlāq edn. of the *Dīwān* (p. 26, l. 20) has غرنيق (the high-flying crane [of my Lord]) instead of فرانق.

[183] In *Psalms* 103: 5, the eagle (Heb., *nesher*) is confounded with the phoenix, and in numerous other Biblical passages the description is appropriate to the gryphon (*e.g.*, *Hos.* 1: 8, *Jer.* 49: 16, *Obad.* 1: 4, *Prov.* 23: 5 and 30: 19, *et al.*). The eagle was held in abomination by the Israelites, however (*Lev.* 11: 13)—as it was, incidentally, by Benjamin Franklin, who opposed the choice of a scavenger to symbolize the United States.

[184] In the second voyage of the legendary seafarer (see E.W. Lane, tr., *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* [Chap. 20], p. 1193, n. 22).

Arabic version of the Alexander-legend in which the Angel Raphael carries Dhū l-Qarnayn into outer space, whence he is able to view the whole earth.[185] In the vernacular Spanish *Libro de Alixandre*, composed around 1240 C.E., the Greek hero actually builds a kind of flying-machine powered by gryphons, and in what appears to be the earliest instance of the concept of aerial reconnaissance (over two centuries before its apparent adumbration in Leonardo's notebooks), the *Libro* tells how Alexander "measured the whole of Africa and how it lay, by which spot it would be easiest to enter; then he saw where he could best cross, for there was a large exit and a wide entrance."[186]

It seems to me quite possible that there may be some dim reflection here of the important apocalyptic passage in the book of *Daniel* where the conquering Alexander is depicted as a he-goat (that is, "one triumphant over the flock") with one "notable" horn between his eyes, who bounded "from the West over the whole earth without touching the ground."[187] The messianic implications of Alexander's great triumphal procession eastward would not have been lost on the Almohads (who also, surely, heard of Hannibal's stratagem) any more than it was on the Byzantines.[188] But this is not to say, of course, that Ibn al-ʿArabī really intended his Fabulous Gryphon to carry such a *recherché* burden, even if he was, no doubt, aware of the subtle undertones. Still, when we consider that the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* was conceived by its author as a sequel to his *Tadbīrat al-Ilāhīyah*, or "Divine Politics"—which he states that he modelled on the *Sirr al-*

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[185] See I. Michael, *Alexander's Flying Machine*, p. 14. The *Aljamiado* passage tr. by Michael dates from the 15th cent. C.E., but as the vernacular Sp. *Libro de Alixandre* is known to have existed in the first half of the 13th cent., an Arabic version may also be surmised to have been current in some form.

[186] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19. It is interesting to note that in his aerial flight Alexander viewed the earth below him *in the form of a man*, the microcosm (an idea derived from Isidore of Seville, as Michael points out).

[187] *Dan.* 8: 5. Since Alexander was actually the single horn itself (see v. 21), the "he-goat" could be understood, rather, as the Thracian gryphon which transported the hero. In yet another fantastic echo, this same idea may be represented in Ariosto's epic poem, *Orlando Furioso*, where a wonderful hippogryph (half horse, half gryphon), tamed by the magician, Atlantes, in his inaccessible fortress in the Pyrenees, was later said to have carried the English prince, Astolpho, to Abyssinia to meet the legendary Prester John.

[188] The Ottoman sulṭān, Mehmet Fātih (848–86/1444–81), acknowledging that in the past, with Alexander and his heirs, western conquerors had marched eastward, averred to the Venetian traveller, Giacomo Langusto, in his new capital of Istanbul that now "times have changed," and *he* would proceed conquering from east to west (quoted by B. Lewis in *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 26–27).

Asrār (Secretum Secretorum) of *Pseudo*-Aristotle, which was supposedly addressed to the latter's star-pupil, Alexander—the hypothesis would seem worth entertaining.

But to conclude this examination, students of Ibn al-ʿArabī would do well to take to heart the following words of welcome candour from the *ʿAnqāʾ* regarding the real meaning of the "Sun of the West" and the Seal of sainthood:

> All of these symbolic expressions (*al-ishārāt*) refer to the "Lesser Image" (*al-nushkhah al-ṣughrá*) [*sci.*, Man as the Microcosm], not the Greater one [the external world as Macrocosm]. . . . There is no benefit in the knowledge of that which is external to your Self (*mā kharaja ʿan dhāti-ka*), unless the way of your Salvation is dependent thereupon. For the "Sun of the West" is the lights of Intellections arising in the World of your Transcendence (*ʿālam ghaybi-ka*) and that which manifests itself of the Secrets of Particularization and Generalization to your heart,[189] just as the Seal [of Sainthood] is that by which your Station is sealed (*mā khatama bi-hi ʿalá maqāmi-ka*) in the "Furthest Boundary" of your term (*muntahá muqāmi-ka*).[190]

Towards the end of the book, Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical "nominalism" is stated even more explicitly:

> As for the Seal of the Saints with regard to Man, it is actually an expression (*ʿibārah*) for the Station at which you will end up and before which you shall be brought to stand—it being each mystic Traveller (*sālik*) wherever he may arrive, his Station wherever he comes to alight. For [the Station of the Seal with regard to any given person] is not specifically imposed, but is simply the place which he reaches, the Gnostic himself disclosing to us its limit. But the Seal of all of the Stations is none other than the testimony that God is One (*al-tawḥīd*), while the Secrets of Existence are in superabundance![191]

Elsewhere, our Ṣūfī pilgrim declares of his spiritual ascent: "My Journey was only within me, and I was guided only to myself."[192] It is a token of the Shaykh al-Akbar's true greatness as a doctor of the soul that our understanding of him is, likewise, a discovery of ourselves.

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[189] Elsewhere in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the (human) spirit of the world is likened to the sun (*Yūḥ*) rising on the earth (see pp. 386 [at n. 131] and 399 [after n. 112], *et al.*).

[190] P. 291. *Nuskhah*: "transcription, copy, replica".

[191] Pp. 525–26.

[192] *Fa-mā kānat riḥlat-ī illā fīya, wa-dalālat-ī illā ʿalayya* (*Fut.* III, 350 [31]; quoted by Chodkiewicz in *Seal,* 165).

VIII. A DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCES

As with most of Ibn al-ʿArabī's major works, the *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* is very well attested in excellent manuscript evidence, a circumstance ascribable, above all, to the extremely high estimation in which the Shaykh al-Akbar was held by Ottoman Turks from the 10th/16th century onward. In the Süleymaniye Library alone there are well over twenty codices of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (not all of them listed in the card-catalogue),[1] with probably at least as many again in other libraries in Istanbul, not to mention the rest of Turkey. Osman Yahia lists fifty manuscripts, mostly in Turkey and Europe, but there are certainly many more extant than that, probably especially in Egypt, Syria and the East,[2] from Iraq to India and beyond.[3] Many of these are late, however, as the *ʿAnqāʾ* seems to have remained steadily in circulation in Ottoman and Persian territories up to the twentieth century.

No definitive edition of the Arabic text of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* has yet been made available.[4] Two commercial editions which have been published in Cairo (in 1934 and 1954)[5] are useful, but neither are adequate for a critical reading of the text. Of the manuscripts of the *ʿAnqāʾ* known to me, I have been fortunate to enlist all of the best for the present undertaking. Hence, besides the two printed editions, my translation is based on over a dozen manuscript sources, at least four of which antedate the 10th/16th century (when many transcriptions of Ibn al-ʿArabī works were made under the auspices of the recently-imposed Ottoman regime in Syria).[6] The following diagram is a conjectural scheme of the apparent interrelations of the various primary sources for the *ʿAnqāʾ*-text, each of which is described in detail below. I must emphasize that the diagram is offered more as a hypothetical representation than a scientific description (this is especially true of the lower half of the figure). Dotted lines simply indicate possible connections; the solid lines, probable. Bracketed sources are not known but can be inferred. [O] is the *Urtext*, which may be in the hand of the Master himself, or else his amanuensis. (It is possible that B is itself this original source). [X] is a copy presumed to have existed in the hand of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.

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[1] In addition to the sources (ss.) described in this section, I have also examined and occasionally consulted the foll. mss. preserved at the Süleymaniye: *Şehid Ali Paşa 1340*/9 (ff. 108b–150), copied by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr al-Jabartī, and dated by Yahia to 789/1387 (though I found no indication of that); the *ʿAnqāʾ* is preceded by Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mashāhid* and followed by a piece entitled *Fakk al-Qalam*, in which a key (= *fakk*, "breaking [of the Seal]") to the secret script (*qalam ramzī*) of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, among other cryptographs, is given (see Figure VII, p. 580, l. 2). *Şehid Ali 1288* was copied in 818/1415; *Reisülküttab Mustafa Ef. 483*, in 844/1440–41 in Egypt (hurriedly written); *Lâleli 1465*, in 943/1536–37 (very legible *Naskhī*); and *İzmirli Ismail Hakkı 3784* was transcribed by Muḥ. Adīb al-Dimashqī in 1320/1902–03 (a beautiful *Naskhī*). The foll. mss. are undated: *Nafiz Paşa 686*/2 (a fine *Naskh-taʿlīq*, with many errors in transcription corrected in the margins); and *Pertev Paşa 314* (= Yahia's *Selim Ağa 314*?), copied in Egypt at the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Aʿẓam (*Naskh-taʿlīq*, covered with numerological calculations). Finally, the undated *Şehid Ali 1287*, entitled *Al-Ḥukamāʾ al-Arbaʿah*, features representative works from "four sages" of the east, west, north and south, of which Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿAnqāʾ* is the second.

[2] Of the ss. described in this section, at least three (B, D and P) were not known to Yahia in 1964 when he published his *Histoire et classification* (see pp. 157–61, *no.* 30).

[3] For example, there are mss. of the *ʿAnqāʾ* at the University of Baghdad, and in Tbilisi at the Georgian Academy of Sciences (Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts), and Brockelmann mentions a comm. in St. Petersburg (see *G.A.L.*, I, 573–74, *no.* 13 (14); *cf.* also *G.A.L.S.*, I, 794, *no.* 14). One would assume that even more are to be found in the many partially uncatalogued collections of India.

[4] In the course of working on the present trn. I have produced a critical Arabic text which I hope to be able to submit for publication at some point (—*Si le Maître n'etait pas si grand . . .*).

Following are brief accounts of all of these sources, listed in the order of their importance in the present study.

MANUSCRIPTS

B (= Berlin)—***Ms. Berlin 3266*** (1976),[7] folios 1–49b, which, when possible, I have made the basis of my establishment of the text, is a truly remarkable document. Dated 597 (in the month of Jumādá l-Ūlá, corresponding to 7 February–8 March, 1201),[8] it would appear to be not only the earliest known text of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (composed

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[5] These are described below. The 1934 edn. (Q) is very rare, but the later one (Q2) has been reissued in many printings and is frequently available in university libraries with sizeable Arabic collections.

[6] B and, possibly, C were copied during the lifetime of the author (d. 638/1240). C and E date from the 7th/13th cent., probably during the lifetime of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274); while D is of the 8th/14th cent. R is late, but is based on an orig. in the hand of al-Qūnawī; and Z is also alleged to be transcribed from an orig. in the author's hand.

[7] *Cm.* 21.5 × 16 (16 × 11). 49 ff.; 17 ll. My pagination of this ms. differs from that of the Staatsbibliothek since I begin with the title-page fragment.

[8] As I note below, part of this date is barely discernible in the small fragment of the title-page remaining, and more is visible on the last page of the text (f. 48b). (I have only been able to use a microfilm of the original ms.).

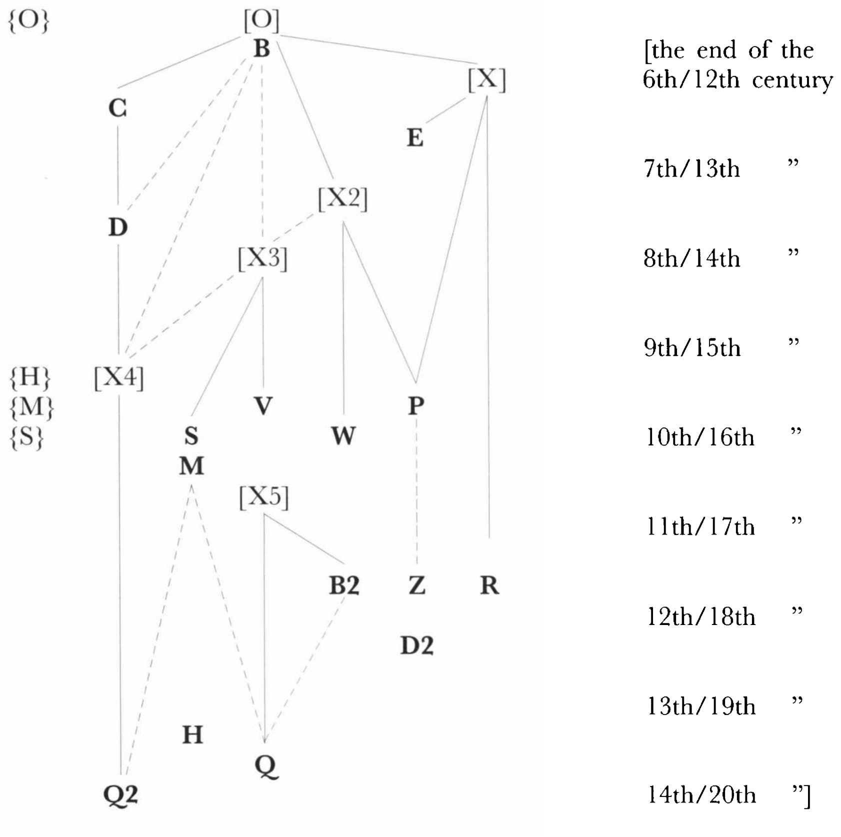
{O}
[O]
B
[X]
C
E
[X2]
D
[X3]
{H}
{M}
{S}
[X4]
V
P
S
W
M
[X5]
B2
Z
R
D2
H
Q
Q2
[the end of the 6th/12th century
7th/13th ”
8th/14th ”
9th/15th ”
10th/16th ”
11th/17th ”
12th/18th ”
13th/19th ”
14th/20th ”]

Figure III. Manuscript sources of the *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*.

in or shortly after the year, 595/1199), but, as far as I am aware, is the oldest existing copy of any work by Ibn al-ʿArabī.[9] If the date is accepted, then the manuscript must have been produced in North Africa—specifically, in present-day Morocco-Algeria, where Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to have spent the entire year, travelling between Salé and Bejaya—and, so, would also have the distinction of being the only materially extant book by the Shaykh to have been copied in the Maghrib and actually transported with him on his journey to the East in 598/1202. Indeed, the name, فاس (Fez), is also discernible on the small fragment of the title-page remaining, so that, as we have seen that Ibn al-ʿArabī sojourned there in 597,[10] the appearance of the name here undoubtedly indicates that the book was transcribed (or redacted?) in that venerable city of Islamic learning. The year, 597, is more legible in the colophon at the bottom of the last page. The entire codex is written in a clear, tasteful Maghribīne *Naskhī* by a single scribe.[11]

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[9] Indeed, it may be the earliest example that we have of a genuine Ṣūfī ms. produced in the Maghrib.

This precious manuscript was evidently acquired in Turkey in 1929 by an agent for the German national library, where it was first recognized for its apparent value by M. Weisweiler. It is described in Part One of the Arabic Manuscripts section of the *Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, by Ewald Wagner, *et alii* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pages 80–81 (*no.* 94). As that catalogue was published after Yahia's bibliographic researches, *Ms. Berlin 3266* is not listed in the *Histoire et classification.*[12]

While the dating of *Berlin 3266* at 597 A.H. should not be regarded as conclusively established (the deteriorated condition of the important title-page and conclusion do not permit sufficient examination for this), it may definitely be stated that there is nothing to militate against the assumption that the partial dates visible on fragments of those damaged folios do, in fact, designate the time of the document's production, as Weisweiler supposed. The relatively "archaic" character of the fine Maghribine script and format are entirely consonant with those of other sixth-century Andalusian manuscripts I have seen, and the consistent integrity of the reading wherever variations exist both argue strongly for accepting the early date.

C (= Carullah [جار الله])—***Carullah 986/***[13] 8: folios 51b–60. This manuscript, which has never been adequately described to my knowledge, is a valuable anthology of over two dozen *risālah*s by Ibn al-ʿArabī, some of them quite long,[14] which, on account of the very minute *Maghribī* script in which it is written, have nevertheless been brought together in one compact quarto volume. It should be noted that in microfilm it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the work of the original copyist (in brown ink) and that of a later hand (in black), which adds diacritical points, vowel signs and annotations—not always for the better.

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[10] See above, p. 74; and *Fut.* II, 436 (22–27).

[11] There are at least three certifications of authenticity (on ff. 13, 16 and 30), but the damaged condition of many of the margins makes the reading of some inscriptions uncertain. The second reads: *Balaghtu qirāʾat*^{an} *ʿalay-hi, aḥsana Llāhu ilay-hi* (f. 16). This indicates that the copyist read the text to Ibn al-ʿArabī (*cf.* f. 30, which adds: *raḍiya Llāhu ʿan-hu* after *ʿalá* [instead of *ʿalay-hi*]). F. 24b has a note which appears to read: [*samā*]*ʿ*^{an} *wa-muqābalat*^{an} *ʿalá sayyidi-nā, munshiʾi-hi. Cf.* also ff. 9b, 13b and 39b, where a name occurs which I am unable to verify. Of course, there is no reason to assume that the copyist of this ms. ever followed Ibn al-ʿArabī to the East.

[12] The first specific notice of the ms. was by Chodkiewicz in *Seal,* 121 (n. 19).

[13] *Cm.* 26 × 18.5 (22.5 × 16). 127 ff.; 43 ll. The Carullah archive is now located at the Süleymaniye Kütüphane in Istanbul, as is that of Esad Efendi (see next item).

According to Yahia (*Histoire et classification*, page 157), the codex was copied during the lifetime of Ibn al-ʿArabī, but, while the Maghribine style may be thought to support this, I was unable to find any certification to that effect, and the inclusion of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (composed in the last decade of the author's life) among the contents limits the possibilities.[15] In any case, the comparative accuracy of C is evidence for the high quality of its source, and the fact that its cryptographic system differs fundamentally from that of B (which is the evident prototype of all of the others that I have examined)[16] suggests the possibility that C is, like B, based on the ultimate, original text ([O] in Figure III, above—in which the cryptography was probably not included as an integral part of the work).[17]

E (= **E**sad [أسعد])—***Ms. Esad Efendi 1413/***[18] 1: folios 1–47 is an undated scholar's transcript of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, which was copied during Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's lifetime (that is, prior to 673/1274).[19] The *ʿAnqāʾ*, which is the first *risālah*, is wrongly titled *Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah* by a copyist in the table of contents, and the correct title does not appear at the beginning of the work either, but is noted in the margin of folio 13b. It is followed by al-Qūnawī's *Risālah al-Mufṣiḥah ʿan Muntahá l-Afkār wa-Sabab Ikhtilāf al-Umam*[20] and two other epistles, one from the Shīʿite philosopher-theologian, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), in response to questions posed in the preceding *risālah*,[21] and the other (entitled *Al-Risālah al-Hādiyah*) comprising al-Qūnawī's critique of the philosopher's answers. The contents of the Qūnawī-Ṭūsī correspondence has been described by William Chittick,[22] and an annotated edition of all of the texts has recently been published in Germany by Gudrun Schubert.[23]

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[14] For example, the entire *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikām* is contained in sixteen folios, and the *ʿAnqāʾ* is followed by a long extract from the *Futūḥāt*, the *Ḥaḍrat al-Ḥaḍarāt* (*Fut.* IV, 318–26; see Yahia, *no.* 209).

[15] I am unsure of the authenticity of the report that Ibn al-ʿArabī did not want the *Fuṣūṣ* to be bound together with any other work.

[16] See pp. 523–24 of the trn., and App. III, p. 577 at n. 9.

[17] In App. III, 574–79, *et seq.*, I have described the cryptic script of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[18] *Cm.* 15.8 × 12 (13 × 9.5). 120 ff.; 17 ll.

[19] This is indicated in the second *risālah* (see next note), which was read before al-Qūnawī.

[20] *The Treatise Giving Expression to the Utmost Degree of Contemplations and the Reason for Difference among Religions*, ff. 48–76 (see *G.A.L.*, I, 586; and *G.A.L.S.*, I, 808, *no.* 10; and *cf.* R. Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Garrett Collection*, Princeton University, p. 236, *no.* 2761).

The copyist begins by marking section-headings with red ink but soon discontinues this, not even indicating headings at all. Nevertheless, he was very careful indeed, there being few significant discrepancies between E and B (as well as C), except where the former has been badly water-damaged and a later editor has attempted to fill in missing words or phrases without a second source. E is, then, evidently the personal copy of a serious scholar, undoubtedly a student of al-Qūnawī. As it shares some features with R,[24] which appears to have been based on a copy in the hand of al-Qūnawī himself, I surmise that E, also, may well derive ultimately from that source.

D (= Dublin)—***Ms. Chester Beatty 5495/***[25] 9: folios 56–82b is undated, but was assigned by Arthur J. Arberry in his brief description[26] to the 8th/14th century. The *ʿAnqāʾ* is the ninth of twelve titles by Ibn al-ʿArabī, mostly short tracts written comparatively early.[27] Arberry states that part of the manuscript was transcribed from the author's autograph,[28] and the text is, indeed, highly accurate. While there may be an indirect relation with B, I detect a more evident dependence upon C.[29] Unfortunately, the second half of the *ʿAnqāʾ*-text is missing, and water-damage has ruined a small part of the beginning. It is written in a clear *Naskhī* script by a single scribe.

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[21] *Cf. ibid., no.* 2762. Al-Ṭūsī died less than one year before al-Qūnawī.

[22] See his "Mysticism versus Philosophy in Earlier Islamic History: The al-Ṭūsī, al-Qūnawī Correspondence," in *Religious Studies*, 17 (1981), esp. pp. 98*sq.*; and "The Last Will and Testament of Ibn ʿArabī's Foremost Disciple and Some Notes on Its Author," in *Sophia perennis*, 4 (1978), pp. 48–49.

[23] *Annäherungen: Der Mystisch-philosophische Briefwechsel zwischen Ṣadr ud-Dīn-i Qōnawī und Naṣīr ud-Dīn-i Ṭūsī* (1995), reviewed by H. Landolt in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Arabic Studies*, 61: 2 (1998), pp. 332–34.

[24] For instance, both E and R misread the *Maghribī* lettering of the word, سقر (*Saqar*, a name of Hell), as *safar* (see p. 250, n. 38), indicating—what, of course, one would expect—that their ultimate common source was a Maghribine text, either B or [O], since R is said to be immediately based on a transcript (presumably) in the hand of al-Qūnawī ([X] in Fig. III, p. 198; see n. 31, below).

[25] *Cm.* 27.3 × 18.3. 96 ff.; 17 ll. The famous Chester Beatty collection is located in Dublin.

[26] In *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. VII, pp. 147–48.

[27] During his meanderings in the early 600s H. across the Fertile Crescent to Baghdad, then up the Tigris and through the Taurus mountains to Konya.

[28] But I could find no indication of that in my microfilm (much of the first folio

R (= **R**ağib [راغب])—***Rağib Paşa 1453/***[30] 3: folios 133–180b is fully described by Osman Yahia in his "Mission en Turquie" (in the *Revue des études islamiques* [1958], pages 60–61). The manuscript was copied by a single scribe in an exquisite *Naskh-taʿlīq* (which Yahia calls *Dīwānī*) in black ink, with subject-headings and *sajʿ*-punctuation in red, and decorated with gilt borders and floral patterns. It comprises seven titles, three by Ibn al-ʿArabī, all of them of a distinctively belle-lettristic quality: the *ʿAnqāʾ* and the *Isrāʾ*, both early rhymed-prose works, and the suite of erotic poetry, *The Interpreter of Desires* (*Turjumān al-Ashwāq*). Each of these three texts claim to duplicate autograph originals,[31] the one of the *ʿAnqāʾ* reproducing a *samāʿ* dated 3 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 629 (29 December, 1231).

The first title of the codex is the *Sharḥ Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿīn*, which is Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's commentary on a third of the Divine sayings (*aḥādīth qudsīyah*) collected by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *Mishkāt al-Anwār*.[32] Then, after the three by Ibn al-ʿArabī, the fifth is al-Qūnawī's commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, entitled *Al-Fukūk* (The Breakings [of the Seals]),[33] while the sixth is a *Risālah fī Bayān al-Ṭuruq ilá Llāh*,

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is illegible). Whereas I worked closely with C, E and R (in Istanbul) and P (at Princeton), I was dependent on microfilms for most of the remaining mss. discussed here.

[29] See the conjectural diagram in Fig. III, above. While claims of authentication should, of course, be based on a direct relation, one suspects that even very good copies were frequently indirect transcriptions.

[30] Mentioned by Brockelmann (in *G.A.L.S.*, I, 794, *no.* 14). Yahia gives the dimensions of this *octavo* as 21 × 11 *cm.*, which are somewhat larger than my own measurements (19.5 × 10.5). Moreover, the margins are quite wide, so that the actual text measures only 13 × 5 *cm.* The ms. has 286 ff. with 17 ll. per page. Rağib Paşa Library is located in Lâleli, Istanbul, but is under the auspices of the Süleymaniye.

[31] The copy of the *Isrāʾ* is said to be based on an orig. which was copied by al-Qūnawī in 628 (21 Jumādá l-Ukhrá/27 Apr., 1231) and read by him to Ibn al-ʿArabī in 630 (see f. 80). We might guess from this that the copy of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (transcribed in 629) was also based on an orig. in the hand of al-Qūnawī ([X] in Fig. III, above). It is, in fact, said to be the *riwāyah* of al-Qūnawī, but I am not certain precisely what this should be taken to signify.

[32] See Yahia, *no.* 480 (end), where this would appear to be the best of three copies of the treatise cited. The text has been ed. by H.K. Yilmaz (1990).

[33] See Yahia, *no.* 150: 3. Dr. Chodkiewicz informs me that the *Fukūk* has recently been ed. and tr. into Per. (Tehran, 1413/1992–93).

attributed to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrá (d. 618/1221),[34] and the last is the well-known *Mir'āt al-ʿĀrifīn*, an esoteric interpretation of the first chapter of the Qur'ān which is frequently ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī, *inter alios*, but is here identified more credibly as the work of a disciple of al-Qūnawī.[35]

R itself is undated (and Yahia makes no guess as to its provenance), but Franz Rosenthal assigned it to the 12th/18th century.[36] At any rate, it appears to be a dependable copy of a genuine source. Its one serious drawback is that the final third of the manuscript is partially unpointed, and is otherwise in an unfinished state (neither the cryptic letters nor the *madīnah*-talisman [see Figures VI and VIII–X][37] have been inscribed in the spaces left for them).

V (= Vatican)—***Ms. Vatican 292/***[38] 1: folios 1–48b. This manuscript has been described by Giorgio Levi della Vida in *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (1935), page 21. It is dated 15 Shawwāl, 967 (9 July, 1560) and is of quite good quality, in a clear *Naskhī* script. A note on the title-page of the *ʿAnqā'* claims that the contents of the entire manuscript have been collated, but there is no specification of a source. The *ʿAnqā'* is the first title, followed by Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Turjumān*, and the poetic *Dīwān* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sūdī al-Hādī, a 10th/16th-century Yemenite mystic.[39] This latter section was added by a different scribe on the eve of the first Islamic millennium (in 999/1590–91), thirty years after the transcription of the first two.[40]

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[34] On this work, see *G.A.L.*, I, 586; and *G.A.L.S.*, I, 787, *no.* 3.

[35] See Yahia, *no.* 475, which documents some of the many author-ascriptions.

[36] See *Muqaddimah*, II, 189, n. 960.

[37] See pp. 499 and 587–88.

[38] *Cm.* 20.5 × 15. 146 ff.; 15 ll. Mentioned by Brockelmann (*G.A.L.S.*, I, 794, *no.* 14). Levi della Vida also describes another *ʿAnqā'* ms. (*no.* 1437), bound with Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣilīyah* and dated 985/1577.

[39] See İsmail Paşa Bağdatlı, *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. I, p. 232. The similarity of his various names to those of Ibn al-ʿArabī evidently extended to his sharing the same *laqab*, Muḥyī l-Dīn, and he is called *sulṭān al-muḥaqqiqīn* and *al-wārith al-Muḥammadī* on the title-page (leading me to suspect that there has actually been a confusion with the Shaykh al-Akbar). As al-Hādī died in 932/1526 (less than seventy years before the codex was finished), *Vatican 292* may be a valuable source for the edn. of this poet's *dīwān*, which is said to be notable for its metrical virtuosity.

[40] As I suggested in the preceding note, the second ed. may have thought that the poet was Ibn al-ʿArabī.

P (= Princeton)—***Ms. Princeton 2772*** (Yahuda)/[41] 1: folios 1–19b. This is the only manuscript of *The Fabulous Gryphon* that I know of in America. It is entitled *Al-Wiʿā' al-Makhtūm ʿalá l-Sirr al-Maktūm*—which is actually the title of the opening poem—and was copied in Dhū l-Ḥijjah, 988 (January, 1581), in a small but easily legible *Naskhī* script in black and red ink. It is briefly described by Rudolf Mach in his *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda section) in the Garrett Collection*, Princeton University Library (1977), page 231, *no.* 2708. The *ʿAnqā'* is the first title in the collection and is followed by nine other *risālah*s (mostly by others than Ibn al-ʿArabī) and some notes.[42] Several folios are bound out of place, and one or more are evidently lost.[43]

W (= Wien)—***Ms. Wien 1906***,[44] folios 1–69b, is of unknown date and provenance, but certainly does not precede the 11th/17th century. It is written in an elegant *Naskh-taʿlīq*, with punctuation of rhyme-scheme throughout, and is almost completely vocalized, with occasional marginal corrections and glosses, sometimes in Persian, by the original copyist (the latter are serviceable, but the "corrections" are not always preferable to the original text). The reading is quite sound if some of the many *corrigenda* are considered. It is fully described by Gustav Flügel in *Die Arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (1867), Volume III, pages 345–46.

B2 (= **B**erlin, 2nd source)—***Ms. Berlin 2895*** (1891),[45] folios 3–63b, was copied in 1185/1771. It is one of several 12th/18th-century manuscripts described by Wilhelm Ahlwardt in the third volume of the *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, on pages 43–45 (= Volume IX of *Die Handscriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1891). Of all of the sources I have employed for this work, it is the only one which is decidedly inferior, written in a hurried *Naskhī* script with numerous orthographic errors due to the scribe's ignorance of Arabic. Notwithstanding its poor quality, I have decided to retain B2 as one of my sources because of its evident relation to V and Q (see Figure III, above), although, to save space, I have edited out most citings of it. It is doubtful that the other copies of the *'Anqā'* described by Ahlwardt are much better (*No.* 2894, mentioned by Brockelmann, is lost).[46]

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[41] *Cm.* 24 × 16 (15.5 × 10.5). ?ff.; 23 ll.

[42] The fourth *risālah* is the *K. al-Tanbīhāt*, sometimes attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see Yahia, *no.* 763), but probably the work of a disciple (*cf.* also *G.A.L.S.*, I, 801, *no.* 203).

[43] Of the ss. discussed in this section, P and Z are the only ones that I have not had an opportunity to study thoroughly (and the half-dozen later mss. only in microfilm), but the impression I formed from the examination that I was able to make suggests that they are based on a source deriving from B or [X], such as E.

[44] (Formerly, *Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 303*). *Cm.* (7.5 × 5). 71 ff.; 11 ll. It is mentioned by Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, I, 573, *no.* 13 [14]).

[45] (Formerly, *Ms. Wetzstein I 120*). *Cm.* 20 × 15 (14.5 × 10). 68 ff; 13 ll. Mentioned in *G.A.L.*, I, 573, *no.* 13 (14).

Z (= Ẓāhirīyah)—***Ms. Ẓāhirīyah 5758/***[47] 1, folios 1–56. I acquired a photocopy of this manuscript[48] only after having completed the present study, and, while it has proved useful during the revision process, I have not generally made reference to it in the notes. Though the manuscript is undated and does not appear to be particularly early, it purports to be based on an original in the hand of the author,[49] according to Muḥammad R. al-Māliḥ's description in the *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah* (*Al-Taṣawwuf*, part II, pages 307–08, *no.* 1408). *No.* 1409 in the same catalogue is yet another transcript of the *'Anqā'*—*Ms. 9305*, folios 102–145,[50] copied in 1254/1838—of which I also lately obtained a photocopy. It is written in the hand of Muṣṭafá b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṣalāḥī al-Ṣāliḥī (from the Ṣālaḥīyah district of Damascus, where Ibn al-'Arabī's mosque-mausoleum is located).

Printed Editions

Neither of the two printed editions of the *Gryphon* (Cairo, 1934 and 1954, Q and Q2) are critically established, though the first was at least carefully prepared. I refer to these as the first and second editions although there is some question as to whether an earlier one was published in 1913–14 (1332 A.H.) which I have not been able to locate or verify. At least two recent bibliographical accounts assume an edition of 1332/1913–14,[51] but these are both apparently based on Osman Yahia's assertion in the *Histoire et classification* (page 159) that the *ʿAnqāʾ* was "printed twice in Cairo, in 1332 and 1353, A.H."—which seems to be a *lapsus calami.* Perhaps, having the *Hijrī* date of Q (13**53**) in mind, Yahia mistook it for the similar *Milādī* date of the second edition, Q2 (19**53**–54),[52] and, estimating the twenty years between the two publications, came up with the erroneous date of 1332 A.H. (1913–14) for the first edition (?). Whatever the explanation, if Yahia's data were correct, it would mean that he did not note the edition of 1373/1953–54, even though his own citations (on pages 157–58) evidently refer to that particular edition. From this, then, and the fact that no one has ever described a 1332/1913–14 publication, I infer that Q is probably the first printed edition of the *ʿAnqāʾ*—which is itself quite rare, by the way—and Q2 is the second, bazaar edition, carelessly put together during the spate of publications following Egyptian independence in 1953.

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[46] *Cf.* also the interesting anomaly, *no.* 3069, which is (wrongly) entitled: "*K. 'Anqā' Mughrib*, the last book that the Master wrote" (!). From Ahlwardt's partial listing of the contents of this long ms., copied in 1100/1688, it would appear that it is possibly (but not likely) a work of Ibn al-'Arabī.

[47] *Cm.*? ?ff.; 17 ll.

[48] Through the kind office of Bruce Lawrence.

[49] This could refer either to B or to the putative *Urtext* designated as [O] in the diagram (Fig. III) on p. 198. It seems to me very likely that the transmission was indirect, however, since the copyist has mistaken the end of the text (which comes *after* f. 54b).

[50] Not noted by Yahia. Concerning the copyist, see Bağdatlı, *Hadīyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. II, p. 456.

As it turns out, however, some half dozen or so pages from the first part of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, apparently selected at random, *did* appear in print in Cairo in 1325/1907 as part of a strange potpourri of passages from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Isrāʾ* and *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, the whole entitled *K. Shaqq al-Jayb* (The Book of the Splitting of the Breast),[53] after the well-known expression from the *Sīrat al-Nabī.*[54] A second printing of this uncritical miscellany was issued in Beirut in 1991 as a so-called "first edition."[55]

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[51] That of Martin Notcutt, "Ibn ʿArabī in Print," in *Com. Vol.* (1993), p. 333, where the *ʿAnqāʾ* is inc. among the half-dozen or so books by Ibn al-ʿArabī said to have been pub. in Būlāq prior to 1919. See also Muḥ. R. al-Māliḥ, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah*: Al-Taṣawwuf (1978-80), pt. II, p. 309.

[52] He does so, in fact, on p. 158, where he writes "1353 H." for 1373 H.

[53] See Yahia, *no.* 671. This is the fourth title in a *Majmūʿ al-Rasāʾil al-Ilāhīyah*, ed. by Muḥ. Badr al-Dīn al-Naʿsānī, and pub. with a grant from a Muḥ. Ibrāhīm Ad’ham (see G. ʿAwwād, ed., "Fihrist Mu’allafāt Ibn ʿArabī," in the *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī l-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq*, 29 [1954], p. 532, n. 4), the passages from the *ʿAnqāʾ* occurring on pp. 76–81. Yahia doubts the attribution of this selection to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see *Histoire et classification*, p. 460), as do I, since there appears to be little reason in the choice of passages (*e.g.*, in the first poem of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the selection comprises vv. 1–2, 15–16, 22–23 and 29–34), and many of the mss. listed by Yahia are late.

[54] See Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 71–72 (and *cf. Qur.* 94: 1).

[55] The passages from the *ʿAnqāʾ* are on pp. 91–98.

Q (= al-Qāhirah)—The first "complete" edition of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, published by the Maṭbaʿah al-Raḥmānīyah in Cairo in 1353/1934,[56] was actually *not* complete in that it lacked about seven pages[57] from the middle of the book, dealing with certain details of cosmogony (the emergence of the Divine Throne and Footstool, the spheres, stars, elements, *etc.*). The section probably comprised an entire fascicle in the original source.[58] I was fortunate to discover a copy of this edition in the Case Memorial Library at Hartford Theological Seminary, as I know of no other library holding it, nor have I ever come across a notice of it.

The greater care taken in preparing the text of Q is evident even on the title-page, where the editor's name, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭimāwī, is given (no editor is named for Q2) along with the following quaint declaration:

> Printed at the expense of the copyright-owner, who is in need of God (Be He Exalted!). Any copy of this book not stamped with the seal of the copyright-owner should be considered stolen, and its possessor may be punished by law.

—After which the copyright-holder's seal duly appears. A welcome addition to Q, which is not found even in the majority of the manuscript sources, is the key (*fakk*) to the cryptographic ciphers of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, which is included at the end of the book (on page 80).[59]

Albeit a labor of love, Q is not without its faults which may not be readily apparent to one not familiar with the earliest manuscript sources. From the conjectural scheme that I have given in Figure III, it can be seen that Q shares a common source with B2, the weakest of the texts that I have used here. Further, I suspect that the editor, Dr. al-Ṭimāwī, may have engaged in some pious (and learned) editing, which, for our purposes, can be more troublesome than Q2's bungling.

Q2 (= al-Qāhirah, 2nd edition)—was published in 1373/1954 by the well-known Maṭbaʿat ʿAlī Ṣabīḥ wa-Awlādi-hi bi-l-Azhar. After careful consideration I have, with some surprise, come to the conclusion that the unnamed manuscript basis of Q2 appears to have been uncommonly early, although either its condition or the carelessness of the anonymous editor (or both) have greatly diminished the quality.[60] In Figure III I have indicated an evident indirect relation between C–D and Q2 (thus deriving from a source antedating the common basis of most of the 10th/16th-century material).

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[56] On 11 Ramaḍān (= 19 Dec.).

[57] Pp. 39 (l. 13) to 46 (l. 15) of Q2, which correspond to pp. 384 (at n. 107)–411 of the present trn. Q has 84 pp., inc. *corrigenda* (78 pp. of text), with 19–20 ll. per page.

[58] The editor of Q appears to have had at least two ms. ss. for the beginning of the work (see pp. 13 and 16 therein)—in addition to the Ibn al-ʿArabī *Dīwān*—presumably from among those located by Yahia in Cairo or Alexandria.

[59] See App. III, 580 (row 6), where I have copied this key. Note that Q appears to be based on (ss. common to it and to) V and B2 (rows 4 and 5).

Because it remains the only Arabic text of the *ʿAnqāʾ* sometimes available from bookdealers in the Middle East, I have deemed it expedient to cite more "variant readings" from Q2 than would otherwise be warranted. Also, the bold numerals appearing in the right margins of the present translation refer to that edition. It should be noted that there has been more than one different printing of the 1954 edition, however, and some of them are better than others.[61]

D2 (= ***Dīwān***)—The ***Dīwān Ibn ʿArabī*** (Būlāq, 1855), pages 26–34, is a handy reference for all of the poetry of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*. Much research remains to be done on the process by which Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān* was collected and who was responsible for the plan to begin with the poems from the *K. al-Isrāʾ* (pages 2–7), followed by those from the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm* (pages 7–25), the *ʿAnqāʾ* and the *R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī*.[62] In addition to D2, I have also consulted *Ms. Fatih 3872*, folios 12–16, copied in 697/1297–98, as well as the second edition of the *Dīwān* (Bombay, no date [1890?]), pages 14–19.

COMMENTARIES

I have also had the use of a full commentary, or *sharḥ* (including a complete text of the *ʿAnqāʾ*), and two other incomplete or partial commentaries, all dating from the 10th/16th century. The first has been serviceable, of course, but as aids in the study of the *ʿAnqāʾ* none of the commentaries that I saw in Istanbul were very impressive. I will discuss the nature of these separate works and their authors below, following the description of the specific manuscripts employed in this project:

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[60] With an average of about two dozen textual errors to the page, Q2 is nearly useless for scholarly purposes. It has 79 pp. (75 pp. of text) with 20–24 ll. per page. Unlike most of the other ss., it does not inc. the so-called "*madīnah* talisman" (see Figs. VI and VIII–X).

[61] Hence, the margin numbers may not reflect all printings accurately.

[62] See my art., "The Būlāq *Dīwān*," where this question, *inter alia*, is discussed.

M (= al-Maqābirī)—***Ms. Vatican 293***,[63] folios 1–225, is the *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm ʿan al-Sirr al-Maktūm* (The Exposition of What Is Sealed concerning the Secret Unrevealed),[64] by Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥalabī al-Maqābirī (d. 954/1547), which is briefly described by Levi della Vida in *Elenco dei manoscritti*, page 21. The book is mentioned by İsmail Paşa Bağdatlı in his *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn* [= *Keşf-el-Ẓunun Ẓeyli*], Volume I, page 96. It was composed in 933/1526–27 in Syria, and is based on a quite dependable textual source for the *ʿAnqāʾ*, which it copies faithfully. The manuscript itself is undated,[65] but was probably produced in the 10th/16th century, as I just indicated. It was written by a single scribe in a very hurried, sloppy *Naskhī* which is sometimes practically illegible, and the margins are crammed with notes.[66] I have translated many passages from this commentary in Appendix I.

S (= al-Saʿdī)—***Ms. Berlin 2898*** (1891),[67] folios 1–40, is *Al-Barq al-Lāmiʿ al-Mughrib fī Sharḥ ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (The Astounding Lightning-Flash on the Commentary of *The Fabulous Gryphon*), by Qāsim b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Saʿdī (d. 982/1574–75). The book was written in 954/1547. The Berlin manuscript, which is incomplete, covering only about the first fifth of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, is fully described by Ahlwardt (*Verzeichniss*, Volume III, page 45), who dates it *circa* 1000/1592. The subject-text is based closely on that of M, as is the commentary itself. (On the relation between al-Saʿdī and al-Maqābirī, see below). The script is a small, neat *Naskhī*, which is occasionally blurred in my microfilm.

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[63] *Cm.* 22 × 15.5. 226 ff.; 19–20 ll. Mentioned by Brockelmann in *G.A.L.S.*, I, 794, *no.* 14. Yahia mistakenly cites this as "Vat. V, 393" (*Histoire et classification*, p. 160, *no.* 30: 4). The comm. begins: *Al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi lladhī kashafa ʿan ghiyābi-hi l-nufūsa surādiqāti l-ẓulmati, fa-aṣbaḥa l-qalbu* [*l-naṣṣa*?] *wa-l-Ḥaqqu maktūma-hu.*

[64] The complete title continues: *Fī Sharḥ al-Wiʿāʾ al-Makhtūm*, which latter al-Maqābirī takes to be the real title of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see below, p. 228, n. 2).

[65] But a note appears on the cover-leaf which is dated Rajab, 1024 (Aug., 1615), and is signed: Muḥ. Ibn al-Shaykh [and?] Yūsuf Ibn al-Shaykh . . . al-Qādirī al-Bakrī al-Naqshbandī al-ʿAdawī—whom I take to be the owners of the book, which was probably transcribed in the 10th/16th cent. Also, the word, Damascus, may be discerned on the cover-leaf.

[66] Of the three other mss. of this work listed by Yahia (p. 160), I have seen also *Ms. Hekimoğlu 531*, ff. 1–184, which was copied in 1084/1673–74.

[67] (Formerly, *Wetzstein II 1767*). *Cm.* 21 × 15 (15.5 × 9.3). 74 ff.; 27 ll. Mentioned by Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, I, 574, *no.* 13 [14]). See also Yahia, *no.* 30: 1. S begins: *Al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi lladhī jaʿala l-maʿānī arwāḥa l-kalimāti l-mawḍūʿati fī l-ruqūmi wa-l-ḥurūfa ajsām*^{an}, *wa-jaʿala ṣuwara-hā dalālāt*^{in} *tudriku bi-hā l-fuhūmu.*

H (= al-Ḥijazī)—***Ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2347/***[68] 1: pages 1–86 is the *R. al-Aghrab min al-ʿUjālah al-Aʿjab*, which may be rendered *The Most-Astounding of Astonishing Sketches.*[69] On the title-page it is attributed to the well-known Ṣūfī theorist, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. *c.* 820/1417), author of the *Insān al-Kāmil* (The Perfect Man).[70] Yahia doubts this ascription (see *Histoire et classification*, page 160), crediting the work to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥijāzī (*fl.* 907/1501),[71] but he does not mention that the *Aghrab* is a partial commentary (actually treating of only the first poem in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the *Wiʿāʾ al-Makhtūm*), ending at page 86 (folio 43b), and the author-ascription which he applies to this first title in the collection actually belongs to the third (pages 105–270), which is a commentary on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim.*[72] The second *risālah* (pages 86–104) is a commentary, again, imputed to al-Jīlī, on a short tract here ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī but otherwise unknown—*Warāʾ al-Kawnayn* (Beyond the Two Existences).[73]

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[68] (Formerly, *Yahya Ef. 2347*, as in Yahia, *no.* 30: 2). [Measurements of photocopy:] *Cm.* 26 × 18.5 (22.5 × 14.5). 270 pp.; 16 ll. Cited by Brockelmann with a slightly different title and anon. (in *G.A.L.*, I, 574, *no.* 13 [14]). H begins: *Al-ḥamdu li-Llāhi, Rabbi l-ʿālamīna, wa-afḍalu l-ṣalāti wa-akmalu l-salāmi ʿalá man kāna raḥmat*^{an} *li-l-ʿālamina wa-sayyida l-mursalīna.*

[69] In *Şehid Ali 2730* the complete title continues: *Li-Man Naẓara fī-hi wa-Taʿajjaba wa-Tajannaba ʿan al-ʿAraḍ wa-l-Taʿaṣṣub fī Bayān Dibājat ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib wa-Shams al-Maghrib* (—For Him Who Considers the Matter and Stands in Wonder, Avoiding the Superficial and the Fanatical, concerning the Elucidation of the Treatise, *The Fabulous Gryphon . . . and the Sun of the West*).

[70] See Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 77–142 (Chap. 2). The work was partially tr. by T. Burckhardt (see Bib. II). Al-Saʿdī's comm. has also sometimes been attr. to al-Jīlī.

[71] His full names are Abū l-Madad, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī al-Saqaṭī. The surname, signifying "a seller of certain household things which are held in mean estimation," occurs in *Şehid Ali 1702.* Elsewhere he is also called al-Sharqāwī, al-Ḥanafī, Nūr al-Dīn, and al-Fāḍil al-Makkī—the last to further designate his *Ḥijāzī* origin. The *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn* adds that he was a Ṣūfī and that he wrote a comm. on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim* (vol. I, p. 740; see next note), but fails to mention the present work. He is not to be confused with the ʿAlī b. Muḥ. al-Ḥijāzī who was a physician (and a student of ʿUmar al-Khayyām) in the first half of the 6th/12th cent.

[72] See Yahia, *no.* 737 (end), where it is listed as *Yahya Ef. 2347. Cf.* also below, at n. 79.

[73] Yahia, *no.* 814a. Perhaps this is an extract from the *Futūḥāt* or some other work of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Although I would not rule out the original authorship of al-Jīlī,[74] I have followed Yahia in his assignment of the *Aghrab* to al-Ḥijāzī.

Hacı Mahmud 2347 is very late, having been copied in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1299 (January–February, 1882) by a Muḥammad Sharīf Salīm.[75] It is written by a single scribe in a clear *Naskhī*, with the *ʿAnqāʾ* text in gold ink.

Of the three commentaries represented here, the shortest, the *R. al-Aghrab* (H), appears to be the earliest. Moreover, if the commentary ascribed to Dāʾūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350) in a work copied/published (?) in Teheran in 1299/1881–82[76] is, as might be expected, a misattribution, then the *Aghrab* would be the first known commentary on the *ʿAnqāʾ*. Indeed, I am inclined to believe that the Qayṣarī commentary may be in some way related to our own source, *Ms. Hacı Mahmud 2347*, which was, in fact, copied in the same year, 1299 A.H. Thus, two late transcriptions, perhaps from the same prototype (the anonymous *Şehid Ali 2730*?), may have been imputed to two different epigones in the Akbarian school of the 8th/14th century. But by far the earliest source for the *Aghrab* of which I am aware, *Ms. Şehid Ali 1702/4*, dated 913/1507–08,[77] names al-Ḥijāzī (= al-Fāḍil al-Makkī) as the author of both this and another commentary, on the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* of the celebrated Damascene saint, Shaykh Raslān (or Arslān) b. Yaʿqūb al-Nashshār (d. *c.* 540/1145–46).[78]

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[74] The *R. al-Aghrab* is written in a very lively style, with occasional rhymed prose and bold flourishes. There is a marked tendency to develop false polarities due to an unbridled penchant for systematization. The excessive use of such abstract, even specious differentiations as *wāḥidī* and *aḥadī* is reminiscent of al-Jīlī's hyperconceptual proclivities.

[75] The only other source for the *Aghrab* in Istanbul mentioned by Yahia is the anon. *Şehid Ali 2730/2*, ff. 26–68b, which is also quite late, containing some *risālahs* in Turkish. There is another codex, however, *Şehid Ali 1702/4*, dated 913/1507–08, which supports Yahia's contention in that the work, which is the third *risālah*, is there expressly ascribed to al-Ḥijāzī (*alias* al-Fāḍil al-Makkī).

[76] See *G.A.L.S.*, I, 794, *no.* 14; and Yahia, *no.* 30: 7. Neither Brockelmann nor Yahia offer any more details of the provenience of this source.

[77] From my notes I am unable to determine whether this is the date of composition or transcription, but for our purposes this makes no difference.

[78] Entitled *Mawāqiʿ al-Ilhām min Nafaḥāt al-Faḍl wa-l-Inʿām* (see Yahia, *no.* 442, where the transcription date is given as 917 H.). The *Mawāqiʿ al-Ilhām* is the first title of *Ms. Karaçelebi Zade 345*. For refs. as to Shaykh Raslān's prominence in Damascus, see L. Pouzet, *Damas au* $VII^{e}/XIII^{e}$ *siècle*, p. 209, n. 6 (*cf.* also Bağdatlı, *Hadīyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. I, p. 367). Goldziher and Brockelmann, among others, give a deathdate for the saint which is much too late (see *Muslim Studies*, vol. II, p. 268; and *G.A.L.*, I, 589, *no.* 39 [40]; *cf.* also Yahia, p. 375).

Another manuscript, *Şehid Ali 1344*/3, copied in 948/1541–42, attributes the latter to a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀli al-Nahawānī (d. 949/1542),[79] whom I have not been able to trace.[80] This document is quite relevant to our present concern because on folio 56b a key to the secret script (*al-qalam al-marmūz bi-hi*) of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* is presented which is much like the others I have seen. Furthermore, folios 67b–99b contain yet another commentary, this one on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim*, which is said to have been originally composed in Suez (Bandar al-Suways) on 18 Shaʿbān, 907 (February 27, 1502).[81] Finally, there is the evidence of *Ms. Karaçelebi Zade 345*,[82] which was copied in 980/1572–73, perhaps on the basis of *Şehid Ali 1344*, since it begins with the commentaries on Shaykh Raslān's *R. al-Tawḥīd* and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim*, and features, also, the key to the cryptography (*fakk al-qalam*) of the *ʿAnqāʾ* found in the earlier source.[83] Here, however, both works are apparently ascribed to al-Ḥijāzī, although, as Yahia notes, the first is imputed to Ibn al-ʿArabī himself by a later hand, and I also found the name, Amīn al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀli al-Dimashqī (d. 971/1563–64),[84] applied to it.

Besides this external evidence that the *Aghrab* antedates our other two commentaries, I detect in at least one passage a strong indication that al-Maqābirī and, after him, al-Saʿdī, were familiar with al-Ḥijāzī's interpretation.[85] For the most part, however, the *R. al-Aghrab* is such an unabashedly idiosyncratic production that no one really interested in studying the text and meaning of Ibn al-ʿArabī's work would find much utility in it. Beginning with a rambling (but not unmethodical) preamble having nothing whatever to do with the content of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, the second part of the work settles down to a line-by-line commentary of the opening poem, "The Sealed Vessel," which, in turn, is followed by a curious disquisition on the author's own rationalization of various eschatological archetypes. Then, in the fourth part, the commentator recalls to mind his task sufficiently to give a brief synopsis of some of the remaining sections of the book. The *tour de force* is far from uninteresting for its vigor and bombastic charm if not its persuasive argument, and does, in fact, merit a special study which should take into account the author's other "commentaries". For our present purposes, however, I have confined myself to some quotes from its second part only, and have summarized the rest in Appendix II (pages 565–73).

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[79] I am unsure of the deathdate (see f. 44b).

[80] But *cf.* n. 84, below.

[81] See *Ms. Hacı Mahmud 2347*, p. 270. The mention of Suez is interesting since, it will be recalled, a comm. on the *ʿAnqāʾ* has been attr. to al-Qayṣarī, who lived for a time in Egypt, as well as to al-Jīlī, who resided in Yemen and may well have visited Egyptian territory. Could it be that there is a connection between these two and al-Ḥijāzī, whose *nisbah* suggests a proximate origin?

[82] Süleymaniye Microfilm *no.* 1221.

[83] See App. III, 580 (l. 3), where I have copied this key.

[84] See Bağdatlı, *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. II, p. 247, where he is called a Ḥanafite and a *fiqh* work (?) is ascribed to him. Note that the deathdate is a mere nine years before the date of transcription. There is also an obvious relation to the name given in *Şehid Ali 1344* (see above at n. 79), which appears to be one of either kinship or identity, although the latter would seem improbable since that codex was copied in 948 H., twenty-three years before the death of al-Dimashqī.

[85] See p. 539 (for the comm. on p. 233, n. 42, of the trn.).

If the date we have assigned to the *R. al-Aghrab* is correct, it is notable for very shortly preceding the lightning campaign of the Ottoman conqueror, Selim Yavuz (the Grim), into the Arab heartlands, when Syria, Egypt and the Ḥijāz were suddenly absorbed into the great Turkish empire. Within two weeks of entering Damascus in Ramaḍān of 922 (October, 1516), on the same evening that he went to the Umayyad Mosque to read from the *muṣḥaf* of Caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Sulṭān Selim paid a personal visit to a Ḥanafite Ṣūfī shaykh named Muḥammad al-Bilkhashī (who, in the following year, would be buried beside the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabī in Ṣāliḥīyah).[86] Two months later, when news of the victory of the Ottoman army at Jerusalem reached Selim in Damascus, the Sulṭān himself visited Ibn al-ʿArabī's tomb in token of thanksgiving,[87] and in the following year he ordered that work begin on a new mosque to be built over the site.[88] But far more important than the architectural effects of Ottoman championing of Ibn al-ʿArabī's cause was the impetus given to the promulgation and propagation of the Shaykh al-Akbar's writings in the 10th/16th-century world of Islam. Much of the credit for Ibn al-ʿArabī's great fame today—and, more to the point, for the survival of a large proportion of his works—is due to the enthusiasm of the Ottoman Turks and, secondarily, no doubt, to their contemporaries, the Kurdish-Persian Ṣafavids.

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[86] See Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, vol. I, pp. 36 and 70. Ibn Ṭulūn knows little of Muḥ. al-Bilkhashī other than that he was an Arab and a Ṣūfī who was renowned for his piety. Sultan Selim was so favorable toward Ṣūfīs that a story spread—and was later related by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī—to the effect that the Ottoman invasion of Arab territory was instigated by the anti-Mamlūk intrigues of certain Ṣūfī shaykhs (see al-Nābulusī's unpub. *Al-Ḥaqīqah wa-l-Majāz fī Riḥlat al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-l-Ḥijāz*, in *Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Jughrāfiyā 344*, f. 131).

[87] See Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*, vol. I, p. 40.

[88] See *ibid.*, pp. 68–69. For a brief description of the mosque's construction, see Muḥ. Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 15–16.

Every researcher in primary Akbarian sources will be aware of the great number of good manuscripts in the field dating from the last two-thirds of the century of the earliest Ṣafavids and the heyday of the Ottomans. But it has not often been recognized that the period immediately preceding Selim's conquest had been one of dire straits for admirers of Ibn al-ʿArabī in Mamlūk Syria—as we learn in the *risālah* of a traveller from the West, ʿAlī Maymūn al-Maghribī (d. 917/1511), who described how, when he arrived in Syria in the early tenth century A.H., a fanatical campaign against the Shaykh's doctrines was underway in that country, especially in Damascus.[89] The epistle, actually one of several, was composed in 909/1503—that is, at about the same time as the *R. al-Aghrab*—and the codex (described by Ahlwardt) was copied a decade after the Ottoman conquest, in the month of Shaʿbān, 933 A.H., just one month before our second commentary, al-Maqābirī's *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm* (M), was redacted in Syria.

I have reason to believe that al-Maqābirī was not a native speaker of Arabic.[90] As it appears that he may have been a *faqīh* and a practicing *muftī*,[91] we might surmise that al-Maqābirī's career arose in Syria under the aegis of the Ottomans.[92] In *Ms. Vatican 293*, folio 225, his full name is given as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāfiʿī al-Maqābirṣi (المقابرصى ؟)[93] al-Ḥalabī; and in the *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn* we find Abū l-Faḍl, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Huṣayn al-Ḥalabī al-Maqābirjī (المقابرجى) al-Shāfiʿī.[94] Now, *Maqābirjī* is a Turkification of the Arabic, al-Maqābirī, meaning "a caretaker in a cemetery," which is undoubtedly the source of the putative *nisbah*, al-Maqābirṣī.[95] This is probably the case also with the Shāfiʿite ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqābirṣī, who wrote a *fatwá* in favor of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and who, I believe, is none other than the commentator of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.[96]

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[89] See Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Könighichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. III, *no.* 2851.

[90] His frequent use of such expressions as *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah* (w/o the first art., evidently intending *ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadīyah*) does not strike me as the kind of error that even an illiterate Arab would make. Note that a possible ancestor of his is called *al-ʿAjamī*, "the non-Arab" (see n. 94, below).

[91] If he can be identified with the Shāfiʿite ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqābirṣī whose *fatwá* in favor of Ibn al-ʿArabī is preserved in *Ms. Esad Ef. 1318*, ff. 12–22 (see below).

[92] His being called *al-Ḥalabī* (from Aleppo) does not necessarily imply that he was born there; though, even so, of course, he may well have been Turkish.

[93] Or so the name is frequently read, as in *ibid.*; and in ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn*, vol. V, p. 136. In *Ms. Vatican 293*, however, the name actually appears, rather, as المقابرحى , where the penultimate letter could be either an unpointed ح or else a "toothless" صى (or an unpointed ضى); and I noticed the same ambiguity in

In his exordium (folio 1b), al-Maqābirī writes that he was "asked by some of the venerable, eminent Brethren (*al-ikhwān*, Ṣūfīs), whom it would be improper to contradict, to provide a serviceable explication of the book entitled *The Vessel Sealed on the Secret Unrevealed* (*Al-Wiʿāʾ al-Makhtūm*, etc.), which is popularly known as *The Fabulous Gryphon*," by Ibn al-ʿArabī. He goes on to confess that he did not himself aspire to be a Ṣūfī (*Lastu min ahl hādhā l-marām*)—which, it must be said, is evident enough in his commentary, for while it is occasionally helpful, it is never really insightful or revealing. Still, al-Maqābirī is to be commended for his diligence in carefully copying the entire text of the *ʿAnqāʾ* and honestly trying to clarify each line.[97] The undertaking went on to over two-hundred folios with very few digressions, and was completed on the first day of Ramaḍān, in 933 (1 June, 1527).

Thus, al-Maqābirī, who is reported to have died in 954/1547, labored in the glory days of Ottoman power and creativity, during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (926–74/1520–66), whose great mosque was to become the final refuge of many Ibn al-ʿArabī manuscripts.[98] The third commentator, Qāsim b. Abī l-Faḍl, ʿAbd

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Ms. Hekimoğlu 531 (f. 184), which was copied in 1084/1673–74 (I have not inspected the other three mss. listed in Yahia, *no.* 30: 3). I think that this uncertainty over the Turkish suffix of profession, *-ji*, may be the cause of the otherwise peculiar name, *al-Maqābirṣī*.

[94] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 96. He is not to be confused with another al-Maqābirī (a forebear?) with very similar names, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAjamī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 561/1166, a year after Ibn al-ʿArabī's birth).

[95] See n. 93.

[96] *Cf.* Yahia, p. 134, *no.* 21, who proposes an unwarranted emendation of this name.

[97] Though he never stoops to bowdlerizing, M does sanitize some of the Master's more scandalous doctrines (*e.g.*, that on the "faith of Pharaoh"); but, failing that, he will also take the more forthright course of candid disagreement (as on the question of the *tafḍīl al-awliyāʾ ʿalá l-anbiyāʾ*).

[98] Ibn al-ʿArabian studies were evidently promoted throughout Süleyman's far-flung empire. For example, *Ms. Şehid Ali 2717*, a collection of lesser-known Akbarian *rasāʾil*, was copied by a Muḥ. b. al-Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī in

al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Saʿdī al-Ḥalabī al-Qādirī (d. 982/1574–75),[99] composed his *Barq al-Lāmiʿ al-Mughrib* (S) between the years 952 and 954 (1545–47)[100]—that is to say, it was published in the year that al-Maqābirī died. This is certainly significant since, in fact, the most cursory examination of the commentaries, M and S, shows that the latter is essentially a free paraphrase of the former, brazenly quoting verbatim whole passages without acknowledgement, while adding something here and taking away there. Almost worse, al-Saʿdī also quotes from other religious and literary sources (the Qur'ān, ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ, al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, etc.) to no real purpose.[101] It would appear that this second commentator was simply a plagiarist who had seized the opportunity to claim another man's work as his own once the real author had died, but for the fact—clear enough when his name is compared with the form of al-Maqābirī's name given in the *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*[102]—that al-Saʿdī is evidently the son and heir of the previous commentator!

But whatever allowance might be made for filial privilege would hardly justify the yarn spun by our would-be expositor in the foreword to his book, where he relates how a Ṣūfī friend who was a great admirer of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works requested that he write an exegesis of *The Fabulous Gryphon*, but that he was loth to do so in deference to the magnitude of such an undertaking. After mulling over this situation for some time, however, al-Saʿdī was suddenly

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the Ḥanafite *Madrasah al-Sulaymanīyah* next to the Kaʿbah in Mecca in 977/1570. (Note the cooperation of Ḥanafites and Shāfiʿites, sometime bitter rivals in other periods and places).

[99] Thus, in the *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn* (vol. I, p. 832) and *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn* (vol. I, p. 176). Brockelmann adds *al-Jūḥī al-Shāfiʿī* (*G.A.L.*, I, 574, *no.* 14), which latter appears also in the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol. II, p. 1173, and in the *Īḍāḥ*, vol. II, p. 712. In *Ms. Ẓühdü Bey 93* he is called al-Shaykh Qāsim al-ʿIbādī al-Shāfiʿī al-Saʿdī.

[100] See *Ms. Şehid Ali 1238*, f. 219, and *Ms. Ẓühdü Bey 93*, f. 315. In *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, vol. II, p. 1173, Kātib Çelebi states that al-Saʿdī died in Rabīʿ II, 954 (May–June, 1547), but while this is not the correct deathdate, it could well be the precise time of the completion of the *Barq*. A note on the title-page of *Ms. Berlin 2898* states that he died in Mecca in 982/1574–75 at over one-hundred years of age. (If this is true it would mean that he was over 70 years old when he wrote his comm.)! *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. I, p. 732, also credits al-Saʿdī with a certain *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭā'īyah.*

[101] For instance, a long passage is quoted from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Inshā' al-Dawā'ir* for no reason that I can see other than as a pretext to copy an interesting diagram (it must be admitted that the 13th/19th-cent. ms., *Pertev Paşa 315* [= *Selimiye 315*, in Yahia, *no.* 30: 5], is an aesthetic marvel).

[102] Al-Maqābirī's patronymic, which is "Ibn al-Ḥusayn" in the *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, usually appears as *Ibn* [*al-*]*Ḥasan*, as in al-Saʿdī's name.

one day rapt from his body to behold the veritable "Messenger of inspiration" (*rasūl al-ilhām*),[103] who greeted him with glad-tidings of the successful outcome of his future exposition of the *'Anqā'*. Thereafter, he gives a detailed account of two dream-visions from the imaginal world: the first of a wonderful bird which he found in a hole in a garden and which he later realized was Mystic Revelation (*al-waḥy al-ilhāmī*) itself; while in the second, the next night, he was seated in the *īwān* (recess) of a mosque when a kind of mysterious inscription (*hay'at al-ṭilasm*, "the form of a talisman") appeared on the wall which pleased him very much. Following these extraordinary experiences, however, he duly entered upon a period of spiritual listlessness (*fatrah*) which was broken only by a timely flash of lightning (*lamḥat barq*, whence the title of the commentary) "from the superabundance of our Master"—that is, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself—after which bounteous rains poured upon him and the creative ground of his existence was filled with the delight of inspiration.

In reality, al-Saʿdī shows no aptitude whatever for his task, lacking both the interesting originality of al-Ḥijāzī and the indefatigable industry of al-Maqābirī. Although, from his name as quoted above, it would appear that he was a member of the *Qādirīyah* order of Ṣūfīs, this fact alone would not necessarily say much for his spiritual credentials by the 10th/16th century. Al-Saʿdī appears to have known even less about Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings and teachings than either of his predecessors, being himself a likely source of the mistaken idea—taken up in modern times by the great Turkish codicologist, Kâtib Çelebi—that the *'Anqā'* was composed toward the end of Ibn al-ʿArabī's lifetime.[104] This being the case, there was no need to supplement my incomplete version of the *Barq al-Lāmiʿ* in *Ms. Berlin 2898*, and, so, my references to al-Saʿdī's commentary cease after page 293 of the translation.

But before leaving the subject of our two Syrian commentaries it would be well to ask: If neither were *bona fide* Ṣūfīs by training or inclination, why would they undertake to produce an exegesis (—for the second is not really independent of the first) of such a difficult Ṣūfī work as Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*? I have suggested that al-Maqābirī was a non-Arab, Shāfiʿite jurist and *muftī*, and we have also seen that in his generation, with the coming of the Ottomans to Syria, the fortunes of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school rose dramatically under official, typically Ḥanafite sponsorship. Local, "populist" opposition must have continued, however—notably in Ḥanbalite circles under the influence of a "second Aḥmad," the anti-saint of Damascus, Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328)—and this conservative resistance was probably associated with the (failed) attempt of elements of the old Mamlūk regime in Syria to oust the new occupiers after the death of Selim.[105] Now, it is well known that from the time of his arrival in the Ayyūbid capital (*circa* 620/1223) Ibn al-ʿArabī was closely associated with the powerful Shāfiʿite clan of the Banū l-Zakī,[106] in whose family tomb he would be interred upon his death in 638/1240. Abū l-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr wrote of the patronage that the Shaykh enjoyed from the Banū l-Zakī that "they embraced him and welcomed him, and bore with everything that he declared."[107] Obviously, then, the fact that both al-Maqābirī and al-Saʿdī were Shāfiʿites and probably non-Arab predisposed them to view Ibn al-ʿArabī's cause as a partisan sectarian issue. The question remains, however: Why the choice of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*? No doubt the traditionally established belief in the descent of Jesus from Heaven—as Mahdī or otherwise—upon the eastern, "White Minaret" of the great Mosque of Damascus (the original site of the Church of St. John the Baptist) and other eschatological motifs associated with the "land of Damascus" fostered a special interest in such literature in that city.[108] Jesus, of course, plays a particularly central role in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, to which al-Maqābirī seems to have been quite sensitive.

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[103] *Cf.* above, p. 54 at n. 34.

[104] At the end of his comm., S declares that the *'Anqā'* was written in 630/1232–33, thus postdating it to the last decade of the author's life in Damascus. In the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (vol. II, p. 1173) the date is given as 632/1234–35, foll. a note in *Ms. Pertev Paşa 314* (see *G.A.L.S.*, I, p. 794, *no.* 14, where it is cited as *Selīm 314*). Note that *Pertev Paşa 315* is S. The mistake is probably due to reading a transcription or *samāʿ*-date for the time of composition (see, for instance, my trn. of the colophon of R in App. I, 563), but *cf.* also the interesting case cited above, in n. 46, above.

The only other commentary of the *ʿAnqāʾ* known to me is the *Kashf al-Qināʿ al-Muʿjib ʿan Wajh ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (The Lifting of the

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[105] The uprising was led by the Mamlūk, Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, in 926–27 H. When the Ottoman commander, Farhad Paşa, entered Damascus after quelling the insurrection, he went to the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabī to offer thanks (see Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 33–34, citing Ibn Ṭulūn's *Iʿlām al-Warā*).

[106] Pouzet notes that it was customary for *Maghribīs* (*sci.*, Mālikites) emigrating to Damascus to become Shāfiʿite (see *Damas au VIIᵉ/XIIIᵉ siècle*, pp. 44–45, nn. 118–19, for refs.).

[107] *Al-Bidāyah wa-l-Nihāyah*, vol. XIII, p. 156, quoted by Pouzet in *ibid.*

[108] On the ancient traditional association of Damascus (= *al-Rawḍah al-Khaḍrāʾ*) with messianic expectations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, see N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism*, pp. 1–51.

Wonderful Veil from the Face of the Fabulous Gryphon),[109] by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī (d. 1199/1785?), Shakyh (*khādim al-sajjādah*) of the *Bakrīyah* [reformed branch of the *Khalwatīyah*] order in Egypt.[110] He is also credited with commentaries, some quite lengthy, on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah,*[111] *Ḥizb al-Wiqāyah,*[112] *Al-Ḥikam al-Ilāhīyah,*[113] and the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*[114] From my examination of *Ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2381*[115] in Istanbul I concluded that this late composition, while interesting enough in itself, could be of little value in the study of the *ʿAnqāʾ*-text, which al-Dāmūnī treats, in part, by means of innumerable numerological calculations of words and phrases.[116]

To conclude, then, there are four distinct commentaries of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, three of which I have consulted for this translation. Of these, however, only al-Maqābirī's *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm* has really proved useful, and that only to a very limited extent. None of the would-be expositors who devoted their attention to the *ʿAnqāʾ* were qualified students of Ibn al-ʿArabī's actual teachings, though al-Ḥijāzī and al-Dāmūnī were, at least, genuine Ṣūfīs, and there is the vague possibility that the book which I ascribe to the former is actually the work (or based on the work) of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, a late but notable representative of the Akbarian, or *Wujūdī* school. Further, it is possible, of course, that a genuine commentary, or, more likely, a scholiastic epitome or paraphrase, by some such writer as al-Qayṣarī, al-Jīlī, or al-Nābulusī remains to be discovered or made public.

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[109] Mentioned by Bağdatlı in the *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. II, p. 365, with a slightly different title. The date of composition given there is 1209/1794–95, although al-Dāmūnī's deathdate is frequently said to be 1199/1785. The comm. begins: *Ḥamd*^{an} *li-man abraza l-ḥaqīqata l-Muḥammadīyata wa-l-raqīqata l-Aḥmadīyata min nūri l-dhāti l-aḥadīyati bi-l-tajallī l-dhāti wa-l-fayḍi l-aqdasi.* Yahia, *no.* 30: 6 (= *no.* 356) is probably a copy of H.

[110] Yahia, *no.* 30: 3. *Cf. Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. II, p. 351, where no deathdate is given.

[111] See *ibid.*, where it is dated 1208/1793–94, a year before the *Kashf al-Qināʿ*. *Cf.* also Yahia, *no.* 716: 1.

[112] See Yahia, *no.* 244: 2. The *Ḥizb al-Wiqāyah* was pub. by the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabī Society in 1981.

[113] Yahia, *no.* 233. See al-Māliḥ, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah*: Al-Majāmīʿ, pt. I, p. 420. The *Ḥikam al-Ilāhīyah* was also commented upon by a Ḥasan b. Mūsá l-Kurdī (d. 1148/1735) in *Ms. Hacı Mahmud Ef. 2319*, dated 1289/1872.

[114] See Yahia, *no.* 150: 56.

[115] Formerly *Yahya Ef. 2381*, copied in 1298/1881.

[116] As this shaykh wrote at least five full comms. on works by Ibn al-ʿArabī, a study of his writings would obviously be germane to the history of Ṣūfism just prior to (? or during) the French occupation of Egypt.

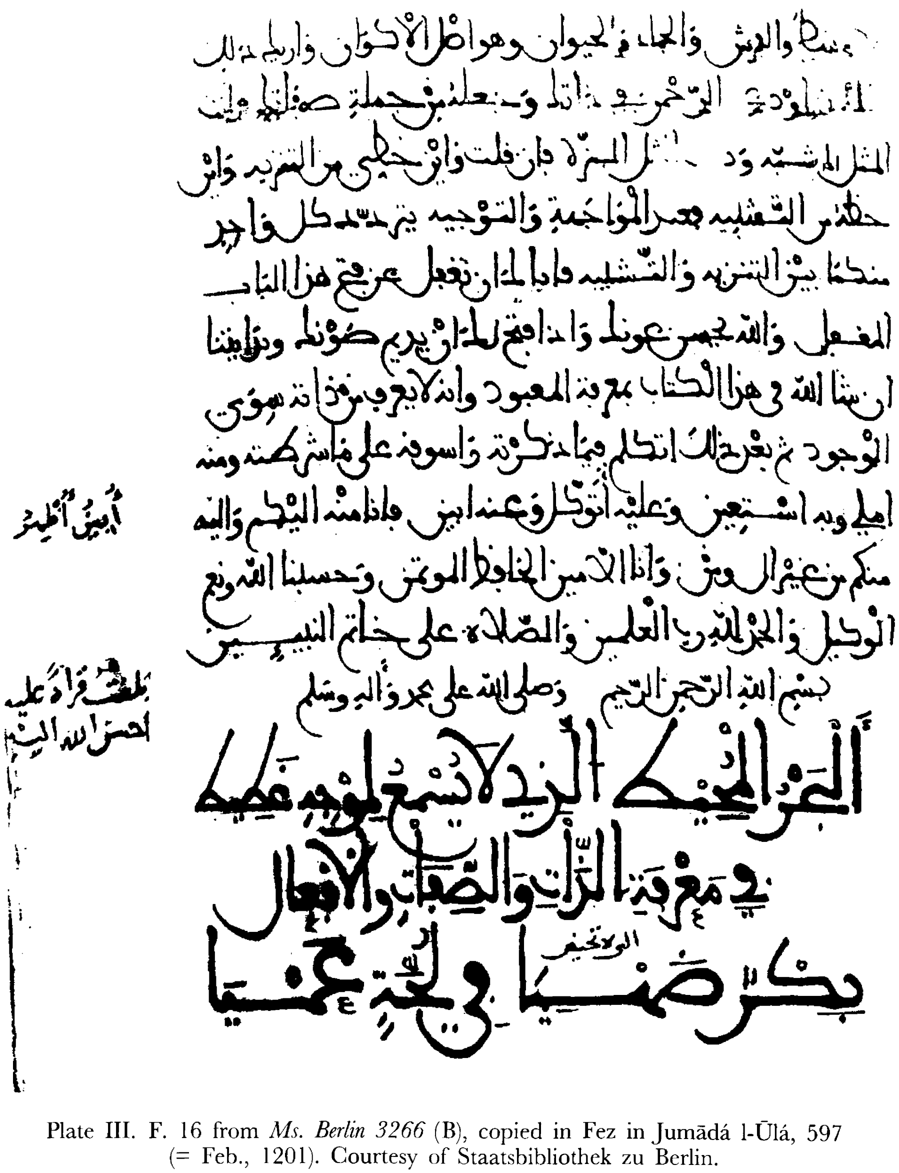


Plate III. F. 16 from *Ms. Berlin 3266* (B), copied in Fez in Jumādá l-Ūlá, 597 (= Feb., 1201). Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

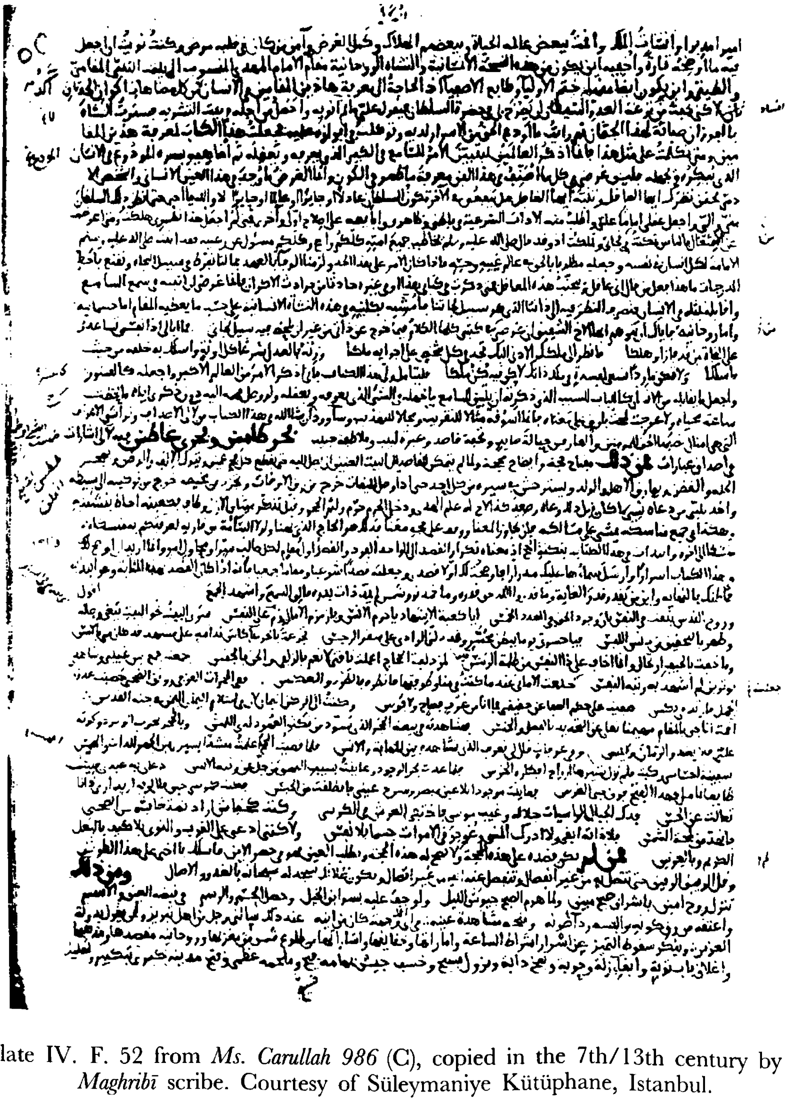


Plate IV. F. 52 from *Ms. Carullah 986* (C), copied in the 7th/13th century by a *Maghribī* scribe. Courtesy of Süleymaniye Kütüphane, Istanbul.

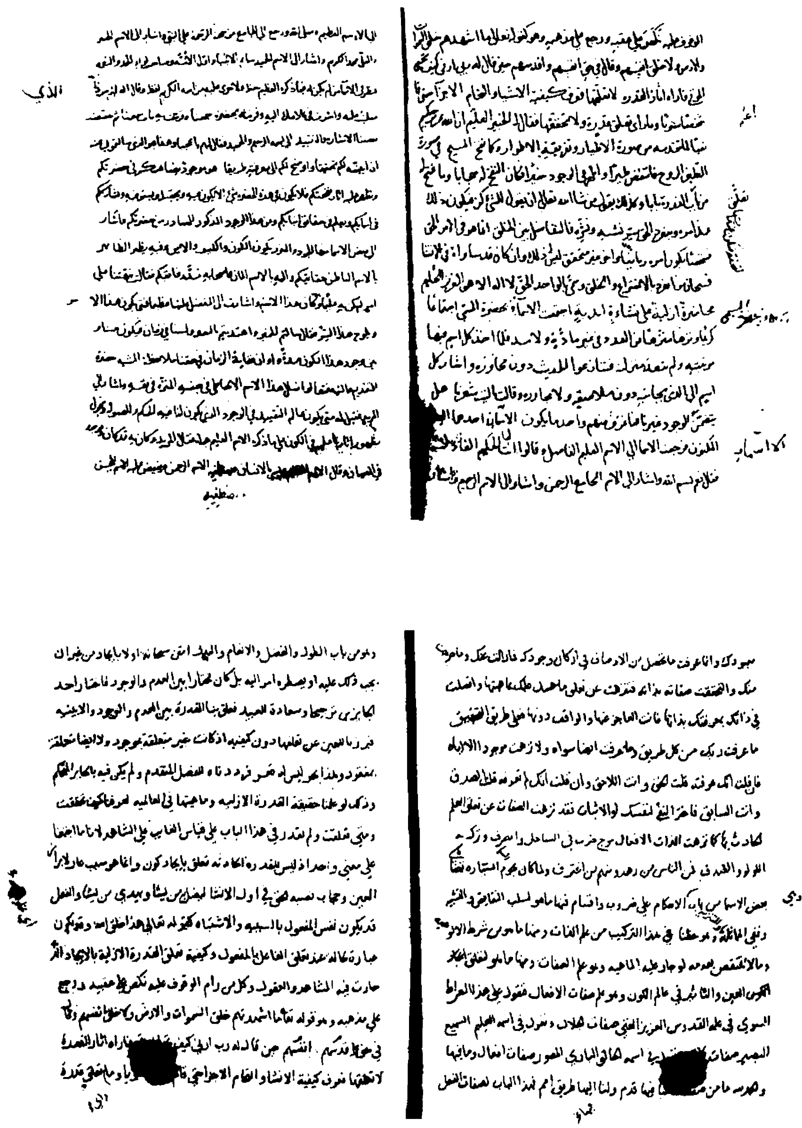


Plate V. Ff. 73b–74 from *Ms. Chester Beatty 5495* (D), copied in the 8th/14th century [above]; and ff. 19b–20 from *Ms. Vatican 292* (V), dated 15 Shawwāl, 967 (9 July, 1560) [below]. Courtesy of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Courtesy of Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome.

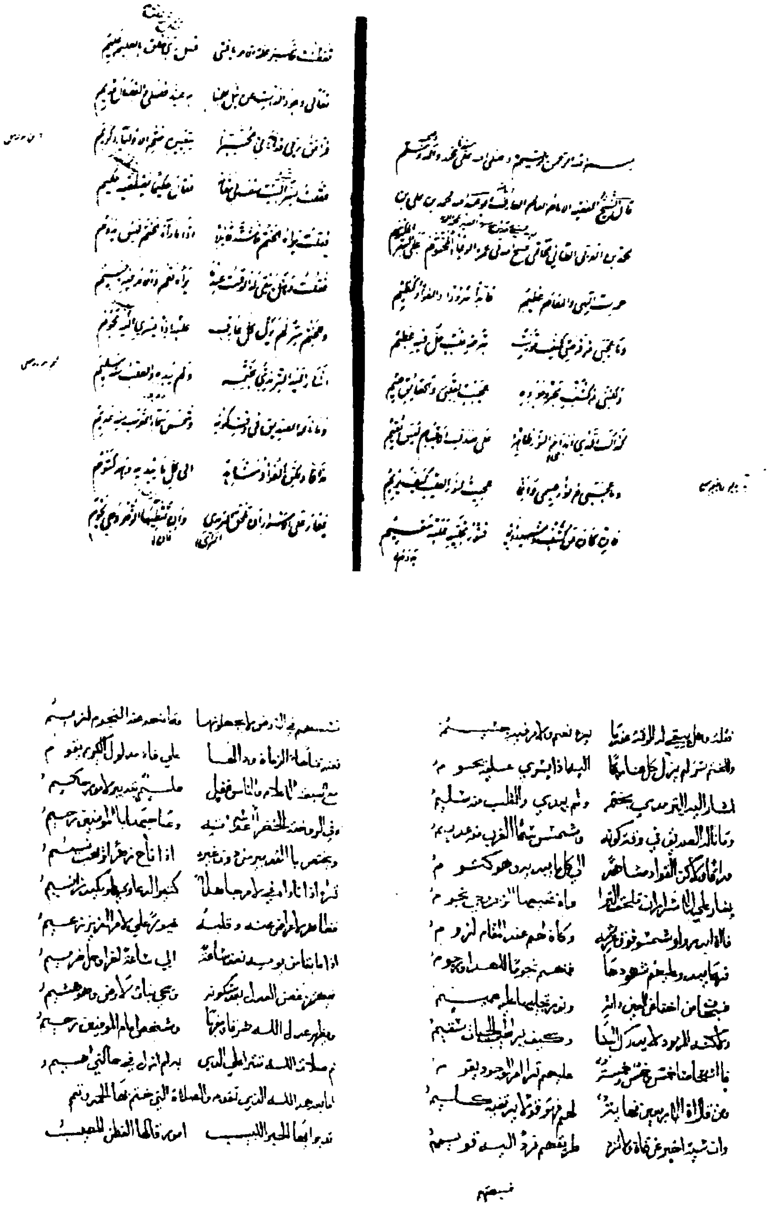


Plate VI. Ff. 1b–2 from *Ms. Wien 1906* (W), copied by a Persian scribe in the East some time after the 10th/16th century [above]; and ff. 3b–4 from *Ms. Berlin 2895* (B2), copied in 1185/1771 by a Turkish scribe [below]. Courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

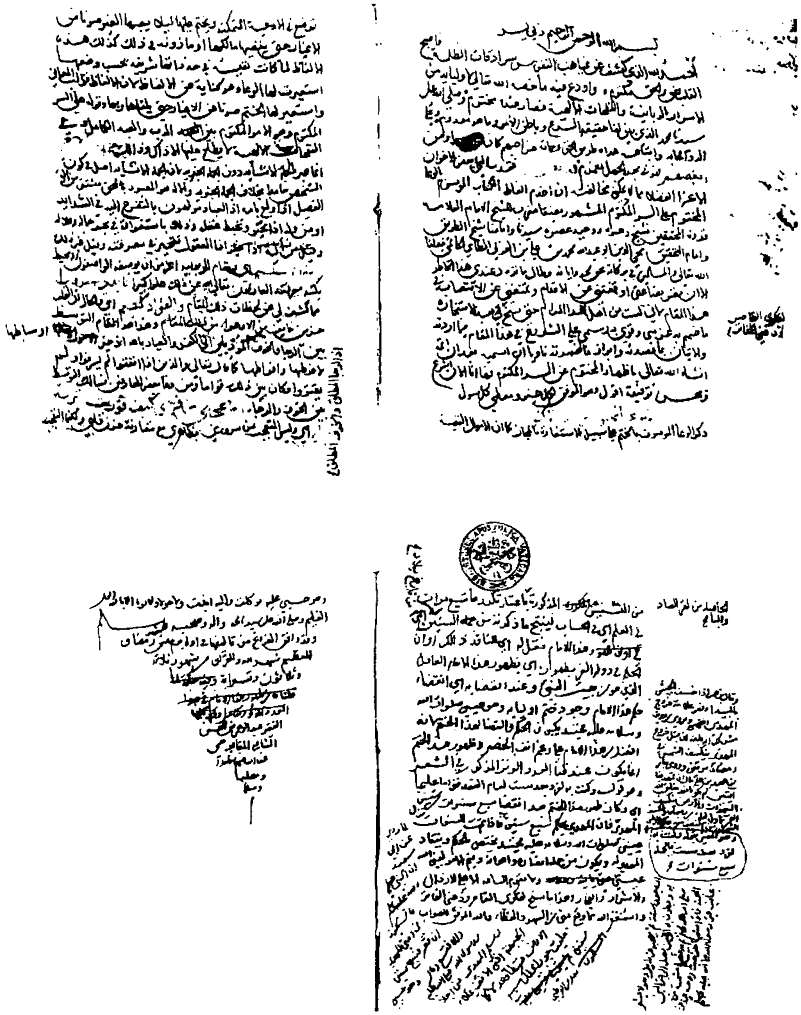
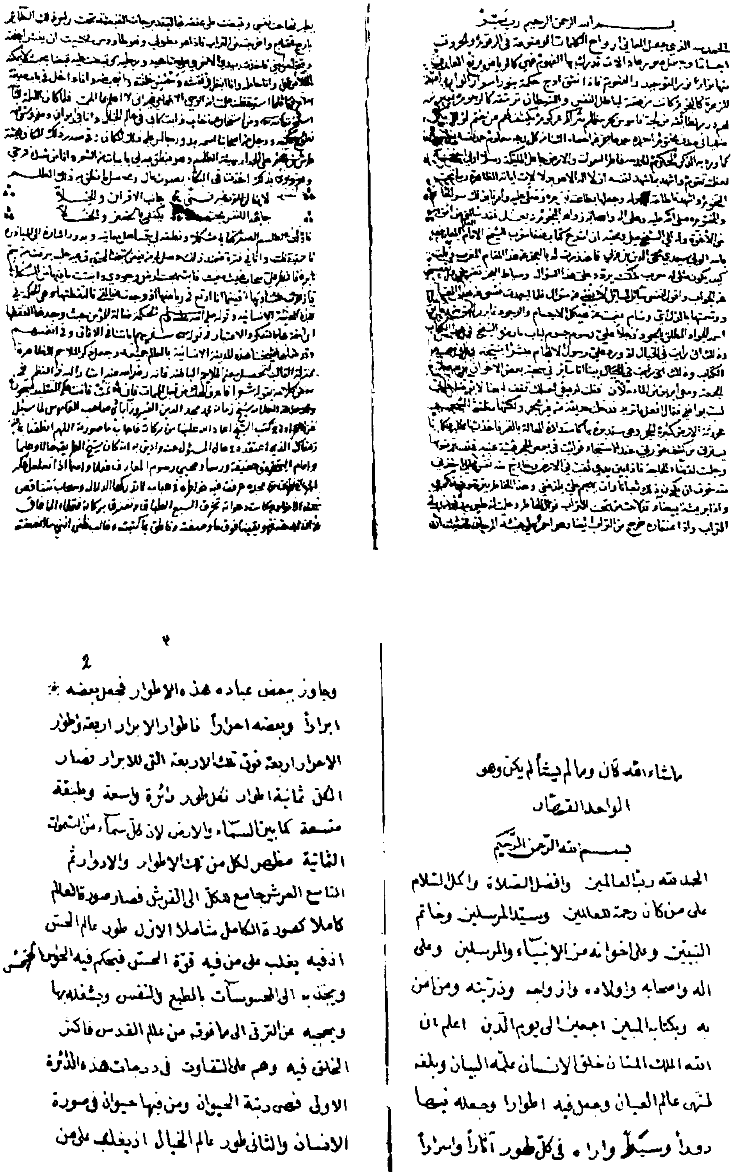


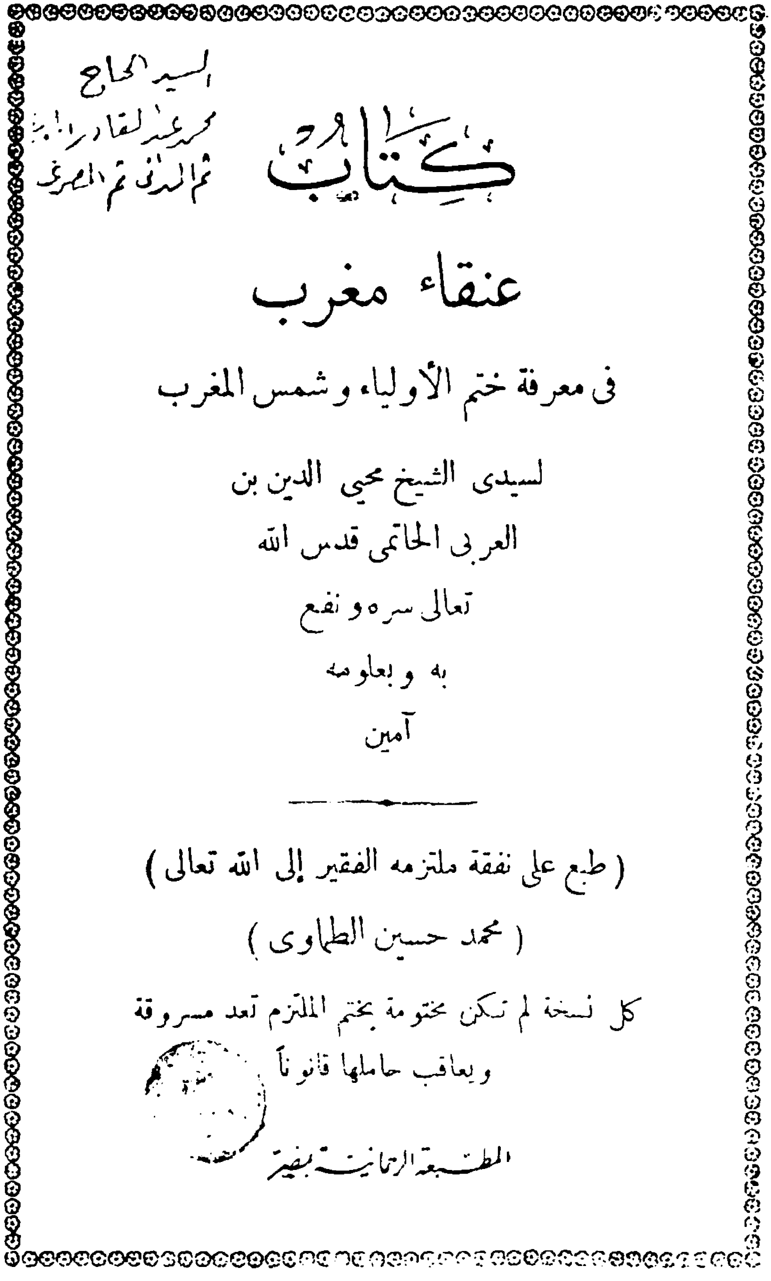
Plate VII. Ff. 1b–2 from *Ms. Vatican 293*, the *Iẓhār al-Makhtūm ʿalá l-Sirr al-Maktūm*, a word-for-word commentary on the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, by Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maqābirī (M), copied *c.* 1000/1592 [above]; and *ibid.*, ff. 224b–225 [below]. Courtesy of Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome.



ماشاء الله كان وما لم يشأ لم يكن وهو
الواحد القهار
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين وافضل الصلاة واكمل السلام
على من كان رحمة للعالمين وسيد المرسلين وخاتم
النبيين وعلى اخوانه من الانبياء والمرسلين وعلى
آله واصحابه واولاده وازواجه وذريته ومن آمن
به وبكتابه المبين اجمعين الى يوم الدين اعلم ان
الله الملك المنان خلق الانسان علمه البيان وبلغه
لنهى عالم العيان وعرفه اطوارا وجعله بها
دورا وسكنا وارا . في كل طور آثارا واسرارا

٢
2
وجاوز ببعض عباده هذه الاطوار فجعل بعضه :
ابرارا وبعضه احرارا فاطوار الابرار اربعة واطوار
الاحرار اربعة فوق تلك الاربعة التي للابرار فصار
الكل ثمانية اطوار تمثل طور دائرة واسعة وطبقة
متسعة كما بين السماء والارض لان كل سماء من السموات
الثمانية مظهر لكل من تلك الاطوار والادوار ثم
التاسع العرش جامع لكل الى الفرش فصار صورة العالم
كاملا كصورة الكامل شاملا الاول طور عالم الحس
اذ فيه يغلب على من فيه قوة الحس فيحكم فيه الحواس الخمس
ويجذبه الى المحسوسات بالطبع والنفس ويشغله بها
ويحجبه عن الترقي الى ما فوقه من عالم القدس فاكثر
الخلق فيه وهم على التفاوت في درجات هذه الدائرة
الاولى فهي رتبة الحيوان ومن فيها حيوان في صورة
الانسان والثاني طور عالم الخيال اذ يغلب على من

Plate VIII. Ff. 1b–2 from *Ms. Berlin 2898*, an incomplete copy of *Al-Barq al-Lāmiʿ al-Mughrib fī Sharḥ ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, a full commentary on the *ʿAnqāʾ*, by Qāsim b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Saʿdī (S), copied in Syria, *c.* 1000/1592 [above]; and pp. 1–2 from *Ms. Hacı Mahmud Ef. 2347*, the *R. al-Aghrab min al-ʿUjālah al-Aʿjab*, a partial commentary on the *ʿAnqāʾ* by ʿAlī b. Muḥ. al-Ḥijāzī (H), copied in Rabīʿ I, 1299 (Feb., 1882) [below]. Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Courtesy of Süleymaniye Kütüphane, Istanbul.



السيد الحاج
محمد عبد القادر ابن
ثم المدنى ثم المصرى

كتاب

عنقاء مغرب

فى معرفة ختم الأولياء وشمس المغرب

لسيدى الشيخ محيى الدين بن
العربى الحاتمى قدس الله
تعالى سره ونفع
به وبعلومه
آمين

(طبع على نفقة ملتزمه الفقير إلى الله تعالى)
(محمد حسين الطماوى)

كل نسخة لم تكن مختومة بختم الملتزم تعد مسروقة
ويعاقب حاملها قانوناً

المطبعة الرحمانية بمصر

Plate IX. The title-page of the rare first edition of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, published in Cairo, 1353/1934 (Q). Courtesy of Case Memorial Library (Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford).

THE FABULOUS GRYPHON

PART ONE

My purpose in everything of this type which I write is never the Gnosis of that which appears in phenomenal existence, but, rather, the purpose is ever the Gnosis of That which is found in this Human Essence and Adamite Substance. . . . So whenever I mention in this or any of my other books an instance of a phenomenal event, my purpose is to fix it in the hearing of the listener and compare it with its likeness in Man. Then let us turn our contemplation therein to our own Human Essence, which is the Way of our Salvation!

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:
May God bless and keep Muḥammad and his Family![1]

I. *The Vessel Sealed on the Secret Unrevealed*[2]

3 B,1b
C,51

I PRAISED MY GOD and the Station was mighty,[3]
for He brought forth delight when [my] heart was heavy.[4]
I do not wonder how my joy is joined with distress[5]
in a heart in which One Mighty has alighted![6]
But at the revelation of the Ocean of His Being[7]
to my heart I marvel—the essences in raptures[8]—

---

[1] As in C and W. For a sample preamble from the later ss., see App. I.

[2] *Al-wiʿāʾ al-makhtūm alá l-sirr al-maktūm.* This title is lacking in E, R and V; and B2 and Q2 have *al-duʿāʾ* (the prayer) instead of *al-wiʿāʾ* (the vessel). Al-Maqābirī (M), who cites this as the real title of the present work "popularly known as the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib* (The Fabulous Gryphon)," explains the term, *wiʿāʾ*, as a metaphor for the "expressions" (*alfāẓ*) which contain the "meanings" (*maʿān*^{in}); but al-Ḥijāzī (H) suggests, more perceptively, that the heart is intended: "For the breasts of the righteous are the tombs of the secrets (*ṣudūru l-abrāri qubūru l-asrāri*)." Otherwise, the "vessels" (*awʿīyah*) are the "treasuries (*khazāʾin*) that are with God" in *Qur.* 15: 21 (see *Fut.* III, 193 [5–6]). The *wiʿāʾ* is also a standard metonym for the philos. concept of "place/space" (*makān*). This poem is inc. in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān* (D2) on pp. 26–27 (Bombay edn., p. 14). The metre is *al-ṭawīl* (catalectic). For al-Saʿdī's comm. (S), see App. I.

[3] *Ḥamidtu ilāh-ī wa-l-maqāmu ʿaẓīmū.* "The Lord of this heart and [its] eschatological secret (*al-sirr al-munqalab*) is its Self (*nafsu-hu*)" (H). In place of *ilāh-ī*, R and W have *ālih-ī*, meaning much the same. *Ilāh* = *maʿbūd.* Many of the prayers (*awrād*) attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī begin with the invocation, *Ilāh-ī* (see *K. Awrād al-Usbūʿ*, 1979 edn.). S gives a long excursus on the lexicology of *ilāh.*

[4] "He revealed to it light upon light when he breathed into it a spirit from His Spirit" (H; see also App. I). "Heart": *al-fuʾād.* On the heart in Ṣūfism, see Louis Gardet's art., *ḳalb*, in *E.I.* 2, *s.v.*

[5] *Cf.* the saying, "There is no joy (*farḥah*), but after it distress (*tarḥah*)." For H's comm., see App. I.

[6] "One Mighty": *ʿAẓīm* (a name of God in *Qur.* 69: 33, *et al.*, but more commonly a Qurʾānic qualifier for punishment and doom. S, who stresses that *ḥalla fī-hi* must not be understood in the sense of heterodox "incarnationism and mystical unification" (*al-ḥulūl wa-l-ittiḥād*), aptly cites the popular (but non-canonical) *ḥadīth qudsī*: "My heavens and my earth do not contain Me; the Heart of My believing servant contains Me" (see below, p. 470 at n. 81).

[7] *Min kashfi baḥri wujūdi-hī* in all ss. exc. Q, which has *baḥr* before *kashf.* M and S have this line after the next.

[8] *Wa-l-ḥaqāʾiqu hīmū* (plur. of *haymá* [fem.], "passionately in love/thirsty"). The *ḥaqāʾiq* are the Neoplatonic "ideas", or *rationes Divinas*, as understood by the Ṣūfīs (*cf. E.I.* 2, *s.v. ḥaḳīḳa*), but it is interesting to note that here they are the intelligent *subjects* of contemplation (apparently subsistent in the mystic's heart) rather than the intelligible objects.

As the One Who manifests outwardly from the Light
is not concerned with gross bodies' darkness.[9]
Nor do I wonder at the light of my body—rather,[10]
I marvel at how the heart's light wanders afar!
But if it be by means of Unveiling and Vision,[11]
the Light of [God's] Self-Revelation will abide thereon.[12]
If you've understood, young man, probe the matter's reason:[13]
Shall a creature's outward aspect[14] know the All-Knowing?
The Being of the Essence[15] is beyond Its being known,
in my judgment—separation having always been![16]

* * * * * * *

[But] my Lord's Courier[17] came to me with information
as to the nomination of the *Seal of the Saints.*[18]

---

[9] *Sadaf al-ajsām. Sadaf*: "darkness; a distant object appearing as a dark spot on the horizon". *Ajsām* are gross, physical bodies (as opposed to *ajsād*, which may be subtle, psychic).

[10] "The body . . . is a mirage (*madḥalah*, 'puddle'), and yet it is the place of thankfulness (*maḥall al-shukr*) in that it makes manifest the effects of grace and teaches the greatness of [Divine] power" (S). H likens the light of the body to that of a crystal [prism] (*ballūr*).

[11] *ʿAn kashf^{in} wa-mashhadi ruʾyat^{in}.*

[12] That is, in the mystic-poet's heart. "[God's] Self-revelation" (Theophany): *tajallī-hi.*

[13] *Fa-sbur ʿillata l-amri.* Many later ss. have *fa-stur* (conceal) for the verb. M and S gloss *yā fatá* (O young man) with ref. to *futūwah* (chivalrous nobility), which the latter defines as "exalted high-mindedness/intention (*ʿulūw al-himmah*), 'high-mindedness' being the distinguishing quality of the perfect man" (S).

[14] *Riʾyu khalq^{in}*, in the earliest ss. (inc. B). Regarding *riʾy*, see Lane, *s.v.* Many later ss. have *raʾy*, (sight; view, opinion), which also fits the metre. D2 and Q read *ziyy* (apparel; outward appearance). This line is in the margin of V. M reads the foll. clause: ". . . be knower of [God's] knowledge."

[15] *Wujūd al-dhāt*: the "be-ness" of the transsubjective Self.

[16] *ʿInda faṣl-ī wa-l-fiṣālu qadīmū.* (Note the pun). The *fiṣāl* (weaning) is God's "finishing the creation of the world" in pre-eternity (S). Rather, it signifies the pre-eternal distinction between Creator and creation. For H's comm., see App. I. In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī glosses *faṣl* as "the distance/difference (*fawt*) of that which you wished for from your Beloved. With us (the Ṣūfīs) it is what distinguishes you from Him after the state of Unification (*ḥāl al-ittiḥād*)." (I have introduced the break at this point, as well as below).

[17] *Furāniqu Rabb-ī*: glossed by each of the comms. as *rasūlu Rabb-ī* (the messenger of my Lord), meaning one's own "inner Gabriel" (as angel of Revelation and holy Spirit; see App. I). On the first word, see Dozy, *Supplément, s.v.*, who cites a prooftext from Imru' al-Qays, (*Dīwān Imruʾ al-Qays*, p. 66). See also below, pp. 457–58, n. 104, and the Gloss., *s.v.* Instead of *furāniq*, D2 and Q have *fa-ghirnīq* (and the high-flying crane [of my Lord]), which is plausible, since there probably is a relation between the sundry notions of the *ghurnayq* and the *ʿanqāʾ* ("gryphon,

I said: "By the Secret of the House,[19] describe for me
  his Station." Said he: "A Wise one is chosen by One Wise!"[20]
I asked: "Does the Seal see Him?" He replied with stress: **4** B,2
  "If the Seal see Him, he cannot endure. . . ."[21]
Then I inquired: "But does the Moment[22] for him last
  when he sees Him?"—"Yes, and the Matter is momentous!"[23]
For the Seal has a Secret, should any Gnostic rise thereto,
  he will not cease circumambulating around it.[24]
The Tirmidhite alluded to it with his [famous] "Seal,"[25]

---

eagle", *etc.*), which latter could be alluded to here. The Prophet applied the plur. of the former term to the three so-called "daughters of Allāh," (*viz.*, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzah, and Manāh), calling them *tilka l-gharānīq al-ʿulá* and designating them as intercessors, in a verse later expunged from the Scripture (after *Qur.* 50: 19–20). (On the complex symbolism of the *ʿanqāʾ*, etc., see above, pp. 184–95). V has *fa-ʿirfān* (and the gnosis); and B2 is lacking the entire line.

[18] *Taʿyīnu khatmi al-awliyāʾi karīmū.* D, M and Q2 have *taʿayyun* ([self-]appointment) rather than *taʿyīn.* Both M and S specify already at this point that the "Seal of the saints" is Jesus son of Mary.

[19] *Wa-sirri l-bayti*: acc. to M, this is a ref. to the Kaʿbah (*cf.* 3rd verse, *infra*). On the term, *sirr*, see al-Qāshānī's glossary, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah*, pp. 100–02.

[20] *Ḥakīm^{an} yaṣṭafī-hi ḥakīmū. Al-Ḥakīm* is a name of God (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 43: 84). Otherwise, the ref. here is ostensibly to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (see n. 25, below), but, more especially, to the Seal of sainthood himself as *ḥakīm* (adept in esoteric knowledge, *ḥikmah*).

[21] *Cf. Qur.* 7: 143, describing Moses's overwhelming experience of the Divine glory on the mountain.

[22] *Al-waqt*: signifying one's condition while under the influence of a particular *ḥāl* (spiritual grace), conceived as having no causal link with prior or subsequent conditions (see *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 54; *cf.* also G. Böwering, "Ibn al-ʿArabī's Concept of Time," in *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit* [Festschrift in honor of Annemarie Schimmel, 1992], pp. 79–81).

[23] *Wa-l-amru fī-hi jasīmū.* Whereas, in *Qur.* 7: 143, the prophet, Moses, was unable to retain consciousness when he beheld the Glory, the Seal of the saints, as supreme *walī*, abides (*yabqá*) in the "moment". Exoterically, no man can see the face of God *and live thereafter* (*cf. Exo.* 33: 30).

[24] *Lam yazal kullu ʿārif^{in}/ʿalay-hi (idhā yasrī ilay-hi) yaḥūmū.* Q2 reverses the prep. phrases, and P, Z and Q have *ʿalay-hi* also for the second. *Yasrī* (as voc. in C and W), or *yusrī ilay-hi,* alludes to the mystical "night-journey" (*al-isrāʾ*) of the Prophet from the Kaʿbah in Mecca to the rock (*al-ṣakhrah*) of the Temple mount in Jerusalem, whence he ascended through the heavens. S likens the power of the Seal's "secret" to a magnet attracting iron.

[25] The *K. Khatm al-Awliyāʾ* of the 3rd/9th-cent. Ṣūfī theorist, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (O. Yahia, ed., 1965; and in B. Radtke, ed., *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmiḏ*, 1992). Al-Tirmidhī was the first to use the expression, *khatam al-awliyāʾ*, in contradistinction from the Qur'ānic epithet for Muḥammad, the "Seal of the prophets" (*khātam al-nabīyīn*; 33: 40), but the above-mentioned book (at least in the form that we have it now) is quite diffuse. See below, p. 474, n. 2. For H's appraisal of al-Tirmidhī, see App. I.

but, being guileless of heart, he never revealed it.
For the *Ṣiddīq* obtains it not during existence[26]
(while the *Sun of the West* is non-existent to him)[27]
By mystical experience;[28]—But the Heart[29] bears witness
to all that [God] reveals, continuing discreet,
Guarding the Secrets, whether they cleave to the "soil",
or rise [like] "flowers" over it—they being the stars;[30]
And when they wax like moon or sun over [the Heart's] Throne[31]
(on which Station they have constant attendance),
Their witnessings sometimes reveal [the Secrets],[32]
for among them are stars for guidance as well as stoning.[33]
So praised be He Who hides His Essence from the [mortal] gaze,[34]
the Light of His Theophany encompassing it 'round![35]

---

[26] *Fī waqti kawni-hī.* The *ṣiddīq* (see Glossary) is a category of saint ranking below the *maqām al-qurbah*, and, hence, the highest *afrād* (peerless *awliyā'*). The implication is that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī reached only this penultimate grade "during the term of his existence." For S's comm., see App. I.

[27] *Wa-shamsu samā'i l-gharbi min-hu ʿadīmū.* The "sun [rising] in the west" is a canonical sign (*sharaṭ*) of the coming of the Mahdī at the end of time (see Muslim, *Īmān*, 249; *Fitan*, 39, 40, 118 & 128; and the *tafsīr* on 6: 8–9), as was often specified in creeds (see, *e.g.*, Elder, tr., *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* [al-Taftāzānī's comm. on Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's *ʿAqīdah*], pp. 165–66). The *ṣiddīq* does not have certain knowledge as to the specific identity and time of arrival of the Seal/Mahdī (*cf. Qur.* 72: 25–27). For H's comm., see App. I.

[28] *Madhāq = dhawq*: "intuitive spiritual savoring" (see *Iṣṭilāḥāṭ*, 60).

[29] Q2 has *al-ʿuqūl* (the intellects) instead of *al-fu'ād. Cf. Qur.* 53: 11.

[30] *Yaghāru ʿalá l-asrāri in talḥaqa l-thará/wa-in tamtaṭī-hā l-zuhru* [= *l-zahru*] *wa-hya nujūmū.* Unfortunately, the comms. are not very helpful with this difficult passage. H has: "The settings of the stars of the Divine secrets (*mawāqiʿ nujūm al-asrār al-ilāhīyah*) are the good hearts" (see also App. I). On *al-zuhr* as connoting "brilliant stars", see Dozy, *s.v. azhar. Al-thará* could be intended as a pun on *al-Thurayyā* ("the Pleiades", a beneficent asterism; *cf. Job* 38: 31).

[31] *Fa-in abdarū aw ashmasū fawqa ʿarshi-hī.* All three comms. gloss the latter as "the throne of the heart." Here and in the next verse the "stars" are treated as animate plurs. (while the "secrets" which they personify are inanimate). On *ʿarsh*, see *Muʿjam, no.* 446, *et seq.*

[32] The earliest ss. seem to read: *Fa-rubbatumā yubdū ʿalay-him shuhūdu-hā.*

[33] *Nujūm*^{un} *li-l-hudá wa-rujūmū.* Regarding the former, see *Qur.* 6: 97 and 16: 16. The latter are the meteors, or "shooting stars" (*shuhub*), by which God pelts the rebellious spirits who try to eavesdrop on the heavenly counsels (in 37: 6–10 and 72: 1–10). Perhaps we may infer from this that Ibn al-ʿArabī's star is one of guidance, while Ṣūfīs such as al-Tirmidhī were more concerned with protecting the secrets.

[34] *Akhfá ʿani l-ʿayni dhāta-hū. ʿAyn*: "eye; source; essence", *etc.*

[35] *ʿAlay-hi ʿamīmū.* The Divine essence appears nowhere, but its self-manifestation (*tajall*^{in}) is everywhere. D2 and Q have this verse foll. the next.

But the purblind is not able to perceive[36] brilliance.
  How, indeed, could one sickly behold the health of Life?[37]

* * * * * * *

Our "Individualities" are Five and Five and Five,[38]
  —Behold the matter of existence founded upon them!
Whoever says that *Forty* is a terminus for them,
  that is a teaching pleasing to a Speaker [with God];[39]
While, if you wish, I will tell of *Eight* (which their system
  exceeds not), One of which is set [apart from the rest]:[40]

---

[36] D2 and Q have *al-marmūz* (symbolized) instead of *al-marmūd* (blear-eyed); and Q2, *al-madhmūm* (blameworthy).

[37] *Ṭīb al-ḥayāh.* For H's comm., see App. I.

[38] *Fa-ashkhāṣu-nā khams^{un} wa-khams^{un} wa-khamsatū.* These three pentads of *ashkhāṣ* (corporeal substances; individualities) might be taken to signify man's basic components, as S supposes, identifying them with the inner and outer senses and the four "humors" (*ṭabā'iʿ*) along with the body; or they may represent some kind of hierarchy, as the other two comms. propose. (For M's rather bizarre attempt, see App. I. H theorizes with ref. to his own peculiar system of stages [*aṭwār*], spirits [= prophets] and lights [= planets], part of which I have outlined in App. II, on pp. 565–72). I would suggest that there could be a link here with the pseudo-Empedoclean doctrine sometimes attr. to the 4th/10th-cent. Andalusian Ṣūfī, Ibn Masarrah (see M. Asín Palacios, *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarrah and His Followers*, pp. 53–54), in which the five cosmic hypostases are said to be first-matter, intellect, soul, nature and second-matter. As Asín argued, it is possible that Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to this pentenary metaphysics of his compatriot in the description of a five-columned edifice emblemizing the *manzilat tanzīh al-tawḥīd*, which image he expressly attributes to Ibn Masarrah (in *Fut.* II, 581 [26–31]; see *The Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 73–75). On the other hand, the three pentads may simply be accounted for with ref. to the standard Neoplatonic emanations (the One, the intellect, soul, nature, and body), along with their parallels in man, and the 5 senses, *etc.*; or, perhaps, as an adumbration of the later system of "five *ḥaḍarāt*." For further refs., relating to the well-known prophylactic virtue of this number, see Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, p. 146, n. 37. *Cf.* also pp. 249–50, n. 32, below.

[39] *Kalīm* [*Allāh*] = Moses (see *Qur.* 7: 144), as one whom God has specially favored by speaking to him (so, at least, H understands the expression here). M and S take *kalīm* to signify *mutakallim* (a religious scholar), the latter explaining that "forty" is the age of legal majority (*bulūgh*), which the theologians say is the age at which the prophet acquires his prophecy and the saint his sainthood; "but this is contrary to the view of those specially concerned with this matter," S goes on to say, citing Jesus and John the Baptist (see *Qur.* 19: 12 & 29), as well as Muḥammad, as counter-examples. Otherwise, it is feasible to read "forty" as the product of *five* times the "eight" introduced below—that is, as comprising an astral system corresponding to each of the five basic principles. In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 57, the class of saints denominated the *nujabā'* (nobles) are said to be forty in number (but *cf.* next note), as are the so-called *Rajabīyūn* (see *Fut.* II, 8 [18]). See App. I.

[40] These may be the seven planetary spheres along with the "eighth sphere", that of the fixed stars (*falak al-burūj* = the zodiac). Also, there may be a more plausible

Seven of them of the earth are not incognizant,
while the Eighth inseparably accompanies the stars.[41]
For with the passing of the *Khā'* of time, and its *Jīm*,
added to the *Fā'* of the meaning of the sequence,[42]
With the Seven [other] Luminaries (unbeknownst to all)
is One who knows,[43] patient in the management of things:[44]
In the "Green Meadow" his enemies were blasted,[45] B,2b
but [Damascus'] Lord is merciful to the Believers.

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ref. here to the *nujabā'* (see preceding note), said in the *Futūḥāt* to number "eight at all times, no more and no less, . . . [who] are deeply involved in the knowledge of the movement of the stars (*'ilm tasyīr al-kawākib*)" (II, 8 [1–4]), after which they are described as being connected with the eight celestial spheres (see *ibid.*, ll. 5–6; but *cf.* next note).

[41] S rather arbitrarily takes the seven "of the earth" to be the prophets, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jonah, David, Moses and Muḥammad, and "the eighth, in the stars," to be "the Jesus of inspiration (*'Īsá l-ilhām*), raised up into heaven and awaited [as the Mahdī]" (*cf. Qur.* 3: 55). Rather, this would appear to be an allusion to the seven *abdāl* (substitutes) who govern the seven "climes" of the earth (see *Fut.* II, 7 [9–10*sq.*]), exc. that, of course, there would be no question of an eighth (but *cf.* the verse after the next, where it may be implied that "the eighth" is a "substitute" *in abscondito*).

[42] *Fa-'inda fanā'i khā'*[*i*] *l-zamāni wa-jīmi-hā/ 'alá fā'i madlūli l-kurūri yaqūmū.* The numerical value of these letters totals 683, a cryptic allusion to the *hijrī* date (= 1284 C.E.) of the advent of the Seal/Mahdī, as I have explained in the intro. (pp. 4–7; see also p. 532 at n. 51). Regarding this, *cf.* also Rosenthal, tr., *The Muqaddimah* (vol. II, p. 190), where Ibn Khaldūn gives (on the alleged authority of a disciple of the 7th/13th-cent. Ṣūfī-philosopher, Ibn Sab'īn) the letters, خ ف ج, as supposedly indicating the date of the Mahdī's advent in the Maghrib. Ibn al-'Arabī's *'Anqā' Mughrib* is discussed on the pages immediately preceding, and Ibn Khaldūn's ref. is obviously derived from our present verse. All of the earliest mss. (B, C, E, D and R) have *jīm* (= 3) at the end of the first hemistich, while most of the later ss. (P, V, W, B2, Z, H, M, S, D2 and Q) give the letter, *dāl* (= 4), as do the margins of B and C (by later hands). Although the *Dīwān* opts for the *dāl* here, *cf.* p. 65, l. 13, where (I believe that) the same date is referred to as *jīm al-fā'*. Q2 has garbled this hemistich, but seems to be based on an early, but defective, ms.). I have given an account of the three comms. on this in App. I.

[43] *'Alīm* in B, E, V, B2, Z and Q (other ss. have *'alay-him*).

[44] *Bi-tadbīri al-umūri ḥalīmū.* Instead of the last, C, W, V, B2, H, S, D2 and Q2 have *ḥakīm*, "wise in putting things in their proper places" (S), but C and W correct this in the margin. I have preferred the former as a ref. to the Mahdī's eschatological reign of peace. The seven *a'lām* could also be the so-called "helpers" (*wuzarā'*, "ministers") of the Mahdī (sometimes numbered seven) described by Ibn al-'Arabī in Chap. 366 of the *Futūḥāt* (tr. by Morris in *Illuminations*, 119–47).

[45] *Al-rawḍah al-khaḍrā'*: Damascus, where, acc. to Islamic trad., Jesus will descend from heaven upon the eastern, white minaret of the Umayyad Mosque. He will then go to meet the "Antichrist" (*al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*) whom he will slay at Lydda Gate (*bāb Ludd*). The "lord" (*ṣāḥib*) [of Damascus], then, is Jesus/the Mahdī, and the *mu'minūn* are the true Muslims, who believe in his mission. *Summa 'udātu-hu*: "his enemies were blasted by the simoom (*samūm*, a desert wind)"; or: "they were

He alone is qualified to manage affairs:
When flowers diffuse fragrance, or should a breeze blow,
You will perceive him. If some pretentious ignoramus
treat him rudely, or a scoundrel conspire,[46]
His external mien is aversion thereto,[47] while his heart
stands guarantor, zealously guarding the Great Affair.[48]
When there remains but half an hour of [God's] "Day" until 5
another "Hour" when a Cut-off [time] occurs[49]
The branch of Justice after its dead-calm will quiver,[50]
and the earth's vegetation, dried to chaff, shall revive,
And the Just One of God[51] will be triumphant, East and West,

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poisoned." C, P, W, B2, H and Q2 have *ism* (? name) in place of the verb. D2 reads *al-gharrā'* (beautiful; noble) instead of *al-khaḍrā'*. See App. I.

[46] H identifies the "ignoramus" (*jāhil*) as Abū Jahl, one of the Prophet's most implacable enemies among the pagan Quraysh, and points out the occurrence of "scoundrel" (*zanīm*) in *Qur.* 68: 13 (*cf.* n. 49, below). For a sample from his long moral exhortation occasioned by this connection, see App. I.

[47] *Fa-ẓāhiru-hu l-i'rāḍu 'an-hu.* [The Seal's] "external mien" (*ẓāhiru-hu*, cognate with *ẓahru-hu*, "his back") is a kind of ant. of *qalbu-hu* ("his heart"; his front). H cites *Qur.* 53: 29 in connection with the notion of *i'rāḍ*: "Then turn away (*fa-'riḍ*) from the one who turns away (*tawallá*) from Our Reminder and desires but the life of the world."

[48] *Ghayūr*^{un} *'alá l-amri l-'azīzi za'īmū.* The latter is a syn. of *kafīl.*

[49] *Ṣarīm*^{un} (see *Qur.* 68: 20): the dawn of Judgment Day, frequently styled "the Hour" (*al-sā'ah*) in the Scripture (*e.g.*, in 25: 11; *cf.* also 10: 45). The Qur'ānic parable of the owners of the garden (*aṣḥāb al-jannah*), foll. after mention of the "scoundrel" in the verse before the last, is *à propos*: "Lo, We have tried them even as We tried the owners of the garden, when they swore they would harvest [its fruit] in the morning, and they added not [the words '—if God wills'].... But in the morning it was as if a garden plucked (*ka-l-ṣarīmi*)" (*Qur.* 68: 17–18 & 20; *cf. Luke* 12: 16–21). On "[God's] Day," *cf. Qur.* 22: 47, where "a day with God" is said to be as a thousand years (which would make the "half an hour" to be twenty years and 10 months). *Cf.* Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 52; and Ibn Mājah, *Jihād*, 11.

[50] "The branch of Justice": *ghuṣn al-'adl* in most ss. B2 and M read *'iḍḍ* (brambles). "With the advent of the Seal of the saints abundance will appear, and the contemptible qualities which occasion the wrath of God will be eliminated" (S). Rather, the new "branch of justice," like the "sprout of Jesse" of *Isa.* 11: 1, is itself the Seal (not unlike *al-Khaḍir*, the "Green One" of perennial life).

[51] *'Adl Allāh.* The "just [or rightly-guided] one" is *al-'adl*, which can denote a person possessing the quality of justice as well as the abstract noun. It is also a name of God, acc. to some trads. (see, *e.g.*, Tirmidhī, *Da'awāt*, 83; and *cf. Jer.* 23: 6). In his response to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's question, "What is *'adl*?" (*no.* 28), Ibn al-'Arabī associates Sahl al-Tustarī's notion of it, as well as Ibn Barrajān's *al-Ḥaqq al-makhlūq bi-hi* (the Reality in Which the world was created), with the first intellect (*al-'aql al-awwal*) and the Muḥammadan Reality (in *Fut.* II, 60 [11–15*sq.*], and III, 444 [24–25]; *cf.* also *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 56; and *Mu'jam*, *no.* 438). In the *ḥadīth* Jesus was frequently called "a just (*'adl*, *muqsiṭ*) imām," and Ibn al-'Arabī uses the term in the

though the body of the Imām be gone to dust.[52]
Then, the Blessings of the Real,[53] over and over, be upon him[54]
whom I shall never cease to love in This world or the Next![55]

NOW, THEN, FIRSTLY, Praise be to God, and Blessings[56] [upon the Prophet], by which [that] Praise is sealed and completed!

[*Seek the Truth Within*]

Consider, O righteous, discerning one,[57]
matters uttered by One sagacious [and] astute.[58]
Examine the Meanings cast before you,
contained in his marvelously sweet articulation.[59]

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sense of *quṭb al-zamān* in his praise of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (see *Fut.* I, 201 [21], quoted earlier).

[52] *Wa-shakhṣu imāmi l-muʾminīna ramīmū*: lit., "while the body/individual substance of the leader of the believers [was] decayed." See *Qur.* 36: 78, where *ramīm* is applied to the "decayed [bones]" which God will revivify in the Resurrection (*cf. Ezek.* 37: 2*sq.*). B2, D2 and Q have *raḥīm* for the adj. M and S take the *imām* here to be the lower-soul (as *imām al-jawāriḥ*, "leader of the limbs of the body"), but the ref. is perhaps, rather, to the orig. body of Jesus (?). In any case, the point is to indicate that the condition of the physical body "does not matter." On the term, *shakhṣ*, see Gloss., *s.v.*

[53] *Al-Ḥaqq*: the more impersonal Ṣūfī designation for "God". For the philos. usage of this Qurʾānic term, see S.M. Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology in Arabic and Persian*, pp. 103–04. B2, Z, S and Q have *Allāh* instead.

[54] Here the ref. is (presumably) to the Prophet Muḥammad. H, however, takes the referent to be dual (anticipating the "two conditions" of the second hemistich): "to the reality of Muḥammad and the reality of the Seal (*al-ḥaqīqah al-khatmīyah*), between which there is no universal difference (*tabāyun min kull al-jihāt*), but only a relative, conventional one (*iʿtibārī khabarī*), [so that, together, they are] the all-comprehensive 'Isthmus' (*al-barzakh al-jāmiʿ*) between the [realms of] Divine majesty and beauty, creation and Creator, multiplicity and unity, possibility and necessity."

[55] *Fī ḥālatayya*: "in my two states," here and hereafter (or, perhaps, better: "in my inner and my external conditions" [*sci.*, relative to the beloved as self and other]). For a summary of the remainder of al-Ḥijāzī's comm. (which ceases to follow the *ʿAnqāʾ*-text closely at this point), see App. II, pp. 568*sq.*

[56] Both M and S remark that while it is reprehensible (*makrūh*) to give the blessing (*al-ṣalāh*) w/o the *salām* in benedictions, it is permissible to so abbreviate the formula (as here) in writing. B treats this line as a section-heading.

[57] *Al-ḥabr al-labīb. Ḥabr* originally and principally denoted a Jewish (or Christian) religious scholar, whether converted to Islam or not, but later was used to refer to any pious, learned person. The poem appears in D2 on p. 28. The metre is *al-wāfir.*

[58] *Al-faṭn al-muṣīb: sci.*, the Seal of the saints, "sagacious in the sciences, astute in *ijtihād* (independent propagation of religious doctrine)" (M).

[59] The *lafẓ* (wording) is the "container" of the *maʿān*^{in} (semantic content).

But seek him not among existents—or you will be wretched
  and worn out seeking the unique and strange.[60]
If I am the [Meanings'] Copy,[61] wherefore should I bother
  coveting what is remote, with Truth so near?[62]

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[60] *Wa-yatʿabu jisma-ka l-fadhdhu l-gharību*: lit., "the singular [and] strange will weary your body" (*cf. Eccl.* 12: 12). M writes: "Do not seek the "meanings" outside yourself (*khārij ‘an-ka*) or you will become wretched and worn out, and your efforts will be frustrated. Rather, seek them in your own being and soul (*min wujūdi-ka wa-nafsi-ka*)." S cites *Qur.* 50: 16, which declares that God is "closer to [man] than the jugular vein." *Cf.* Emerson's "Nature" (p. 5): "Every man's condition is a solution in hieroglyphic to those inquiries he would put." See also App. I.

[61] *Nuskhatu-hā*. The pron. could refer to the before-mentioned *maʿān*^{in} (= noumena) or to the *akwān* (= phenomena). In either case, the idea is that the poet's heart reflects all things. On the term, *nuskhah*, see Ibn al-‘Arabī's *Mawāqiʿ*, 145; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* [hereafter, Jeffery], *s.v.*; and the Gloss., *s.v.*

[62] "Truth": *al-maʿná* (sing. of *maʿān*^{in}). Q2 has *al-maghná* (the abode).

II. The Explanation of the Purpose of This Book[1]

B,3 We have already authored a certain spiritual work, a Lordly composition, entitled: The Divine Directions concerning the Reformation of the Human Estate (*Al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlakah al-Insānīyah*),[2] in which we discuss how Man is a Microcosm (*ʿālam ṣaghīr*, "a small world") drawn forth from[3] the Macrocosm (*al-ʿālam al-kabīr*, "the world at large"), inasmuch as all that appears in the Greater Existence (*al-kawn al-akbar*) is [to be found, also] in this Lesser Essence (*al-ʿayn al-aṣghar*). [But] in that book I did not treat comprehensively of Man's correspondence (*muḍāhāh*) with the Universe, but rather [I focused particularly] on what correlates in him as regards the [mundane] Caliphate (*al-khilāfah*)[4] and [strictly "political"] organization (*al-tadbīr*),[5] treating of [such questions as]: What is [the counterpart in Man of] the State Secretary (*al-kātib*),[6] the Prime Minister (*al-wazīr*),[7] the Chief Justice (*al-qāḍī al-ʿādil*),[8] the Superintendents (*al-umanāʾ*), provincial Administrators in charge of alms-taxes,[9] and Emissaries (*al-sufarāʾ*)?[10]

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[1] *Tabyīn al-gharaḍ min hādhā l-kitāb*, in most of the ss. E, D and B2 have *tabayyun* (examination; explanation) instead of the first.

[2] Yahia, *no.* 716. The *Tadbīrāt* was composed during the course of four days in Mawrūr, a village near Seville, at the home of Abū Muḥ. al-Mawrūrī, where the young author happened upon a copy of *Pseudo*-Aristotle's *Secretum secretorum* (*Sirr al-Asrār*). See above, pp. 79–80, n. 25; and *Tadbīrāt* (Nyberg, ed.), p. 120.

[3] *Maslūkh min*: "detached from, torn away", as an animal hide is stripped off (*cf.* below, p. 301 at n. 23, where man's image is described as a *salkh, q.v.* in Gloss.). W paraphrases this as *mansūkh* ("copied, transcribed"; orig., "removed"), which is, indeed, the likely connotation here.

[4] For Ibn al-ʿArabī's treatment of this subj. in the *Tadbīrāt*, see pp. 120–31 and 143–52 therein. Q2 has *al-khalāʾiq* (the created beings) instead of *al-khilāfah.*

[5] At this point S inserts a lengthy passage from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir* (Nyberg, ed., pp. 20–24) on man as the *tertium quid* (= *dhū l-nisbatayn*) between God and the world.

[6] On the function of this official, see *Tadbīrāt*, 176–79*sq.*

[7] See *ibid.*, 157–61. The Almohads adopted Andalusian usage in applying the title, *wazīr*, to lesser officials, esp. to "the person who guarded (*yaḥjubu*) the ruler in his court and saw to it that embassies and visitors to him used the proper forms of greeting and address, and that the requisite manners were observed in his presence" (*Muqaddimah*, II, 13; *cf.* Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, pp. 7–11). Ibn al-ʿArabī evidently has in mind the more classical usage, however.

[8] See *Tadbīrāt*, 156–57.

[9] *Al-ʿāmilūna ʿalá l-ṣadaqāt* (see *ibid.*, 185–86). These are those who "collect the taxes from those who have it (*arbābu-hā*) to give to those who deserve it (*mustaḥiqqu-hā*)" (S).

[10] Instead of *al-sufarāʾ*, Q2 has *al-safr* (the travellers), evidently reading this with the preceding as: "provincial administrators in charge of alms-contributions

[In that book I explained, also] the reason for which war is waged between the Intellect (*al-ʿaql*) and Passion (*al-hawá*),[11] and I set forth therein[12] the [nature of the] confrontation of adversaries and when the battle between them takes place.[13] And I helped [the Intellect] to a consolidating victory (*naṣr muʾazzir*)[14]—bringing him forth as an effective Commander (*amīr mudabbir*), while causing Kingship (*al-mulk*)[15] C,52
to arise [in my account], appointing life for some in its world and **6**
perdition for others. [Thus] the object was accomplished,[16] and "he who had a sickness in his heart"[17] came to believe.[18]

I had intended to provide in [the *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah*] that which would be declared openly sometimes and kept concealed [at other times—*to wit*]: Where in this Human Copy (*al-nuskhah al-insānīyah*)[19] and Spiritual Uprising (*al-nashʾah al-rūḥānīyah*)[20] is the station of the

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and pilgrims." But *cf. ibid.*, 189*sq.*, dealing with "emissaries and messengers" (*al-sufarāʾ wa-l-rusul*). W glosses the *sufarāʾ* as "scribes" (*kuttāb*); and S has "those who import the various commodities." M proposes psychological parallels for all of these political functions: The caliph is the heart (but he is the spirit in *ibid.*, 120*sq.*); the "representatives and administrators" are the sensory limbs (*jawāriḥ*), *etc.*; and the *sufarāʾ* are "angels of prophecy and inspiration." Instead of *al-sufarāʾ*, B alone has *al-shuʿarāʾ* (the poets), which may, indeed, be the orig. reading (*cf. Tadbīrāt*, 189, n. 12).

[11] See *ibid.*, 138*sq.* and 199. The comms. associate the intellect with the heart (*qalb*) and passion with the *nafs*. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī wrote frequently on this stereotypically "Gnostic" theme, *e.g.*, in his *K. al-ʿAql wa-l-Hawá*. For an analysis of the general subj. as it occurs in the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī, see Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam*, pp. 241–61. *Cf.* also *Rom.* 7: 22–23. On *ʿaql*, see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology in Arabic and Persian*, pp. 111–14.

[12] In this passage the prep. obj. could be understood as referring either to the *Tadbīrāt* or to man, or both. Thus, w/o the foll. brackets, the sentence can be read: "I set up in [man] the confrontation between adversaries," *etc.*—*i.e.*, "I caused the intellect to declare war on passion" (*cf. Tadbīrāt*, 199).

[13] See *ibid.*, 194–98.

[14] *Wa-naṣartu-hu naṣr*^{an} *muʾazzir*^{an} (as voc. in D and W, to rhyme with *mudabbir*^{an}). The last is an unusual form, but it is evidently syn. with *muʾzir*^{an}. *Cf.* the words of Waraqah b. Nawfal to the Prophet in Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-waḥy*, 3 (where it is usually voc. as *naṣr muʾazzar*, however); and v. 3 of *Sūrah 48*, "Victory" (*Al-Fatḥ*): "*Wa-yanṣura-ka Llāhu naṣr*^{an} *ʿazīz*^{an}"; see also App. I.

[15] Voc. thus in B, D and W (to rhyme with *al-hulk*). E reads *al-malak* (the angel).

[16] The accomplishment of [the world's] purpose means "the support of God's army of obedience (*jund Allāh bi-l-ṭāʿah*) and the abandonment of Satan and his army of disobedience, until the 'party of God' (*ḥizb Allāh*) shall overcome" (S).

[17] *Qur.* 33: 32. The expression occurs frequently in the Scripture, usually with the plur. (*e.g.*, 2: 10). It is used to signify love of the world in the *K. Bayān al-Farq bayna l-Ṣadr wa-l-Qalb* (p. 52), attr. (wrongly) to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

[18] Foll. B, W and Q, which have *āmana* rather than *amina* (become secure).

[19] Man as the microcosm is a copy, or "transcription", of the macrocosm (on *nuskhah*, see the refs. in n. 61 on p. 236, above).

[20] *Cf. Qur.* 56: 62. *Nashʾah* is a favorite expression of Ibn al-ʿArabī for the human "form" in the sense of a development, or "evolution", understood both naturally

Rightly-guided Leader (*al-imām al-mahdī*)[21] who is related to the House of the Prophet [both] in terms of spiritual degree and physically (*al-maqāmī wa-l-ṭīnī*)?[22] and where, similarly, [in the same scheme is the station of] the Seal of the Saints (*khatm al-awliyā'*) and the Signet of the sincere Friends (*ṭābiʿ al-aṣfiyā'*)?[23] since the need for knowledge of these two stations[24] in Man is more imperative (*ākadu*) than that of all of the [other] correspondences of created entities (*akwān al-ḥidthān*).[25] But I feared the insinuation[26] of the Enemy, Satan (*al-shayṭān*), and that he would call out[27] in the presence of the Sultan (*al-sulṭān*),[28] alleging against me what I had not intended, so that, on B,36
account of him, I would be brought to the house of slander (*bayt al-tashwīh*).[29] Thus, I shielded the "King" (*al-shāh*) with the "Queen"

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and spiritually, in terms of either emanationism or creation. The word can be tr. in many ways (see below, n. 72, and Gloss., *s.v.*). M applies the ref. to Jesus as the "perfect Seal" (*al-khatm al-kāmil*) who "arose from the Spirit of God" (*nasha'a min rūḥi Llāhi*); but the *nuskhah* and the *nash'ah* here probably represent simply the metaphysical and the phenomenological aspects of man.

[21] M again identifies the Mahdī as Jesus (see App. I), but in the margin is added: ". . . or else he is the [twelfth Shiʿite] Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī [*fl.* 264/878], he being the associate (*ṣāḥib*) of Jesus" (*cf.* next note). S speaks of Jesus *and* the Mahdī (his "brother") as being indicated here (see his comm. to the next note; *cf.* also above, pp. 177–84).

[22] *Al-mansūb ilá bayt al-nabī al-maqāmī wa-l-ṭīnī.* The adjs. modify *bayt* but evidently denote two kinds of relation (*nisbah*) to the Prophet, "spiritual" and "natural-constitutional". M describes these relations as "generic" (*nawʿīyah*) and "expedient" (*ʿillīyah*) rather than real (*ḥaqīqīyah*). The second is said to be based on the idea that all of the prophets are made from a single portion of the elemental "clay of the Prophet" (*ṭīnat al-nabī; cf.* S's comm. in App. I). Note that with these qualifiers Ibn al-ʿArabī effectively avoids describing the Mahdī as *simply* a blood-descendent of the Prophet. Q2 has: *al-mā' wa-l-ṭīn* (water and clay), apparently alluding to the well-known *ḥadīth*: "I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay," that is, before man was created.

[23] This is presumably the same as the *khatm al-awliyā'*.

[24] *Sci.*, the stations of the Mahdī and the Seal (not of the latter and the "signet").

[25] "Because the gnosis of these two stations and the determining of their correspondence in man make all of the [other] correspondences in the world superfluous" (M).

[26] E, R(?) and Q2 have *nazʿah* (inclination) instead of *nazghah.*

[27] C, E(?), D and Q2 read *bī* ([call out] to *me*) rather than *bi-hi* (to [the ruler]).

[28] M glosses the *sulṭān* as "the well-preserved law and blessed support" (*al-sharʿ al-maṣūn wa-l-rukn al-maymūn*); and S adds: "He has trusted guards (*aqwām*) at the door with drawn swords of legislation (*suyūf al-tashrīʿ*) in their hands, ready to prevent whoever would try to rush into the sultan's presence without permission."

[29] *Tashwīh*: "deformation, mutilation; slander". This word could also be construed as meaning "to cause the extension of the neck"; and hence, *bayt al-tashwīh* could designate the place of execution (in ʿAbbāsid times the executioner's leather mat was next to the throne). There is also a pun on the word, *shāh*, in the next sentence, which could be taken to signify that the author was able to save his neck by the skillful parrying of his pen.

(*al-firzān*) by way of safeguarding this [mortal] frame (*al-juthmān*)![30]

Then I beheld the Divine Secrets (*al-asrār laday-hi*)[31] bestowed by the Real, and I took upon myself the responsibility of presenting them [to the world]. So I wrote this book [THE FABULOUS GRYPHON], dedicated to the Gnosis of these two Stations [of the Mahdī and the Seal]. But whenever I discourse on such [recondite matters] as this,[32] I speak in terms of the Two Worlds [that is, the Macrocosm and the Microcosm], in order to clarify the issue for the listener by referring to the Greater [*sci., external* World] which he knows and comprehends, after which I draw comparisons between that [outer World] and its inner Secret (*sirru-hu*)[33] deposited in Man—who [yet] denies and does not comprehend it.[34] For my purpose in everything of this type which I write is never the Gnosis of that which appears in [phenomenal] existence (*al-kawn*), but rather the purpose is ever [the Gnosis] of that[35] which is found in this Human Essence (*al-ʿayn al-insānī*)[36] and Adamite Substance (*al-shakhṣ al-Ādamī*).

So verify your speculation, O rational one! and pay attention, you who are unmindful! Shall the being of the Sultan (*kawn al-sulṭān*)—whether he be just or despotic, learned or bewildered[37]—profit me aught in the Hereafter? No, indeed, my brother!—[not] unless I envisage that Authority [as proceeding] *from* me and *to* me;[38] and not until I make my Intellect (*ʿaql-ī*) an *Imām* unto me, seeking [to learn] of him the ways of right comportment according to the rules of the Law (*al-ādāb al-sharʿīyah*) in my inner and my outer [being] (*bāṭin-ī wa-ẓāhir-ī*), and pledging allegiance to him (*ubāyiʿu-hu*) for the reforming of my [whole Self] first and last (*iṣlāḥ awwal-ī wa-ākhir-ī*).[39] Whenever I do not make this my contemplation (*naẓar-ī*), I perish.[40] But when I turn away from being occupied with people, I am able to effect my own Salvation (*najāt-ī*) and I "become a King" (*tamallaktu*).[41] For [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!) has declared, addressing all of his community (*ummatu-hu*):

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[30] *Fa-satartu l-shāha bi-l-firzānī ṣiyānat*^{an} *li-hādhā l-juthmāni*. Both printed edns. have *al-jusmān* instead of *al-juthmān* in the best ss. The latter was said by some to be syn. with *shakhṣ* (individual), as *jism* and *jusmān* denoted an inorganic material body capable of being divided and remaining the same (see Lane, *s.v. jism*). The *firzān* (< Per., *farzīn*, "learned") in the game of chess, or *shiṭranj*, would more properly be called a "vizier" than a "queen".

[31] "The secrets with/in the possession of [God]." The prep. is cognate with *ladun*, which, in the adj., *ladunī* (= *min laduni Llāhi*), means "mystic" (see M. Ullmann, *et al., Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* [hereafter, *Wörterbuch*], *s.v.*). V, W, M, S and Q2 have "*these* secrets."

[32] B, E(?), R(?) and Q2 are wanting *mithla* (such).

[33] Or, perhaps: "[God's] secret." At any rate, the ref. is to the mystery of the Seal/Mahdī.

[34] *Cf. Rom.* 1: 20. The verbs here, *yunkiru-hu wa-yajhalu-hu*, are the respective ants. of *yaʿrifu-hu wa-yaʿqilu-hu* (which he knows and comprehends) in the preceding clause (on these verbs, see below, p. 336, n. 74).

[35] Before *mā wujida*, Q has *maʿrifah*; and Q2, *tanbīhu l-ghāfili ʿalá mā wujida* (anticipating the foll. sentence).

[36] "This is the 'great prototype' (*al-unmūdhaj al-akbar*), by which is meant the essence (*al-dhāt*)" (M). Al-Maqābirī then goes on to add that the "Adamite substance" is the same; but *shakhṣ* here may, rather, have the sense of "corporeal form/figure" (*cf.* Lane, *s.v.*). For S's comm., see App. I.

[37] Instead of *ḥāʾir*^{an}, W, S and Q have *jāhil*^{an} (but W corrects this in the margin); while V, B2 and M lack the entire clause, though it is added in the margin of M and, partially, in V. Hence, the problem appears to have arisen at this point in the source which I have labeled [X3] (see Fig. III, p. 198).

> Each of you is a Shepherd (*rā*^{ʿin}), and each of you is responsible for his flock (*raʿīyatu-hu*).[42]

Thus, [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!) established the Imāmate for every human being in himself (*fī nafsi-hi*),[43] making him one who is to be rightly Sought (*maṭlūb bi-l-ḥaqq*),[44] both in the World of his transcendent [being] (*ghaybu-hu*) and of his sensual (*ḥissu-hu*).[45]

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[38] *Ḥattá anẓura dhālika l-sulṭāna min-nī wa-ilayya.* Perhaps we may view this *sulṭān* as the "animus", the energy of the self or ego (*ṭāqat al-nafs*), capable of being directed to the good by intellect or to evil by passion (*cf. John* 12: 31–32). Thus, "the being/world of the *sulṭān*" is the present world, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's taking full responsibility for it, while caring nothing for its conditions, can be seen as a kind of Stoic existentialism.

[39] "I pledge allegiance to the apostle of inspiration who comes to me from my self" (S). Recall that one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's earliest treatises was entitled *Mubāyaʿat al-Quṭb* [*fī Ḥaḍrat al-Qurb*] (Yahia, *no.* 487).

[40] This is probably an allusion to the truce of al-Ḥudaybīyah (*cf.* preceding note), the occasion of *Qur.* 48: 10, addressed to the Prophet: "Verily, those who pledge allegiance to you (*yubāyiʿūna-ka*) pledge to God: The Hand of God is over their hands. So whoever breaks his oath, breaks it but to his own hurt."

[41] "I become a king of the 'city of my being' (*madīnat wujūd-ī*), and I rule over all of my members, outwardly and inwardly" (S). Al-Saʿdī stipulates that the Ṣūfī's withdrawal from society should only be as far as necessary to assure one's salvation; otherwise it would be against the purpose of God.

[42] This is a well-known trad., found in many compilations (*e.g.*, see in Bukhārī alone, *Jumʿah*, 11; *Janā'iz*, 32; *Istiqrāḍ*, 20; *Waṣāyā*, 9; *Nikāḥ*, 81 & 90; and *Aḥkām*, 1; and see *Concordance*, II, 273a, for other refs.; *cf.* also *Muʿjam*, 1260, *no.* 10; and below, p. 467 at n. 46). See also App. III, 569, n. 18.

[43] S styles this man's "holy struggle within/against himself (*mujāhadatu nafsi-hi*) as regards his outer and inner senses."

[44] "—He being the fairest arbiter as to the true facts [of any case]" (M).

[45] Acc. to S, the Imām is sought in the sense-world for his "commands and prohibitions" as to the law, and in the transcendent world for the purifying and salvific

Now if the matter is thus and the fulfilment of the Contract [of the
Imāmate] (*al-ʿahd*)[46] is incumbent upon us, then what is wrong with B,4
us that we are remiss in the way of [our] Salvation, and are con-
tent with the inferior ranks (*aḥaṭṭ al-darajāt*)? How is it that one who 7
claims to be rational (*ʿāqil*) yet shuns these high sanctuaries (*al-maʿāqil*)?[47]

So whenever I mention in this or any of my other books an instance of a phenomenal event,[48] my purpose is to fix it in the hearing of the listener[49] and compare it with its likeness (*mithlu-hu*) in Mankind. Then let us turn[50] our contemplation therein to our [own Human] Essence (*dhātu-nā*), which is the Way of our Salvation (*sabīlu najāti-nā*)![51] I tread [that Way] in its entirety at this Human level (*al-nashʾah al-insānīyah*) in accordance with whatever the Station confers—whether of corporeality (*jusmānīyah*)[52] or spirituality (*rūḥānīyah*).[53] Kind brother,[54] do not suppose that my purpose in any of my books[55] is ever to discourse on things extraneous to my [own Divine] Essence (*dhāt-ī*), not perceiving in this [that I am thereby really treating of] the Way of my Salvation!

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effects of his spiritual influence (*fayḍu-hu*). For the spirit of his transcendence pervades the sense-world "as everyone of this community can bear witness whenever they sleep and the spirit returns from the outer senses to the transcendent world of the inner senses, and the Divine self-manifestation (*al-tajallī*) appears to them in visions in the world of imagination (*ʿālam al-khayāl*)"—for which theory S has recourse to ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ in a long digression.

[46] S takes this to be an allusion to God's pre-eternal covenant with the offspring of Adam (see below, pp. 247–48, n. 18), which is undoubtedly the case, and yet the immediate ref. is still to the universal imāmate just treated.

[47] "—They being the means of your salvation from that which led you down to the lowest levels in the return to the refuge of your understanding (*maʿād lujūʾ taʿaqquli-ka*) and your connection with the highest degrees" (S).

[48] *Ḥādith*^{un} *min ḥawādithi l-akwāni.*

[49] *Samʿ al-sāmiʿ.* B has *ʿilm* (knowledge) in place of *samʿ*, but this is corrected in the margin apparently by the orig. copyist.

[50] Q2 has *fa-taṣduqu* (?) in place of *fa-naṣrifu.*

[51] S adds: "If you are one of those who have been Divinely blessed with success" (*In kunta min man munna ʿalay-hi bi-l-tawfīqi*).

[52] One printing of Q2 has *juthmānīyah.*

[53] M glosses this with the Ḥallājian technical term, *al-lāhūt* (Divine nature), which, however, is then crossed out and "angelic spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-malakīyah*) written in the margin. Similarly, "animal spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ḥayawānīyah*) is substituted for *al-nāsūt* ([Divine-]human nature) to interpret *jusmānīyah.* S glosses "corporeality" with *ḥayawānīyah* (animal [adj.]) and "spirituality" with *malakī* (angelic), *etc.* On *nāsūt* and *lāhūt*, see Massignon, ed., *K. al-Ṭawāsīn* of al-Ḥallāj, pp. 129–41, *et al.*

[54] Q2 has *al-shaqīq* (full brother) instead of *al-shafīq.*

[55] "And they are widely celebrated across the land, east and west" (M).

[*Be Your Own Ruler*]

What do I care if my [own] Soul[56] saves me
  by means of one who triumphs or perishes?[57]
Look to the Kingdom closest to you:[58] You will find
  in each person a Regent over all his parts.[59]
Weigh him as to Holy Law with justice[60] at all times,
  and walk in it behind him wheresoever he may go.[61]
And do not be a rebel Devil[62] striving for scandal
  in the Kingdom of your Self, but be therein an *Angel*![63]

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[56] *Nafs-ī*, in the concrete sense of "my personal, vital spirit" (rather than the corroborative, "myself", "my being" or "my person"), since it is fem. In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 61, Ibn al-ʿArabī defines *nafs* as "those characteristics of man which are caused (*maʿlūl*)"; but ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī describes it further as "the subtle-vaporous essence (*al-jawhar al-bukhārī al-laṭīf*) which is the vehicle of the life-faculty, sense-perception and volitional action, and what the philosopher calls the 'vital spirit' (*al-rūḥ al-ḥayawānīyah*). Also, it is the mediator (*al-wāsiṭah*) between the heart—which is the rational soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqah*)—and the body (*al-badan*), it being what is meant in the Qur'ān by the olive tree described as 'blessed' and 'neither of the East nor of the West' [in *Qur.* 24: 35] by way of magnifying the station of man and its blessing unto him, and because of its being neither of the 'East'—that is, of the world of abstract spirits (*al-arwāḥ al-mujarradah*)—nor of the 'West'—of the world of dense bodies (*al-ajsād al-kathīfah*)" (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah* [*al-Qāshānīyah*], p. 95). In an interesting monograph on a more "philosophical" concept of the Divine unity, the ***Risālah fī l-Aḥadīyah***, by the *Sabʿīnī* Ṣūfī, Awḥad al-Dīn al-Balbānī/Balyānī (d. 686/1287) [but sometimes wrongly attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī; see Yahia, *no.* 13], the *nafs* ("soul") is explicitly identified with man's *essential* being (see T.H. Weir's trn. in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1901, esp. p. 813; and Chodkiewicz, tr., *Epître sur l'unicité absolue*, 1982). See also the art., "Nafs," by E.E. Calverley, in *E.I.* 1. The poem (also in D2, 28) is in the tetrametre of *al-basīṭ*.

[57] That is, perhaps: Why should one care if immortality is achieved by means of the conclusion of mortal life, however concluded?

[58] *Mulku-ka l-adná ilay-ka* (the first voc. thus in B and W). M interprets this as "your self/essence" (*dhātu-ka; cf.* final hemistich), but probably one's whole personal being (*shakhṣ*) is intended here.

[59] *Tajidu/fī kulli shakhṣ*^{in} *ʿalá ajzāʾi-ī malikā*. Foll. B, E, R, D and Q in their voc. of the last. W, M and S read *malakā* (an angel [acc.]), the latter citing *Qur.* 13: 11, and M quoting the *ḥadīth*: "Angels of the night and angels of the day come to you continually; and every person (*shakhṣ*) has two angels [appointed to him specially]—one on his right who records his good deeds, and one on his left recording his bad deeds" (*cf.* Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 23 & 33, *et al.*). It seems to me that there is no real difference between *malik* and *malak* in this context: both are equally suitable (the latter is more consonant with the rhyme but is redundant with the final verse). Thus, H. Corbin's brilliant imāmology/angelology will be applicable in either its theological or its psychological modes.

[60] *Wa-zin-hu bi-l-ʿadli shar*^{ʿan}.

[61] S quotes *Qur.* 59: 7: "Whatever the Apostle gives you, take; and whatever he forbids to you, refrain from." W has *halakā* here instead of *salakā*.

[62] *Mārid*. This entire line is wanting in M.

[63] *Kun malakā* (as voc. in B, E, R, D, W and Q). "If you are denuded of the

Then let the Friend (*Walī*) of this Book Meditate![64] For indeed, I shall speak of the matter[65] of the Macrocosm, treating it as the outer "Shell" (*al-qishr*),[66] and making that which in Man corresponds to it as the inner "Core" (*al-lubāb*) for the reason which I have mentioned—to throw light on that of which the listener is ignorant by means of the thing which he knows and comprehends.[67] Were his understanding [capable of] arriving at [this Secret] without my [having to] make mention of it, I would not have regarded its external aspect (*muḥayyā-hu*) at all, nor even paused for a moment over its B,46 inner Meaning (*maʿnā-hu*).[68] However, I shall present [the Secret] to you[69] in the form of a proximate example (*mithāl*^{an} *li-l-taqrīb*) and an exercise for improvement (*majāl*^{an} *li-l-tahdhīb*)—which, God willing,[70] I will do in this [present] treatise of "Pearls [hidden in] Sea-shells" (*laʾālī l-aṣdāf*)[71] and the "Arisings of the Heights" (*nawāshī l-aʿrāf*),[72]

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carnal passions and inclinations of the lower-soul, your being will become an angel/king (*fa-tamallaka wujūdu-ka*). . . ." (S). The foll. table of correlations of the various symbolic personages in this section might be proposed:

Hawá	[= *Nafs*]	×	*ʿAql*	[= *Rūḥ*]
Sulṭān	[= *Shayṭān*]	×	*Malik*	[= *Mahdī*]
Mārid	[= *Iblīs*]	×	*Malak*	[= *Jibrīl*]

[64] "That is, he who masters (*istawlá*) this book" (S). Rather, we should probably understand by *walī*: "one who places himself in the position of a client (*mawlá*)" to the book. This phrase is highlighted as a section-heading in B, P and M.

[65] Q2 has "I shall mention in [this book] the two matters," *etc.*

[66] *Cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's def. of *qishr* and *lubb* in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 71 (*cf.* also Yahia, *no.* 575).

[67] *Viz.*, the external, tangible world of the macrocosm. This, again, is the fundamental principle of occultism: as is the seen, so the unseen (= "as above, so below," "on earth as it is in heaven").

[68] *Mā laḥaẓtu sāʿat*^{an} *muḥayyā-hu, wa-lā ʿarrajtu lamḥata bāriq*^{in} *ʿalá maʿnā-hu.* Q2 has *al-ḥayāh* (life) rather than *muḥayyā-hu.*

[69] B, V, W, B2, Z, S, Q and Q2 have *dhālika* (that [secret]) instead of *la-ka*, but this may be corrected in B.

[70] *In shāʾa Llāhu.* The comms. and printed edns. add: "Be He Exalted!"

[71] "—The meanings established in the expressions," acc. to M. The ref. may be taken more specifically to signify the various "pearls" and "jewels" (*sci.*, cosmic and microcosmic principles) treated of in Pt. II of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (trn., pp. 388–427 and 428–60).

[72] "These are the intellections (*maʿārif*, "gnoses") which arise in the gnostic by way of emanation and inspiration" (M). Otherwise, these "arisings, or up-growths", may be the same cosmic formations indicated in the preceding clause (*cf.* Chittick's trn. from Chap. 311 of the *Futūḥāt* in *Illuminations*, 287*sq.*). See also below, p. 380 at n. 74; and Gloss., *s.v. nashʾah.* S relates the word to *tanāwush* (receiving; reaching) in *Qur.* 34: 52–53: "But how can they *receive* [faith] from a distance [*sci.*, in the Afterlife] when they disbelieved [in it] earlier?" This is an ingenious suggestion, since the next verse points to a "barrier", or *barzakh*, which will be interposed (*ḥīla*)

which are Models (*amthāl*) set up by the Real for the sake of the Believers and the Gnostics—as a [pearl-]diver's catch,[73] a seeker's rarity,[74] a precept for the sensible, or a lover's caress.

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between the disbelievers and their longing, reminiscent of the Qur'ānic *aʿrāf* (the "heights", a wall separating Heaven and Hell, in 7: 46). Al-Qāshānī defines the *aʿrāf* as "the station of the witnessing of the Divine self-manifestation in each thing in the attributes for which it is a theatre (*maẓhar*)" (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah* [1981], p. 30). *Cf.* also Jeffery, *s.v., aʿrāf*; and Rudi Paret's art. in *E.I.* 2, *s.v.*

[73] *Ḥibālatu ṣā'id^{in}*. The pearl is the *ḥabal* of an oyster-shell.

[74] *Tuḥfatu qāṣid^{in}*. S explains this as the prize of the *qāṣid al-ghawṣ* (pearl-diver).

III. A Fathomless Sea and a Deep-Sea Diver[1] —*In which [Sea] are Pearls of Intimations within Sea-shells of Expressions*[2]*—including:*

1. The Key of a Pilgrimage [to the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*] and the Showing of a Way [Thereto][3]

The pilgrim intent upon the Ancient House (*al-bayt al-ʿatīq* [the Kaʿbah])[4] will not be able to arrive thereat[5] until he shall have traversed every deep mountain-pass,[6] left friend and country, relin-

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[1] *Baḥr ṭāmis wa-baḥrī ghāṭis.* On the significance of this heading, see p. 85, above, at n. 53. Instead of *baḥrī,* one printing of Q2 reads *baḥr.* "The noble seas of light encompassing all of existence" (M) are the "sea kept filled" of *Qur.* 52: 6, while the entities therein are "divers [in] the all-embracing path and the truth," acc. to M. S identifies the "diver" *par excellence* as the Prophet Muḥammad, since "no one but he would be able to extract the priceless pearls and gems of the sea"—which latter is glossed as "all of the springs of the revealed laws (*jamīʿ al-sharāʾiʿ*)." More generally, the "sea" could be understood as the infinite Divine expanse, or circumference of the comprehensive All (= Skt., *Brahman*), and the "diver" (or the pearl) as the atomic point of the Divine immanence present everywhere (= *Atman*). The theme of the sage as a diver in the sea of the heart is found already in the *Bayān al-Farq* [attr., probably falsely, to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī], pp. 50*sq.* *Cf.* also App. I.

[2] *Fī-hi laʾāliʾu ishārāt^{in} fī aṣdāfi ʿibārāt^{in}.* On the terms, *ʿibārah* and *ishārah*, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's apparent borrowing of their usage from *pseudo*-al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, see App. I.

[3] *Miftāḥu ḥajjat^{in} wa-īḍāḥu maḥajjat^{in}* (see R. Blachère, *et al, Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais* [hereafter, Blachère], *s.v. ḥajjah* and *maḥajjah*). In the opening chap. of the *Maḥāsin al-Majālis,* Ibn al-ʿArīf calls *maʿrifah* his *maḥajjah* and *ʿilm* his *ḥajjah* (see the 1933 edn. of Asín Palacios, p. 75; I do not concur with his trn. on p. 28). Q2 has *li-ḥajjah*(?) instead of *maḥajjah.* Many of the themes touched upon in this section are treated in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's *K. al-Ḥajj wa-Asrāri-hi* (1969).

[4] See *Qur.* 22: 29 & 33. *ʿAtīq* is usually taken to mean "ancient" (*cf.* 3: 96; and Jeffery, *s.v.*), but it may also signify "freed [from the waters of the Noachian deluge]" (see Lane, *s.v.*), which, in our present context, would appear *à propos.* In his comm. on Ode 27 (v. 1) of his *Turjumān al-Ashwāq,* Ibn al-ʿArabī specifies that the *bayt al-ʿatīq* is the heart of the gnostic (see p. 103).

[5] This sentence begins with *lammā,* which, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage, is frequently redundant, not cond. or conj. (see Yahia's f.n. in *Fut.-Y.,* I, 44). The purport of this very turgid passage appears to be that one who is unable to perform the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca can yet make the *ḥajj* to the "inner Kaʿbah" of the heart, free of the bondage of time and space (*cf.* p. 86, n. 61). This interpretation assumes some poignancy when we consider that at the time he was writing the *ʿAnqāʾ* Ibn al-ʿArabī probably did not know when he would himself be able to perform the *ḥajj,* though he may well have been contemplating it already (see above, pp. 166–72*sq.*). S remarks that though the goal is within, "only he who has been enabled [by God's leave] to make the journey" can do so.

[6] The *fajj al-ʿamīq* is a cosmographic expression of Ibn Qasī in his *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn* for the leg of the Divine throne (see *Ms. Şehid Ali 1174,* ff. 31–31b).

quished every stopping-place[7] and resting-place,[8] separated from wife
and child,[9] becoming estranged from everyone in his wayfaring; so **8**
that, when he arrives at the Pilgrimage rendezvous-point (*al-mīqāt*),[10]
he is liberated from the bondage of time (*riqq al-awqāt*) and becomes
free of its fabric,[11] abandoning its complexity for its simplicity;[12] and
as he begins to give answer[13] to the One Who summoned him, he
forgets that of which he was conscious before.[14] And as he ascends
the High Road (*Kadāʾ*),[15] the Sign of Guidance (*ʿalam al-hudā*)[16] shines
forth for him; and as he enters the Sacred Precinct (*al-ḥaram*), becom- B,5
ing sacrosanct, and kisses the [Black] Stone (*al-ḥajar*), giving his
assent,[17] he calls to mind the Eternal Covenant (*mīthāq al-aẓal*)[18] as

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[7] R, D, V, S, Q and Q2 have *al-khullah* (friendship) instead of *al-ḥillah.*

[8] Instead of *al-ʿaṭan*, V, B2, and both comms. have *al-ẓaʿn*, and C and Q2 have otherwise garbled this word.

[9] S proposes Abraham's willingness to [abandon Hagar and] sacrifice his son, Ishmael (Ismāʿīl), as an instance of this. Acc. to trad., Abraham and Ismāʿīl rebuilt the Kaʿbah (*cf. Qur.* 2: 125).

[10] The place where pilgrims to Mecca remove their worldly garb and put on the *ḥullah*, or shroud, signifying the state of sanctity (*iḥrām*). There are five of these established by trad. (see Gustav E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, pp. 26–28, in connection with the next three notes).

[11] *Makhīṭu-hu.* The fabric or thread of time is likened to the pilgrim's worldly garb removed at the assumption of *iḥrām.* For the verb, Q2 reads *tajaddada* (renews) in place of *tajarrada.*

[12] M describes "his complexity" (*tarkību-hu*) as "human-natured" (*nāsūtī*), and "his simplicity" (*basīṭu-hu*) as "Divine-natured" (*lāhūtī; cf.* p. 242, n. 53).

[13] *Yulabbī.* The special *ḥajj* song—intoned only after the assumption of *iḥrām* and the statement of the *nīyah* (intention)—is the *talbiyah*, inc. the ritual refrain, "*Labbay-ka!*" (at Thy service!). In this and the next several phrases, the earliest ss. (B, C, E and R, but not D) are w/o the internal conjs. added in the later ss., an ellipsis I have tried to render with "as."

[14] "Some say that the essence of repentance is that you forget your sin, while others say that it is *not* forgetting your sin" (M). The first was the teaching of al-Junayd, and the second of Sahl al-Tustarī (see Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* [al-Kalābādhī's *K. al-Taʿarruf*], pp. 82–83).

[15] Dr. Chodkiewicz informs me that *Kadāʾ* is the proper name for the "high road" (*chemin du haut*) by which pilgrims are to enter the holy precincts, while *Kudāʾ* [or *Kudayy*^{in} or *Kud*^{ān}] is the "low road" of exiting thence.

[16] Voc. thus in W. *ʿAlam*: "a sign-post; banner; star". Q2 lacks the art., apparently reading *ʿilm hud*^{ān} (see *Qur.* 7: 52). Within this territory the pilgrims stand for the *wuqūf* in a ceremony which has reminded some of the Israelites' standing before Mt. Sinai (in *Exo.* 19: 12) for the Theophanic revelation of the law (see Wensinck, "Ḥadjdj," in *E.I.* 1). Note also that the verb, *lāḥa*, is cognate with the word for the Mosaic tablets of the law (*alwāḥ*) in *Qur.* 7: 145, *et al.*

[17] *Wa-dakhala l-ḥarama, ḥurrima; wa-lathama l-ḥajara wa-qabala.* Most of the later ss. insert *wa*-before *ḥurrima* (see above, n. 13 [end]). The "assent" presumably refers to mankind's reply to God's query, "Am I not your Lord?" (see next note).

[18] This is the pre-existential covenant between God and the children of Adam

he circumambulates his [own] Kaʿbah (*Kaʿbatu-hu*), embracing his [own human] Form (*nashʾatu-hu*).[19] Thus, in all of his ritual acts (*manāsiku-hu*) he follows his own ways (*masāliku-hu*). For if he passes by the [external] House (*al-maghná*)[20] and attends to the Authentication of [inner] meaning (*ḥujjat maʿn*$^{\acute{a}n}$)[21]—*that* is the Pilgrim who does well. Were it not that the reading might become tedious, I could, indeed, inform you concerning [that wise Pilgrim], rite by rite, from start to finish.

In this book I begin, then, with the Meditation of the Pilgrimage (*nuktat al-ḥajj*),[22] the meaning of which is "the sustaining of Intent (*takrār al-qaṣd*)[23] toward the One-Alone (*al-Wāḥid al-Fard*)"[24]—"Intent" being the first station for the seeker of a Secret (*ṭālibu sirr*^{in}) or one undertaking to carry out a Command (*muḥāwilu amr*^{in}).[25] I would like to make clear to you certain secrets in this book, and to cause their Heaven to shower upon you its abundant rain. Thus, I have first explained my Intent to you, and I have made it a Lawful Intention (*qaṣd sharʿī*) as well as a Comprehensive Station (*maqām jamʿī*).[26] But

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commemorated in *Qur.* 7: 172, and which pilgrims were to recall as they kissed the Black Stone. For an early version of this seminal motif in Ṣūfism, see Böwering's study of Sahl al-Tustarī, *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 145–57, *et al.* See also refs. to the covenant cited by Chodkiewicz in *Seal*, 175, n. 11; and *cf.* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Yawāqīt wa-l-Jawāhir*, vol. I, pp. 102–04.

[19] "That is, the form of his humanity (*nashʾatu insanīyati-hi*), for 'he who knows himself knows his Lord'" (M; regarding this *ḥadīth*, see below, p. 265, n. 17). "His own Kaʿbah" is the gnostic's heart.

[20] In B, D, V, Q and Q2. E and R are uncertain, but the remaining ss. have *al-maʿná* (the meaning) instead of *al-maghná*, and Q proposes this emendation.

[21] V, B2, Q and the margin of W insert *yunshī* (he will bring forth) before *maʿn*$^{\acute{a}n}$, reading *ḥujjah* as *ḥajju-hu*: "[he attends to] his pilgrimage, bringing forth meaning"; Q2 has the same word *after maʿn*$^{\acute{a}n}$. The difficulty of the copyists is in the boldness of Ibn al-ʿArabī's statement, not its obscurity.

[22] *Nuktah* (*q.v.* in Gloss): any subtle or witty allusion, anecdote, or account designed to provoke thought (as the "conceit" of the Eng. Metaphysical poets).

[23] The word, *ḥajj*, is explained by Muslim theologians to mean *qaṣd*, or intention, "and to express man's sentiment that he is but a wayfarer on earth wending towards another and nobler world" (R.F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madīnah and Meccah*, vol. II, p. 279).

[24] The first is a name of God frequently paired with *al-Qahhār* ("the Omnipotent," *e.g.*, in Joseph's preaching, in *Qur.* 12: 39). *Al-fard* is not applied to God in the Scripture, but was regularly by theologians.

[25] The *nīyah* (= *qaṣd*), or ritual declaration of intent to perform the pilgrimage, is made immediately foll. the assumption of *iḥrām*. Moreover, any devotional act can only be made valid by such a declaration of intent (see von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, p. 28). All of the ss. exc. for B, D, V, W, Z and M have misread this line.

[26] "That is, a 'universal matter' (*amr kullī*), including all particulars (*tafāṣīl*)" (M). Ibn al-ʿArabī likens the present book to a pilgrimage, the "intent" of which—

if the Intent, which is the Beginning, is thus, then what do you think as to the Conclusion (*al-nihāyah*)?[27] And where is he who can rightly evaluate the Goal (*al-ghāyah*), when [as the Scripture says]: "They measure not God with His true measure (*qadru-hu*),"[28] while [even] the light of a sun is not praised which does not supply the essence of its full-moon (*badru-hu*).[29] So, lend an ear, and attend to the Totality (*wa-shhadi l-jamʿa*)![30]

[*A Meditation on the Pilgrimage*]

I say, by the Holy Spirit[31] inspiring my soul,
the Being/Presence of the Real [is set forth] in *Five*:[32]

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namely, to enlighten the reader—he duly announces at the outset. Moreover, the synthesizing goal of the pilgrimage is already present at the beginning (in the pilgrim's heart).

[27] "Its beginning is the observance of the exoteric aspect (*mulāḥaẓat al-ẓāhir*) of the intent [to make the pilgrimage], and its end is the observance of [the intent to perform the *ḥajj* to] the greater House (*al-bayt al-aʿẓam*), which is the heart and the inspirations which are emitted therein.... For, truly, God does not consider your [outward] forms and your actions, but rather He looks to your hearts and to your intentions (*nīyātu-kum*)" (S).

[28] *Qur.* 39: 67.

[29] *Wa-mā ḥumida nūru shams*^{in} *lam yumidda dhāta badri-hi* (as voc. in B). Although even a created entity such as the sun can be said to naturally "extend its substance" to bring about the existence of subordinate entities, yet ignorant man denies that the Creator has done so in creation, thus failing to recognize God's full measure. C, P and Q2 read *khamada* ([the light of a sun does not] go out) instead of *ḥumida*. For S's attempt at a scientific explanation, see App. I.

[30] That is, "bear witness to the link between the exoteric and the esoteric rites (*manāsik*), or else between the discrete parts of the world and that which corresponds to it in man" (S). Note that this is a kind of paraphrase of the *shahādat al-tawḥīd*.

[31] *Rūḥ al-quds*. The Qur'ānic "spirit of holiness" is commonly identified with Gabriel, the angel of revelation (see *Qur.* 16: 102). This poem (inc. in D2, 28–29) is inscribed on the title-page of a ms. of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K.* [*Ayyām*] *al-Sha'n* (= *K. al-Sabʿah*), described by Ahlwardt in *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. IX, p. 64a (*Ms. 2950*, f. 124). This treatise was composed prior to 603/1206–07, and I have noticed other instances of poems from early works by Ibn al-ʿArabī being placed at the beginning of mss. copied in the early 600s H. The metre is *al-ṭawīl*.

[32] *Wujūdu l-Ḥaqqi fī l-ʿadadi l-khamsī*. *Wujūd* here could, rather, have the sense of "immediate, unitive knowledge" (*cf. Fuṣūṣ*, pt. II, p. 310), or even "ecstatic discovery" (*cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 59). If this is not another indication of a pentenary metaphysics or cosmology (see above, p. 232, n. 38), the ref. is evidently to five stages of the *ḥajj*, as (not very coherently) set forth in this Ṣūfī periegesis. These stations could be represented thus (foll. the first mention of the Kaʿbah and the well of Zamzam): 1.) the *Baṭn al-Muḥassir* (basin of the Troubler) and the *Khayf* (declivity), symbolizing Hell (*Saqar*) and death; 2.) the *Wādī l-Muzdalifah*, beyond: 3.) Miná and the "satanic" *jamarāt* (pillars of stone); 4.) the felicitous Yemenite corner of the Kaʿbah and the Black Stone; and 5.) ʿArafāt, where the pilgrim learns (*ʿarafa*) the identity

O Kaʿbah of Witnessing, thou Sanctum of Mankind![33]
  O Zamzam, [Well] of Hopes, rein in the soul![34]
[My soul?] journeyed to the House, desiring union with it,[35]
  purified by Realization of confusion's stain.[36]
Alas, my weariness! in the "Basin of a Troubler,"[37]
  the valley leading me into the Hell of sinfulness.[38]

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of the Seal/Mahdī(?) as the quasi-Divine self/other. Also, the *wājibāt*, or requisite acts of the pilgrimage (*manāsik*), are five (see Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage*, vol. I, p. 283). For the attempts of both comms. to account for the significance of this number, see App. I.

[33] *A-yā Kaʿbata l-ishhādi, yā ḥarama l-insī. Ishhād* (voc. thus in C): "causing [s.o.] to witness [s.th.]". S points out that the Kaʿbah (or, rather, the Black Stone, specifically) has to do with witnessing (*shuhūd*) both as subj. and obj.: it *receives* witness in the pilgrim's kiss, and it will *bear* witness on the last day, for, acc. to trad., God caused the Stone to swallow the *mīthāq al-azal* after mankind had duly testified to His Lordship, and He will endow it with a tongue on the day of Judgment so that it may testify against them (for refs., see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 221a). E and R voc. the last word as *al-unsī* (of intimacy), and P, W and Z read *al-qudsī* (of holiness). But in *Qur.* 5: 97 the Kaʿbah is called "an establishment for mankind"; and *cf.* 3: 96: "Verily, the first sanctuary appointed for mankind (*al-nās*) was that at Bakkah (= Mecca)."

[34] *Wa-yā Zamzama l-āmāli, zumma ʿalá l-nafsi.* That is to say: "quench the thirst of the soul." The poem is replete with such puns on the names.

[35] *Sará l-baytu naḥwá l-bayti, yabghī wiṣāla-hū* (as voc. in C, R and W). The subj. here is very obscure. *Fulān*^{un} *baytu qawmi-hi* means "such a one is the nobleman of his people" (see Lane, *s.v. bayt* [end]). The second *bayt* is evidently not the Kaʿbah itself but its heavenly prototype—the *bayt al-maʿmūr*—or the mystic's heart, which may be taken for the real destination of the "night-journey" (*al-isrāʾ*) [and "ascent (*al-miʿrāj*) into the heavens"], also alluded to in the verb here (*cf.* p. 271, n. 71, below). If this interpretation is accepted, note the conflation of Mecca and Jerusalem. Again, the present poem, esp. in the first hemistich, is characterized by this kind of punning repetition of key expressions (*e.g., yā ḥasrat-ī* and *Baṭn Muḥassir* in the next verse). *Wiṣāl*: "a lovers" reunion. See App. I.

[36] *Danas al-labs* (as voc. by B and W). I would speculate that there may be a relation between the "underground flow" (*sary*) of the well of Zamzam towards the Kaʿbah and the latter's purification of the "stain/filth of confusion (*labs* [or the 'clothing' (*libs*) of corporeality?])"; but, if it is so, the connection is hardly suggested.

[37] The *Baṭn* [*al-*]*Muḥassir* is a place beyond Miná at the head of a descent leading to al-Muzdalifah. It is also the *wādī* (valley) mentioned in the next hemistich. The name probably stems from Satan's having tempted/vexed (*ḥassara*) Adam, Abraham and/or Ishmael on this spot (see Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage*, vol. II, p. 181, n. 1).

[38] *Saqar al-rijs*, in B, C, W, B2, M, S and D2. Exc. for Q, which has *ṣaqar* (hawk), instead of *saqar*, all of the other ss. read *safar* (journey), which happens to be homographic to the way of writing *Saqar* in Maghribine script (as in B and C; on the word, see S. de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, vol. I, p. 405; and Lane, *s.v.*). This indicates what one would certainly expect, that the orig. text of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, from which E was transcribed, was in *Maghribī* script, and may even have been our ms., B. *Qur.* 54: 48: "On the day when they are dragged into the Fire (*al-nār*, 'Hell-fire') on their faces [it will be said to them:] 'Taste the touch of Saqar!'" (*cf.* also 74: 26–27 &

I drank by the Sand-hill[39] the bitter draught of deep remorse
over a grave-site which had been mine but yesterday . . .[40]
And I fear not in the "Declivity" my departure,[41]
but I fear for *that Soul*[42] the darkness of the tomb.
To the "Drawing-nigh of Pilgrims"[43] I turned my she-camel,[44] B,5b
to savor [God's] Proximity[45] and join the [Believers].[46]
I joined my Transcendence and my Consciousness[47] together,

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42). *Rijs*: "filthiness, sinfulness (5: 90; 6: 145, *et al.*); or punishment therefor". "The valley" could be a ref. to the *Wādī l-Nār* (valley of fire) near the *Baṭn al-Muḥassir* (see the map in the art., "Ḥadjdj," in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 121, an examination of which will show that the stages of our pilgrim's itinerary as described in this and the foll. verses could not be strictly consecutive).

[39] *Jariʿtu bi-l-jarʿāʾi* (on the latter, see Lane, *s.v. jaraʿah*). A *jarʿāʾ* may also be called a *khayf* (declivity), upon which the well-known mosque mentioned in the next note is built.

[40] "A grave-site": *mashhad*, orig., a place where a martyr (*shahīd*, = "a saint") died and was buried. The ref. here is to the trad. site of the tomb of Adam at the Masjid al-Khayf (mosque of the declivity), mentioned in the next verse (see Burton, *Personal Narrative*, vol. II, p. 180). *Qad kāna min-niya*: "it had been mine." The poet recalls his past involvement with the sinfulness of the body/lower-soul during the "*jāhilīyah* of his youth" before entering the Ṣūfī path.

[41] *Irtiḥāl-ī: sci.*, "my death." "The declivity": *al-khayf* (see preceding note; and Lane, *s.v.*). Like the Socratic philosopher, the mystic pilgrim pursues the ineluctable end of "departure" from the present world of shadows.

[42] *Dhā*[*lika*] *l-nafs* (V, B2 and S have *dhī*, intending this as the gen. of *dhū*). As masc., *nafs* here is syn. with *shakhṣ*, "a person, body and soul together" (*cf.* above, p. 243, n. 56). The ref. is to the (body and) soul of Adam still locked in the tomb at al-Khayf, acc. to Muslim trad. (see preceding notes).

[43] *Muzdalif al-ḥujjāj* (misspelled in Q2): the Wādī l-Muzdalifah, between the village of Miná and Mt. ʿArafāt, about three miles from each (see *Personal Narrative*, vol. II, p. 181).

[44] *Aʿmaltu nāqat-ī* (in all of the best ss., while the others have variants meaning the same). "The 'she-camel' is a trope for one's actions" (M). Some pilgrims are mounted for the *ifāḍah*, or rush to al-Muzdalifah, at the sunset beginning the 10th of Dhū l-Ḥijjah (see *Qur.* 2: 199).

[45] *Al-zulfá* (*q.v.* in Lane, *s.v. zulfah*). *Cf. Qur.* 34: 37: "It is not your wealth nor your children that will bring you nigh unto Us in nearness (*tuqarribu-kum ʿinda-nā zulf*$^{\acute{a}n}$), except for him who believes and does good: [Such as] those shall have a double recompense for what they did, and they shall dwell secure in the upper chambers (*al-ghurufāt*)."

[46] *Wa-alḥaqu bi-l-jinsī*. Both comms. gloss the last as "our brotherhood (*ikhwānu-nā*) who precede us in the faith"; and it is true that Blachère (*s.v. jins*, A) attests to the Hellenistic sense of "nations" (= *umam*; Heb., *goyim*) for the plur., *ajnās/junūs*, as well as the sing., but the ref. is probably to the blessed who will "dwell secure in the upper chambers" (in the Hereafter) of the verse quoted in the note before this.

[47] *Jamaʿtu bi-jam*^{ʿin} *bayna ghayb-ī wa-shāhid-ī*. The verbal clause may refer to the above-mentioned al-Muzdalifah, as the Form IV verb cognate with the latter also means "to bring together" (= *jamaʿa*), as in *Qur.* 26: 64 (*cf.* Lane, *s.v. azlafa*). M glosses *ghayb-ī* as the poet's "essence" (*dhāt*), and *shāhid-ī* as his "soul" (*nafs*); but actually both terms are broader, and could fairly be represented by the modern

not attending thereto at the level of the soul;[48]
[And] I curbed all desire, circumambulating Miná[49]
(Consider [that from every angle], forward and back),[50]
And at the Heedless *Jamarāt*[51] in the early morning **9**
I stoned the nescient Enemy so that he turned around.[52]
By virtue of al-Ṣafā I realized my Essence[53]
(For I am neither pure-bred Arab nor barbarian).[54]
I leaned upon the Southern Corner,[55] for in touching it
[one will find] felicity in the Holy Garden.[56]

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concepts of the "unconscious", on the one hand, and the "conscious/subconscious", on the other. Instead of *ghayb-ī*, P and D2 have *ʿayn-ī* (my essence); and Q2, *naḥīb-ī* (? my cry).

[48] *Lam ashhad bi-hī rutbata l-nafsī.* This could be rendered differently, but the general sense is clear enough. Both comms. have garbled this verse.

[49] *Khalaʿtu l-amānī ʿinda-mā kuntu fī Miná/ wa-ṭawwaqtu-hā.* By circumambulating Miná, the poet curbs (*ṭawwaqa*) his *amān*^{in} (desires). Miná is the sacred village almost equidistant from Mecca and Mt. ʿArafāt (see *Personal Narrative*, ind., *s.v.* Muna). The pilgrim is now heading back from al-Muzdalifah toward the *ḥaram* precincts. In order to make sense of the next hemistich it is necessary to know that *min*^{an} (the name of the village) also means "semen, sperm". (*Cf. Turjumān*, Ode 7, v. 3). Q2 has *khalaltu* (I pierced) for the first verb.

[50] *Fa-nẓur-hu bi-l-ṭardi wa-l-ʿaksī*: "but consider it forwards and backwards," that is, from every angle. *Al-ṭard wa-l-ʿaks* is a technical expression of rhetoric (see Dozy, *s.v. ṭard*, who cites the latter half of *Qur.* 66: 6 as an example of its use). It also denotes the "back and forth" of discourse. Here, as noted in S (and in the margin of M), Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to be making a facetious allusion to the sense of *ṭard* as "emission, ejaculation" (= *tamnīyah*) of sperm (*min*^{an}). The purport of the verse, then, could be taken to suggest abstinence from sex (see preceding note).

[51] *Al-jamarāt al-ghurr.* These are three "pillars" at Miná held by Muslims to represent Satan (see next note). For this sense of the adj., see Lane, *s.v. agharr.* B2 and Q have this line foll. the next.

[52] *Ḥaṣabtu ʿadūwa l-jahli, fa-rtadda fī l-naksī.* At dawn on the 10th of Dhū l-Ḥijjah the pilgrims perform the lapidation of the *jamarāt*, which rite supposedly commemorates Adam's (and Abraham's and Ishmael's) pelting of Iblīs on that spot, causing him to hasten away (*ajmara*; see *Personal Narrative*, vol. II, pp. 203–05). M identifies the "enemy" as the *nafs al-ammārah bi-l-sūʾ* (the lower soul, animus).

[53] *Ṣafaytu ʿalá ḥukmi l-Ṣafā ʿan ḥaqīqat-ī.* Al-Ṣafā is a small hill in Mecca between which and al-Marwah, another hill, pilgrims run seven times (see *ibid.*, p. 244). Otherwise, the ref. could possibly be to the "stones" (*ṣaf*^{an}) thrown at the *jamarāt.*

[54] "Pure-bred Arab": *min ʿurb*^{in} *fiṣāḥ*^{in} (for *ʿurbāni fiṣāḥu al-lisāni*, denoting the Arabs of the desert). *Furs* (the Persians) = *ʿAjam*, "non-Arabs". "My knowledge of myself in that station is without distinction (*al-tamyīz*) because of my immersion in the perception of beauty. . . ." (M).

[55] *Al-rukn al-Yamānī*: the "Yemenite (southern) corner" of the Kaʿbah, said to be one of the most ancient parts of the structure. It has affixed within it a green-colored stone called *al-mustajāb* (for *mustajāb al-duʿāʾ*, "where prayer is granted"), which pilgrims touch as they circle the temple, but are not supposed to kiss (but *cf. ibid.*, p. 303, n. 3).

[56] *Li-anna fī s/tilāmi l-Yamānī l-yumnu fī jannati l-qudsī.* Because of their structure

I dwelt by the Station,[57] confiding in a Guardian
  transcending limitations of attribute and genus:[58]
I saw him in the homage to the Stone which became black
  because of contact with the violators of contracts.[59]
Judiciously, I limited Existence and its World
  from impinging on me;[60] and Time neither comes nor goes . . .
Then at ʿArafāt[61] he[62] said to me: "You will recognize
  the One whom you observed, between Awe and Intimacy."

* * * * * * *

(beginning with 1st-pers. verbs w/o conjs.) these last few verses are easily interchangeable, and, no doubt, copyists have attempted to impose some order into Ibn al-ʿArabī's itinerary.

[57] The station of Abraham (*maqām Ibrāhīm*) is a prayer-station to the northwest of the Kaʿbah, where the prophet is believed to have stood after the re-erection of the edifice.

[58] *Al-faṣl wa-l-jins*: two of the five predicables of logic, the former being an attribute by which s.th. is differentiated from other things. *Muhaymin*: "guardian, protector". In the second and 3rd verses foll., this personage appears to be the Seal/Mahdī, whose identity is now made known to the mystic poet. The transcending of the "limitations of division and species" may hint at the fact that Ibn al-ʿArabī is, in reality, beholding his own higher essence in the form of alter ego (implicit also in the ref. to the pre-eternal covenant in the next verse). S interprets the *muhaymin* as "a witness (*shahīd*) who watches over what each soul acquires."

[59] Acc. to trad., the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) was supposed to have orig. been white (see *ibid.*, pp. 300*sq.*, n. 3), and was only later changed to its present color by being touched by the lips of so many liars. The *ʿuhūd* (contracts) may be taken to be individual instantiations of the *mīthāq al-azal* between God and mankind (see above, n. 18). See also App. I.

[60] *Wa-bi-l-ḥijri ḥajjartu l-wujūda wa-kawna-hu/ʿalayya. Ḥijr*: "judgment, intelligence, understanding" (as in *Qur.* 89: 5). There is, of course, a further pun on the word, *ḥajar* (stone), in the preceding verse, and the idea of interdiction (*taḥjīr*). Q2 has garbled this line.

[61] Muslim authorities stipulate that "there can be no *ḥajj* without the *wuqūf* (standing) at ʿArafāt." Also, it was at Mt. ʿArafāt that the Prophet Muḥammad bid farewell to his community, making it forever thereafter a choice site for the announcement of the "Expected one." In the clause foll., there is a play on the name, ʿArafāt, and the verb, "to recognize" (*ʿarafa*), as there is also in the folk-etymology of this name, which links the place to where Adam and Eve first "recognized" each other after their expulsion from Paradise (see *ibid.*, pp. 188–89). D2 has *Ramaḍān* instead of *ʿArafāt*.

[62] I take this to be the transcendent "guardian" (*muhaymin*) of the third verse preceding, who turns out to be the true Seal/Mahdī himself, and Ibn al-ʿArabī's own higher self or "father" (*cf. Fut.* I, 3 [2], tr. in App. IV, 591). The same is also the referent of the 3rd line foll., where he is described as angelic ("one greater than a man," a ref. to Jesus's hybrid conception). Most tellingly, in the second hemistich of the present verse the personage is said to be "between awe and intimacy" (*al-mahābah wa-l-uns*), implying that he is both transcendent and immanent, Divine and human, other and self.

When I ended the Pilgrimage I sang of my tour[63]
openly to [the] Essence, but [otherwise] a whisper.
I boarded the Ship of my sense-perception,[64] ceaselessly
driven by the winds of its silent meditations;
So that when the Ship crossed o'er[65] the Sea of Existence
and I saw by the sword of Mind One greater than a man,[66]
"My Servant," he called to me; I answered: "Here I am!"[67]
—"Reflect! This Revelation is beyond all others."[68]
Then I beheld a Being without [using outward] sight;[69]
my eyes roaming afar,[70] I was released from confinement.
I was as Moses when he said to his Lord: "I desire
to see an Essence All-Transcendent beyond [every] sense";[71]
So His Majesty levelled the towering mountains,[72]
made Moses to swoon,[73] and the Throne disappeared inside the

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[63] *Aʿlamtu munshid*^{an}*/bi-sayr-ī.* V, W, B2, S, D2 and Q have *aʿlantu* for the verb, meaning much the same. D, V, W, B2 and Q read *sirr-ī* (my secret, inner self) instead of *sayr-ī.*

[64] *Safīnatu iḥsās-ī: sci.*, the body. With the conclusion of the *ḥajj*, the pilgrim sails back to his homeland. For M's comm., see App. I.

[65] Instead of *ʿadat*, C, D, P, V, W, B2 and Q2 have *ghadat* (departed?) for the verb.

[66] "That is, he is at the level (*martabah*) of man and in the substantial form of man (*ṣūrat al-bashar al-jusmānīyah*), and yet he is not fashioned like or comparable to him" (S). Apart from the explanation of this being which I have given above (n. 62), the referent could be the Angel Gabriel, who, in the pages that follow, may be taken to be the "spirit of revelation" who appears to our author, imitating the Prophet's mystical-prophetary experience. "The sword of mind": *sayf al-nuhá* (instead of the last, P has *al-bahá* [? for *al-bahāʾ*, "beauty"]).

[67] *Fa-labbaytu ṭāʾiʿ*^{an}: "I responded obediently" (*cf. Exo.* 3: 4). That the being refers to the mystic as *ʿabd-ī* (my servant) implies that he is [quasi-]Divine, and may be understood to be none other than Ibn al-ʿArabī's own "God" (*ilāh-ī*) addressed in the book's opening verse.

[68] *Hādhā l-fatḥu fawqa janá l-gharsī*: lit., "this freshly-picked fruit (*al-fatḥ; cf.* Lane, *s.v.* [end]) is above [all of the other] ripe fruit of the vineyard." W glosses *fatḥ* here as *qitf*, "a bunch of freshly-picked grapes" (and D2 actually makes this substitution). M interprets the phrase to mean that the revelation is "beyond (*fawqa*) that which can be attained by the intellect (*al-ʿaql*)," and it is true that the author of the *Bayān al-Farq* (attr. to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī) sometimes uses the imagery of a garden or plot of cultivated land (*zarʿ maghrūs*) tended by God Himself to depict the *ʿaql* in the sense of the innermost essence of man, or *lubb* (*e.g.*, on p. 71; *cf.* also pp. 99–100, *et al.*).

[69] *Fa-ʿāyantu mawjūd*^{an} *bi-lā ʿayn*^{in} *mubṣir*^{in} (*cf. Qur.* 6: 103). The poet foreshadows the image of the bat.

[70] *Wa-surriḥa ʿayn-ī*: "my sight was sent away." V and Q have *sarraḥtu* (I sent away).

[71] In place of *al-ḥiss*, V, B2, Q and the margin of W have *al-jins* (genus, type). See *Exo.* 33: 18–23, and *Qur.* 7: 143; and for S's scholion on the latter, see App. I.

[72] These are "passion, the world, pride, hypocrisy, and all of the mountains of contemptible qualities . . . towering over the land of the soul" (S).

[73] Instead of *ghuyyiba*, D2 has *uṣʿiqa*, signifying much the same.

Footstool![74]—And I was like a bat who sought enjoyment B,6
of the morning sun,[75] knocked down by its brilliance:[76]
Himself annihilated—not to mention [his] ambition—[77]
he was left[78] among the dead, a body without soul.
But I am called the "Bridegroom" and the "Bride" on the basis
of Nearness and Remoteness—*strange as it may seem*![79]

Hence, he whose Pilgrimage[80] is not according to this Way (*al-mahajjah*) and for whom this Authentication (*al-ḥujjah*)[81] is not a reality, but who would [yet] seek the Source/Essence (*al-ʿayn*)—he is still within the limitation of [finite] "place"/space (*ḥasr al-ayn*).[82] Therefore, my brother, follow this Path (*al-ṭarīq*), and say: "The Companion, the Companion (*al-rafīq, al-rafīq*)!"[83] so that you can join with him without any [inner] separation, and separate from him without [outer] connection;[84] and your shadows will always bow down to [God] (Praised be He!), morning and evening![85]

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[74] E, B2, M, S and Q have "the throne *and* the footstool" (instead of *in*). In *Qur.* 7: 143, God manifests His Glory upon the mountain, causing it to be levelled (*dakk*^{an}) and Moses to be struck unconscious. As for the cosmic "throne" (*al-ʿarsh*) and "footstool" (*al-kursī*), there are various significations for these symbols in Ibn al-ʿArabī (see *Muʿjam, s.v.*), depending on the context. Here perhaps we would not be far from the mark to understand simply the heavens collapsing upon the earth (but *cf.* S's comm. in App. I), as symbolic of the mystical world-ending of *fanāʾ*.

[75] S likens the bat to a Ṣūfī novice without a master (*murshid*, "guide"), unable to approach the pure light of truth. The bat (*khaffāsh*) was so-called because of its reputed day-blindness. Its obvious mammalian properties were often attributed to the bat's being descended from the "birds" which Jesus created (see *Qur.* 3: 49, *et al.*).

[76] *Fa-nhadda min lamḥati l-shamsī.* Q2 has garbled this. For M's comm., see App. I.

[77] *Fa-lā dhātu-hu abqá, wa-lā adraka l-muná*: "he could neither preserve his essence nor attain his wishes."

[78] Q2 has garbled the verb.

[79] *Udʿá ʿalá l-qurbi wa-l-nawá/ bi-lā kayfa bi-l-baʿli l-karīmi wa-bi-l-ʿirsī.* By virtue of his essential nearness (*al-qurb*) to the Divine he is the "noble bridegroom" (*al-baʿl al-karīm*), and in his existential remoteness (*al-nawá*) he is likened to the more passive "bride" (*al-ʿirs*). See below, pp. 315–17*sq.*, for more on the engaging theme of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical identification with *both* the bridegroom and the bride. The expression, *bi-lā kayf*, of course, refers to the fideistic tenet that revealed doctrine is to be believed even when inexplicable.

[80] *Qaṣdu-hu.* In many ss. (inc. B) this is highlighted as a section-heading.

[81] As voc. in B, D and W, despite the imperfect rhyme.

[82] Contrast this formula for the inferior pilgrimage with that of the good pilgrim, above, p. 246, *et seq.* D, P, W, Z, S and Q2 have *ḥaḍrah* (presence) instead of *ḥasr*; and M has *ḥiṣn* (stronghold), likening this to a spider's web. Q2 reads *al-ghayn* in place of *al-ayn.* S quotes the well-known saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī in this connection: "The first time [I made the pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah] I saw the house; the second time I saw the Lord of the house and I did not see the house..." (ʿA.-R. Badawī, ed., *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah* [= *Al-Nūr min Kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr*], p. 79). *Al-ayn*, "the where", is a philos. term for "space" (on Ibn al-ʿArabī's use of this and related words, see Gloss., *s.v.*).

[83] This could be taken to signify that the companion on the path *is* the path:

—And also out of that [above-mentioned "Fathomless Sea"]:[86]

"Be the *rafīq* of him who is a *rafīq* to you" (*cf.* the saying of the Prophet: "He who befriends [*rafaqa*] my community, God will befriend him"; and recall also the proverb: *Al-rafīq qabla l-ṭarīq*). I believe, however, that, rather than having any such *social* import, here the ref. is to one's own "inner companion", or *psychodynamic* consort, the Divine Self, to whom Ibn al-ʿArabī has alluded in the above poem (*et passim*), for which view also memorable images are not lacking (*e.g.*, that of the stranger on the road to Emmaus, in *Luke* 24: 13*sq.*). This underlying *leitmotif* of the present work will become clearer later.

[84] *Ḥattá tattaṣila bi-hi min ghayri nfiṣāl*^{in} *wa-tanfaṣila ʿan-hu ilay-hi min ghayri ttiṣāl*^{in}. Q2 has garbled this line.

[85] In the morning one's shadow (signifying the "companion") bows to the west, and in the evening to the east (*cf. Qur.* 16: 48). V and Q omit *subḥāna-hu* foll. the preceding pron., suggesting that they may understand the one bowed-to to be the "companion" rather than God.

[86] *Wa-min dhālika* [*l-baḥri l-ṭāmisi*]. See above, p. 246. Ibn al-ʿArabī uses this phrase frequently to introduce sections in what follows (*cf.* p. 287, n. 56, below, where the ref. is explicit), thus indicating the centrality of the ocean (and pearl) symbolism in the overall composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

2. The Descent of a Trustworthy Spirit with the Shining of a Clear Dawn[1]

When the Dawn put the armies of the Night to flight, spurring on [its] chargers against [them],[2] and body and form were gathered into the grip of Essence and Attribute,[3] freeing [the Mystic][4] from the bondage of his limited existence (*riqq kawni-hi*)[5] and covering him in the robe of his protection (*ridāʾ ṣawni-hi*), granting him an immediate vision (*mushāhadat ʿayni-hi*) in any direction that he faced[6]—[at that time] a certain man questioned me who was of the people of Tabrīz[7] and one of those who profess to believe in the "State of the Mighty Ruler" (*dawlat al-ʿazīz* [*sci.*, the eschatological Kingdom of the rightly-guided Mahdī]),[8] while denying the cancellation of the [merely rational] discernment (*suqūṭ al-tamyīz*)[9] as to the secrets of the Portents of the [Last] Hour (*asrār ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*), its Powers (*imārātu-hā*),[10] its Realities (*ḥaqāʾiqu-hā*), and its Intimations (*ishārātu-hā*) concerning the "Rising of the Sun from the place of its setting" (*ṭulūʿ al-shams min maghribi-hā*)[11] and the spirituality of its Destination and its Way of going forth (*rūḥānīyat maqṣidi-hā wa-madhhabi-hā*).[12] [Likewise, they deny] the "closing of the Door of repentance"[13] and the retention of baseness and sin, and the animation of a Beast [of the Earth] (*nafkhu dābbat*^{in}),[14] the descent of a Messiah (*nuzūlu masīḥ*^{in}),[15] the disappearance of an army in the vast waste,[16] and a terrible battle[17] and the B,6b

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[1] *Tanazzulu rūḥ^{in} amīn^{in} bi-ishrāqi ṣubḥ^{in} mubīn^{in}.* The "trustworthy spirit" of the Qurʾān (26: 193) is the angel Gabriel. Regarding the imagery of the *ṣubḥ mubīn* in this particular line, see *Qur.* 81: 19–21 & 25, which describes the angel's first appearance before the Prophet-to-be at Mt. Ḥirāʾ. Gabriel is also the "trustworthy hoopoe" of pp. 277*sq.*, below. P has garbled this heading.

[2] *Wa-awjafa ʿalay-hi bi-sawābiqi l-khayli.* The obj. of the prep. is "the night of disobedience" (S). *Cf. Qur.* 100: 1–5: "By the snorting chargers [*al-ʿādiyāt*]; by the strikers of fire; by the dawn-raiders, blazing a trail of dust, cleaving therewith a host [*jamʿ*]!" (Arberry's trn.; *cf.* also 59: 6).

[3] *Wa-ḥaṣala l-jismu wa-l-rasmu fī qabḍati l-ʿayni wa-l-ismi. Jism* and *rasm* here may connote, roughly, "matter and form." In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 67, *ism* is def. as "the [particular] Divine name/attribute which is the determiner (*al-ḥākim*) of the condition of the servant" (see also *rasm* [in *ibid., s.v.*]). The idea may be that the body and soul of the mystic are broken down, or reduced, to their logical constituents with the breaking of the dawn of revelation.

[4] I take the obj. of the verb to be the mystic as prefigured in the person of Muḥammad (who received the revelation from Gabriel), although the referent actually seems to be the "night" (symbolizing the mystic's existential being?).

[5] "Because the lower-soul (*al-nafs*) is a bonded slave (*raqīqah qinnah*), but the heart is free" (M).

[6] When Muḥammad attempted to turn away from the terrifying vision of Gabriel, he could see nothing but the archangel in every direction he faced. Q2 has *musāʿadah* (support) instead of *mushāhadah.*

[7] A town in Adharbayjān, in present-day north-western Iran. The rulers of that region in the second half of the 6th/12th cent. were the Atabegs of the Eldigüzid Turks, who were vehement *Sunnīs.*

[8] This is presumably the same as the *dawlat al-ʿizz* (state of might/glory) mentioned below, on pp. 492 (at n. 61) and 532 (at n. 48), where it seems to signify the Theophanic creation. Here, however, it may be understood as the establishment of the eschatological kingdom of God. For S's interpretation, see App. I.

[9] That is, he maintained the reliability of rational thought to explicate the truths of eschatology (a Muʿtazilite position). M thinks that it is the "nullification of the gnostic's legal responsibility [*suqūṭ al-taklīf*]" which is being denied here, but the fact that he has misunderstood the general purport of this passage is evident in his glossing *dawlat al-ʿazīz* as "the heart, because God has strengthened it with victory

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(*aʿazza-hu Llāhu bi-l-naṣri*)," while, in the margin, *al-ʿazīz* is said to denote the Seal and the Mahdī.

[10] As voc. in W (to rhyme with *ishārātu-hā*). This could be read as *amārāt* (signs), which would be an unusual plur. form for *amārah*, however.

[11] The rising of the sun out of the west is one of the five (or ten) canonical portents of the day of Judgment, listed by Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142–43) as: the appearance of the "Antichrist" (*al-dajjāl*), the "beast of the earth," Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus from Heaven, and the rising of the sun from the place of its setting (see Elder, tr., *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam*, pp. 165–66; *cf.* also Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 197). Al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) notes *ten* signs in his comm., quoting the *ḥadīth* which I have given in App. I, 539.

[12] The *madhhab* and the *maqṣid* can be understood both macrocosmically and microcosmically, depending on whether the "western sun" is regarded as the astronomic-historical symbol of the Seal/Mahdī or his mystical-human instantiation in the pilgrim to Mecca.

[13] Repentance (*tawbah*) will no longer be accepted after the sun has risen from the west and the beast of the earth has raised its head (see next note).

[14] The "animation" of the beast is not mentioned in *Qur.* 27: 82, but, rather, its miraculous speech (*cf. Rev.* 13: 15). V, B2 and Q add *taklīm* before *nafkh*, reading: "the causing to speak and the animation of a beast."

[15] I do not, of course, employ the word, "messiah", here in its proper, Judeo-Christian sense, but rather as the etymological counterpart of the Qurʾānic epithet for Jesus, *al-Masīḥ* (see *Qur.* 3: 45, *et al.*). M glosses this as "the messiah of your soul (*masīḥ nafsi-ka*) . . . because he wipes away (*masaḥa*) from your soul . . . ignorance and foolishness" (*cf.* Jeffery, *s.v. masīḥ*).

[16] [*Yunkiru*] . . . *khasfa jaysh*^{in} *bi-mahāmati fayḥ*^{in}. Instead of *bi-mahāmah* (= *fī l-baydāʾ*), Q2 has *Tihāmah*; and, in place of *fayḥ* (for *fayḥāʾ*?), W reads *fasīḥ* (wide); and V and S, *fatḥ*. This is the "Sufyānid" army sent against the Mahdī, which God will cause to disappear in the desert (*cf.* below, p. 496 at n. 97). It is part of a trad. recorded in Abū Dāʾūd, *Mahdī*, 1, and discussed by Ibn al-ʿArabī in *Muḥāḍarah*, I, 431 (*cf.* R. Hartmann, *Islamische Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit*, where this passage is wrongly dated *c.* 576/1180), and inc. in Chap. 366 of the *Futūḥāt* (III, 327 [32]–328 [4]). For another version of the trad., see *Muqaddimah*, II, 165, which describes a military mission (*baʿth*) sent from Umayyad Damascus (= *al-Fayḥāʾ*) against the Mahdī-pretender in Mecca, which God causes to disappear in the desert (*yakhsifu bi-him bi-l-baydāʾi*) between Medina and Mecca (*Qur.* 28: 81–82 may be the inspiration behind this trad.; see D.B. MacDonald, "al-Mahdī," as rev. in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 313a; and W. Madelung's studies of the Sufyānid cycle of trads., cited in Bib. II). For S's comm., see App. I.

[17] *Malḥamah ʿuẓmá*. *Cf. Rev.* 16: 14, on Armageddon, "the battle of that great Day of God Almighty."

conquest of a great City[18] with [the recitation of] the *Takbīr* and the *Tahlīl*[19] in accordance with the dictates of the [Prophetary] *Sunnah*, C,52b not by means of keen-edged swords and shining spears.[20] [Similarly, the man from Tabriz was ignorant of] a Seal of Sainthood (*khatm walāyah*), a Verdant Meadow (*rawḍah khaḍrā'*),[21] a Secret of Prophecy (*sirr nubūwah*)[22] and a Pure Way (*maḥajjah bayḍā'*),[23] as well as One who left his [proper] Station for a lower one so that the Most-perfect Nobility (*al-sharaf al-akmal*) accrued to him,[24] and, [finally] an Imposter (*dajjāl* [= "Antichrist"])[25] who found not the right way, and One killed by him, who dies and is brought back to life.[26]

[The man from Tabriz then] said to me: "I would like you to elucidate for me where the Secrets of these [Cosmic-historical] Entities are to be found in the Human [Microcosm] (*nash'at al-insān*), for I would make you 'a Meteor in wait' (*shihāb raṣad*)[27] to my 'Satan',[28] and I will follow you 'on condition that you teach me what you have been taught [of] Right Conduct (*rashad*).'"[29]

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[18] In the margin of M this city is identified as "the great Rome" (*Rūmah al-kubrá*), but the *madīnah al-Rūmīyah* taken by the power of the *Takbīr* in the account from the *Muḥāḍarah* cited above is, of course, Constantinople (*al-Qusṭanṭīnīyah*). There was a common belief, however, cited by al-Qurṭubī (see above, pp. 178–79), that the Mahdī will first conquer Andalusia before turning east to take Rome and, only then, Constantinople (see also *Muqaddimah*, II, 191; and Fig. VI, p. 499, which features a mandala-like symbolic diagram of this city (and see also Figs. VIII–X, pp. 587–88).

[19] That is, the ejaculations, *Allāhu akbar* (God is great!) and *Lā ilāha illā Llāh* (There is no god but God). M describes these as "the expression of the feeling/consciousness of Islam (*iẓhār shu'ūr al-Islām*)." *Cf. Josh.* 6: 20.

[20] *Lā bi-l-murhafāti l-bīḍi wa-lā bi-zurqi l-asinnati.* It is interesting to contrast the apparently irenic spirit of this line with the more belligerent tone of Ibn al-'Arabī's later treatment of the same theme in the *Fut.* III, 327 (27), tr. by Morris in *Illuminations*, 121.

[21] That is, Damascus, as the place where, acc. to trad., Jesus will descend from Heaven upon the white minaret of the great Umayyad mosque.

[22] Both comms. interpret this as sainthood, M explaining that for each prophet there is a saint, "and, contrary to the teaching of the Master, [prophecy] is superior to absolute sainthood." Q has *bunūwah* (sonship) rather than *nubūwah.*

[23] This signifies the "straight path" of the *sharī'ah* (see *Fut.* III, 69 [15*sq.*], tr. by Cyrille Chodkiewicz in *Illuminations*, 214–16, *et seq.*), but it is not clear what its inclusion in this litany of eschatological tenets purports. As early as 600/1203–04 in Mecca, Ibn al-'Arabī compiled a collection of *ḥadīths* with *fiqh* applications regarding ritual purity and prayer which he entitled *Al-Maḥajjah al-Bayḍā' fī l-Aḥkām al-Shar'īyah* (Yahia, *no.* 392).

[24] That is, Jesus as the Seal/Mahdī, who, from his station on high, will descend to earth to become God's vicegerent in the last days (*cf. Phil.* 2: 5–7). Q2 has *al-mashriq* instead of *al-sharaf.*

[25] B2 and Q2 have *rijāl* (men) instead of *dajjāl*; and R(?), V, B2, Q and Q2 add *khurūj* (emergence) before the latter (S has *kharaja*).

[26] *Wa-dajjāl^{un} lā ya'yā, wa-qatīl^{un} la-hu lā yamūtu wa-yaḥyā* (or *yuḥyā*). The "one killed" by Antichrist or the beast (and thereafter revived by God?) is Enoch-Idrīs/Elijah, who, acc. to trad., testified against the beast (see J.-O. Blichfeldt, *Early Mahdism*, p. 5; but *cf.* below, p. 502, n. 148). *Cf.* also *Rev.* 11: 3–12.

So I asked him: "Where is your 'Servant' and your 'Sustenance' (*fatā-ka wa-qūtu-ka*)?[30] And did your 'Fish' (*ḥūtu-ka*) take [its way] in the sea by a secret passage (*sarab*)?"[31] To this he replied: "Were it not for my 'Fish' taking [its way] by a secret passage, I would not have found a road (*sabab*) to you;[32] and were it not for my 'Servant' (*fatā'-ī*),[33] I would not have brought along my 'Breakfast' (*ghadā'-ī*)."[34]—"[Your 'Fish', *sci.*, your body(?)] will cling to your station,"[35] I told him, "but you will be late [in arriving]; and when that takes place, you will be interred in the [station of your] grave."[36] Then I asked him: "And did you 'forget the Fish' and 'retrace your steps' in order to discover the truth of your affair?"[37] To this he responded: "All of that has already been [done], but he is surely wearied who takes his knowledge from engendered beings (*al-akwān*)!"[38]

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[27] See *Qur.* 72: 9 (Arberry's trn.; *cf.* above, p. 231, n. 33). Here the 2nd-pers. pron. is sing.

[28] *Cf. Qur.* 37: 6–10. M glosses this as the *nafs al-ammārah bi-l-sū'* (of *Qur.* 12: 53).

[29] These are the words of Moses addressed to the anonymous personage known as al-Khaḍir (see above, p. 37, n. 126; and *E.I.* 1, *s.v.*) in *Qur.* 18: 66. The ensuing dialogue would be incomprehensible outside the context of the story of Moses and his servant recounted in the *Sūrah* of the Cave (18: 60–82). Acc. to Maghribine trad., Moses encountered al-Khaḍir near Tangier. I read *rashad* (to rhyme with *raṣad*) rather than *rushd*, as in D and W (foll. the usual reading of 18: 66), although both mean "rectitude/maturity in action". "Right conduct is the righteousness of religion and the world (*ṣalāḥ al-dīn wa-l-dunyā*)" (M). This is hardly to be taken in the sense of ordinary social morality, but rather the *super*-morality (= apparent immorality) of al-Khaḍir's inexplicable actions in the Qur'ānic account.

[30] M interprets Moses's "servant" as "the secret deposited in the heart"; and S says it is "Joshua (Yuwashshaʿ), the son of Nūn (whale), who is faith (*al-īmān*)." The "sustenance" the former glosses as piety (*al-taqwā*) on the basis of *Qur.* 2: 197: "the best provision (*al-zād*) is piety." See App. I.

[31] This is an abbreviated paraphrase of *Qur.* 18: 61. The word which I have tr. "by a secret passage," *sarab*^{an}, is an occasion of much debate among the Scriptural exegetes, and can be rendered plausibly in many ways (see Lane, *s.v.*). My trn. here attempts to reflect Ibn al-ʿArabī's apparent intent. As for what the "fish" symbolizes in this passage, perhaps it is the physical body, either rejuvenated by the waters of eternal life (*cf.* the exegetes' background material to this verse summarized by George Sale in his trn. of the Qur'ān, vol. II, p. 92, n.b. *sq.*) or reconstituted as a new incarnation. M's interpretation is different: "That is, did your soul (*nafsu-ka*) return to the ocean of your gnosis (*baḥr ʿirfāni-ka*)?" *Cf.* Jesus's response to the scribe who said that he would follow him wherever he went (in *Matt.* 8: 19–20). For S's comm., see App. I.

[32] *Cf. Qur.* 18: 61–64. Moses and his servant found al-Khaḍir only after "forgetting their fish" and "retracing their steps." *Cf.* also the refrain in the foll. story of Dhū l-Qarnayn (v. 85, *et al.*): *Fa-ttabaʿa sabab*^{an} (and he followed on a road).

[33] Thus in D, P, W, B2, Z, Q and Q2(?), to rhyme with *ghadā'-ī*. The other ss. have the more correct *fatāyya.*

[34] "Were the 'secret passage' of the fish, which is the lower-soul (*nafs*) in the sea of the heart, to be non-existent, then the occasion of ecstasy and encounter (*sabab al-wijdān wa-l-luqā*) would not exist" (M).

[35] *Sa-yalḥaqu bi-maqāmi-ka.* V, B2 and both printed edns. have *sa-talḥaqu*, "*you* will reach (your station)."

Then I said to him: "Does the Real announce to you[39] that I am the devotee of Mercy and Knowledge (*ṣāḥib al-raḥmah wa-l-ʿilm*)? Well, I announce that *you* are the follower of crudeness and blameworthiness (*al-ghilẓah wa-l-dhamm*),[40] for I am in the [qualitative] Essence (*al-ʿayn*), while you are in [the condition of] quantitative existence (*al-kamm*).[41] You are, in your mundane realm (*mulku-ka*),[42] a chieftain (*raʾīs*), confined (*ḥabīs*) in the prison of the world of your perception;[43] while I, in my Divine realm (*malakūt-ī*), am [merely] a precious 'hole' [in the fabric of the World] (*ʿalq nafīs*)[44] and a skilled maker of apparel."[45]

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[36] Instead of *tuqbaru*, Q has *tukhbaru* (you will be informed); and Q2, *tuʿtharu* (? you will be made to stumble). In this connection both comms. cite the Ṣūfī saying, "Die before you perish," equating death with *fanāʾ* (annihilation of all temporal attributes).

[37] *Ḥaqīqatu khabari-ka.* "Have you disregarded your soul after restraining it, . . . and returned from heedlessness (*al-ghaflah*) to mindfulness (*al-yaqẓah*), or from lassitude (*al-fatrah*) to worship?" (M).

[38] The rationalistic speculator outstrips the evidence of his own senses in his haste to acquire *a priori* knowledge. But *cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's advice given above, p. 236 (at n. 60).

[39] *A-wa bashshara-ka l-Ḥaqqu.*

[40] "—Because Moses is the follower of harshness and censure (*al-ghilẓah wa-l-dhamm*), harsh and censorious towards anyone who opposes him. For he is the adherent of a law (*ṣāḥibu sharʿ*^{in}) which it is not permissible for anyone to contradict, while al-Khaḍir, on the other hand, is the friend of inspiration and truth (*ṣāḥibu ilhām*^{in} *wa-ḥaqīqat*^{in})" (S; for the rest of this passage, see App. I).

[41] *Kamm* (lit., "quantity") is the term for the Aristotelean category, both spatial (denoting volume) and temporal. "That is, in imperfection (*al-naqṣ*), since quantity (*al-kammīyah*) is liable to increase and decrease" (M). Q adds appropriately, both as to reason and rhyme: *wa-l-ayn* (and [in] space).

[42] "In the kingdom of your humanity (*mamlakatu insānīyati-ka*)" (M).

[43] *ʿĀlamu shahādati-ka.* In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 73, *mulk* (the visible world) is glossed as "the world of sense-evidence" (*ʿālam al-shahādah*), as opposed to the *malakūt*, or "heavenly kingdom," which is the "unseen world" (*ʿālam al-ghayb*). M identifies the former as "the world of legal obligations (*ʿālam al-takālīf*) in which you have sense experience."

[44] An *ʿalq* (or *ʿalaq*) is also s. th. which has clung to a garment (see Lane, *s.v.; cf.* also *ʿilq* and *ʿalaq*). S reads *ʿalaq* (a clot of blood), with ref. to *Qur.* 96: 2.

[45] *Ṣāḥibu ṣanʿati labūs*^{in} (*cf. Qur.* 21: 80, where coats of mail are intended). If I have understood this ironical allusion: In his external, phenomenal nature man may be said to be a kind of privation of the macrocosmic order, or, as it were, an

"Behold, I come to you resolutely," he said; "Teach me [what 11
you have been taught of][46] Right Conduct!" Then said I: "Truly,
you will not be able to bear with me, for how can you be patient
with that whereof you cannot compass any knowledge?"—But "God
willing, you will find me patient," he replied; "and I will not dis- B,7
obey you in any matter." Whereupon I declared:[47] "If you follow
me, then do not ask me about anything unless I make mention of
it. . . ."[48]

A Description of the Condition after Release and Departure[49]

Then I said to him: "Sir, (May God preserve the lights of your hoary beard and safeguard for you the pleasure of your foible!),[50] I would like to acquaint you with my story, that it might be to you a staircase to my dais (*minaṣṣat-ī*).[51] It may be that your denial [of these esoteric teachings] will diminish, and, indeed, it would be best if you were to repent. Verily, that which you have asked me about concerning these Secrets preserved from perception by the [intellectual] lights (*mulāḥaẓat al-anwār*)—how [could it ever be received] in the world of rational notions (*ʿālam al-afkār*), when their disclosure (*ifshāʾu-hā*) is not permissible at any time, and no breath (*nafkh*) at

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"appendix" (*ʿalaq*) thereto, while in his essential nature he is one with the Maker of the very stuff of creation and co-creator of its secondary forms.

[46] *Mim-mā ʿullimta* (as in *Qur.* 18: 66) is wanting in all ss. exc. for the late B2, Q and Q2.

[47] Exc. for this verb and the one beginning the passage, the whole of these last three and a half sentences are quoted from *Qur.* 18: 66–70. Ibn al-ʿArabī, then, takes the part of the saintly "outlaw," al-Khaḍir (as a type of the Seal/Mahdī, or super-*walī*), and his interlocutor, that of Moses (as the law-bound prophet).

[48] That is, as paraphrased by M: Do not ask about the "preternatural phenomena and miracles (*al-khawāriq wa-l-karāmāt*)" that proceed from me, "because if you are one of the 'people of the [Divine] channels' (? *ahl al-qanāyāt*), then you will surely understand this correspondence, and that by the grace of God."

[49] *Waṣfu ḥāl*^{in} *baʿda ḥall*^{in} *wa-tarḥāl*^{in}. The "release and departure" refer to the spiritual abstraction of the author, described as a mystical sage or healer (*ḥakīm*) in the foll. section.

[50] *Matāʿu ʿaybati-ka*, in B, E, R(?), Z, M and Q. The other ss. have *ghaybatu-ka* (your transcendence) in place of the last, missing, it seems to me, the sarcastic levity (which, it is true, is all too rare in theological writings). E has *haybatu-ka* (your fear [of God]) in the margin. Although he has the correct reading, M still misses the point (consistent with his mistaken view that the querist from Tabriz is an enlightened Ṣūfī), glossing "your foible" as the *nafs*, and, in the margin, identifying the *matāʿ al-nafs* as the heart (*qalb*)!

[51] The *minaṣṣah* is a raised platform, or dais, upon which a bride is seated for display to the bridegroom. In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 70, the *minaṣṣah* is likened to the place of spiritual Theophanies (*tajlīyāt rūḥānīyah*). It was also a technical term for Ibn Qasī in the *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn* (see *Ms. Şehid Ali 1174*, ff. 37–38). "Staircase": *sullam.*

all could evoke or animate them?[52] Truly, their Tidings are sublime, and Satan, their denier (*munkiru-hā*), is grievous![53]

"If I have not adverted to some of what you questioned me about, nor did I set out [to treat of] some of it, that is because the Way which I follow and the Station I seek—single-minded [in my devotion] to it (*infaradtu ilay-hi*)—[is] the Station of the Singularity of the One (*fardānīyat al-Aḥad*)[54] and the 'Negation of multiplicity and number' (*nafy al-kathrah wa-l-ʿadad*),[55] in connection with which it is hardly apposite to turn toward an engendered entity (*kawn*)[56] which can accept nothing but what the eye (*ʿayn*) can realize.[57] Whenever my concentrated aspiration (*himmat-ī*)[58] is not attached to the happenings of existence (*ḥawādith al-kawn*), nor my word (*kalimat-ī*)[59] directed to them,[60] then is the Real (Praised be He!) my Goal (*wijhat-ī*),[61] placing me above the viewpoint of my [own limited] perspective (*mulāḥaẓatu jihat-ī*). I have not borne witness to any [particular] place (*ayn*), so how could I perceive any [finite] existence (*kawn*)?"[62]

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[52] *Baʿthu-hā wa-iḥyaʾu-hā.* That is, the esoteric secrets *as such* can never be seen or heard in the exoteric realm of perception.

[53] *Alīm* (causing grief or extreme pain) in the earliest ss. M and S have *laʾīm* (depraved); and Q, *rajīm* (accursed). "Their tidings": *nabaʾu-hā.*

[54] M styles this the "magnet of the hearts" (*maghnāṭīs al-qulūb*), "for the devotee of this station sees nothing but the essence of the necessary Being (*dhāt wājib al-wujūd*)."

[55] *Cf.* S. al-Ḥakīm, *Muʿjam, s.v. fardīyah* (p. 873): The odd, or singular one (*al-fard*) "is distinguished (*infarada*) from the even/double (*al-shafʿ*) by virtue of the assimilation to the [Divine] unity (*al-tashbīh bi-l-aḥadīyah*)." Perhaps the most apt comparison of Ibn al-ʿArabī to any other historical figure of the East would be to the great Vedānta teacher of non-dualism, Shankarācharya, whose primary method of spiritual discrimination was summed up in the slogan, *Neti neti* (Not this, not that).

[56] Or: "a world [of engendered beings]," here and at the end of the paragraph.

[57] Note that *ʿayn* is here taken to rhyme with *kawn.* Q2 omits *mā* (that which).

[58] *Himmah*: a term "applied to the freeing of the heart for [single-minded concentration on] the desired objects (*tajrīd al-qalb li-l-muná*); to the primal sincerity of the aspirant (*awwal ṣidq al-murīd*); and to the concentration of the spiritual aspirations (*jamʿ al-himam*) to insure the purity of inspiration" (*Iṣṭilāḥāt,* 67; see also *Mawāqiʿ,* 77–78; and *Muʿjam, no.* 655). *Cf.* also the Divine saying of Sahl al-Tustarī: "We withdrew from you any aspiration except that to Us. . . ." (related by Rūzbihān Baqlī in his *Arāʾis al-Bayān fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-Qurʾān,* vol. II, p. 378).

[59] For the different senses of the word, *kalimah,* in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, see *Muʿjam, no.* 553. S thinks that the ref. is to a wound (*kalm*) in the mystic's heart. Q has *kullīyat-ī* rather than *kalimat-ī,* and B2 omits the latter.

[60] B, D, R, Z and Q have *tashawwafat* rather than *tashawwaqat* (they desired).

[61] *Wijhah*: "direction (= *qiblah*); goal, objective; intention". V, W, B2, both comms. and both edns. have *nuzhat-ī* (my diversion) instead of *nazzaha-nī.*

[62] "Because of the absorption of my essence [in the one Being] and the annihilation of my attributes when I beheld it in my mirror" (M).

Wisdom of Instruction from a Wise Instructor[1]

When I saw how the inquirer into those Secrets was motivated
by the exigencies of denial (*dawāʿī l-inkār*),[2] I turned away from him
in the manner of a sagacious Teacher (*muʿallim nāṣiḥ*),[3] facing the
direction of the Real (*wijhat al-Ḥaqq*) in Whose Hand are the Keys B,7b
(*al-mafātiḥ*) to the Station which confines him (*yaʿqilu-hu*),[4] and I
blocked the door which denies and remains ignorant of Him, so that
he might become fortified in the Station of Audition (*maqām al-samʿ*)
and realize one of the Realities of the [Divine] Union (*ḥaqāʾiq al-jamʿ*).[5]
I betook myself to the Real obediently (*mulabbiy*^{an}), confiding in Him
secretly (*munājiy*^{an}), charging to my account[6] the abundances of His
Blessings (*sawābigh niʿami-hi*) and giving the inquirer to hear the Secrets
of His wise Counsels (*sarāʾir ḥikami-hi*),[7] as though I did not aim in
that to teach [him] (*taʿlīm*). Thus does he whom the Real causes to become a Sage (*ḥakīm*),[8] for "houses may not be entered except at their
doors (*min abwābi-hā*),"[9] and kings are not dropped in upon through
them without their doorkeepers' permission (*bi-idhni ḥujjābi-hā*).[10] **12**

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[1] *Ḥikmatu taʿlīm*^{in} *min ʿālim*^{in} *ḥakīm*^{in} (as voc. in B, D and W). *ʿĀlim* (knower) is meant here in the sense of *muʿallim* (teacher).

[2] D, W, S and Q2 have *al-afkār* (thoughts) in place of *al-inkār* (but W corrects this in the margin), and Z seems to read *al-adhkār* (*dhikr*s).

[3] Q2 has *mutaʿallim* (learned) instead of *muʿallim*.

[4] While the "Opener" (*al-Fātiḥ*; *cf. Qur.* 34: 26) is always and only God, "the key (*miftāḥ*) varies according to what is to be opened (*al-maftūḥ*), nor can [the key] open anything except that for which it is specially made" (al-Ḥakīm, *Muʿjam*, p. 864; *cf.* also n. 97, below).

[5] *Jamʿ*: "gathering, union, aggregation". The "presence of the all-comprehensiveness" (*ḥaḍrat al-jamʿ*) is the greatest Divine name, *Allāh* (see *Fut.* I, 323 [20]). *Cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 59: "The all-comprehensive union is Reality without creation (*Ḥaqq bi-lā khalq*)" (*cf.* also al-Qāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah*, p. 41; and *Muʿjam*, *no.* 131, *et seq.*).

[6] *Aʿuddu ʿalayya* in most ss. M and Q (in *corrigenda*) have *aʿdu ʿalá* which the former glosses as "I hastened [to]", although this verb with *ʿalá* means, rather, "to attack, assail". S has *aghdu* (I left), but that sense does not take the prep., either.

[7] Here we have an early instance of Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of the term that would be billed in the title of his *chef d'oeuvre*, the *Fuṣūṣ al Ḥikam* (lit., "the bezels of the [various modes of] wisdom").

[8] This word connotes both a wise counselor and a healer. For al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī it signifies one versed in esoteric wisdom (*ḥikmah*), a "theosophist".

[9] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 189, thought to prohibit a pagan Arab practice of making a new entrance in the rear of one's house after returning from the pilgrimage. S identifies the "doors" as the prophets and the saints (see App. I). Q2 has garbled this line.

[10] "Similarly, the secrets are not arrived at by means of instruction (*al-taʿlīm*), but, instead, by spiritual inspiration (*al-fayḍ*, "emanation") from a wise knower (*ʿālim ḥakīm*)" (M). Rather, the point is either that the wise teacher is as the door (and doorkeeper) to salvation (*cf.* App. I), or, more likely in this context, that the teacher must patiently gain the student's assent to his teaching, and not try to overpower

However, were I to reveal the Secrets suddenly, [the querist's] mind would thereby be quickly distressed,[11] for the spirit of his reflection (*sirr fikri-hi*) would wander unrestrained in the world of delusive grandeur (*ʿālam al-tajsīm*),[12] and the Sultan of his denial (*sulṭān nukri-hi*)[13] would take possession of his mind. Then his light would be turned into fire (*nār*), and his habitation into Perdition (*bawār*).[14]

But the Absolute Sage (*al-ḥakīm al-muṭlaq*),[15] if he should undertake (on the part of one such as we have described) to implore the Real (*munāshadat al-Ḥaqq*), abandoning all of Creation, the [Light of the] Station will illuminate him,[16] and he will cut through the illusions, withdraw from the bodies, and submit himself with all submission [to God]. And the [following] Epitome (*nuktah*) occurred to his heart and led him to the Gnosis of his Essence and his Lord (*maʿrifat dhāti-hi wa-Rabbi-hi*).[17]

Then I turned away from [that introspective reflection] to this Wisdom [which I am now prepared to share with the reader], and I recited [the following *Poetic Meditation*], revealing some of what I have discovered, and in which we shall give [the inquirer] instruction[18] [as to how entering upon] the Path (*al-sulūk*) is by virtue of the Attraction of the Real (*jadhb al-Ḥaqq*)[19] and His Summoner (*dāʿī-hi*),[20]

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his will. The office of *ḥājib* was regarded by orthodox religious-constitutional theorists as illegitimate, precisely for the reason illustrated in the text.

[11] *Wajada qalbu-hu li-dhālika sarāḥ*^{an}. Instead of the first, V and W have *wajadtu* (I found [his heart to be . . .]).

[12] Or, possibly: "the world of embodiment" (*al-tajsīm*).

[13] Q2 repeats *fikru-hu* (his thought) in place of *nukru-hu*.

[14] The *dār al-qarār* is the "Hereafter" in general; and *dār al-bawār* is a name for "Hell" (as is *al-nār*).

[15] "The absolute sage" is Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, as we infer below. *Muṭlaq* here has the sense of "released, abstracted (from conditioned existence)", as we saw the *ḥakīm* become at the beginning of this section.

[16] *Bahara-hu l-maqāmu* (see Blachère, *s.v. bahara*). The "station" here is that of the Seal/Mahdī—*viz.*, the *maqām al-qurbah*. "The light of the essence (*nūr al-ʿayn*) flows in waves from the intensity of the light . . . in that station; and, on account of this, [the mystic] becomes forgetful of all of creation and occupies himself in the reformation of his soul (*iṣlāḥ nafsi-hi*)" (M).

[17] *Cf.* the well-known Ṣūfī saying: "He who knows himself (*nafsu-hu*) knows his Lord." On this *ḥadīth* (not inc. in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mishkāh*), see *Muʿjam*, p. 1261, *no.* 13; and *cf. Path*, 344–46.

[18] Voc. as *nuʿallimu-hu* in C and D (*nuʿlimu-hu* in W), with ref. to the *taʿlīm* (instruction) of the section-heading. B2, M and Q2 have *taʿlamu-hu* (you will be informed of it).

[19] On the cognate term, *jadhbah* (attraction; ecstasy), see Gloss., *s.v.*

[20] That is, presumably, the Prophet Muḥammad, but possibly, also, the Seal/Mahdī (*cf.* n. 28, below). *Dāʿī*, of course, is the *Ismāʿīlī* designation for the function of propagandist. Q2 has *wa-dawāʿī-hi* (His summons) instead of *wa-dāʿī-hi*.

and by His Beneficence (*birru-hu*)[21] (Praised be He!) toward the Servant and His Affection [for him]—to the end that, perchance, he might *wake up and know Him*:[22]

[*A Poetic Meditation*][23]

My heart, in Thy remembrance, is [both] happy and aggrieved
when seized by a Flash or sundry Transformations;[24]
Though, were its Resolve[25] to rise to Revelation's Heaven,
passion and becoming[26] would not have possessed it.
But [my heart] turned aside from the Goal of the Path,[27] B,8
and so, wretched among creatures, attained it not—
Until a Summoner[28] called it from desires, [so that]
elated and enthralled, it was illuminated:

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[21] *Birr* ordinarily denotes "piety; filial piety; or neighborly kindness", *etc.*, but Lane seems to allow for the usage in my trn. (*s.v. barra* and *birr*). "His affection": *taḥaffi-hi*. Q2 has garbled this and the foll. line.

[22] The copyist of R notes that a *samāʿ* (certification of authenticity) appears in al-Qūnawī's transcript ([X] in Fig. III, p. 198) at this point.

[23] *Nuktah shiʿrīyah* (see Gloss., *s.v. nuktah*). This heading appears only in Q, but it accurately represents the author's identification of this poem (continued *infra*) as a *nuktah* which occurred to his heart while in a state of abstraction. The metre of the poem (D2, 29–31) is *al-basīṭ* (tetrametre).

[24] I take *lamḥ* (a glance; flash) here to be syn. with *lamʿ*, and, hence, to signify much the same as *lāmiʿah* (pl., *lawāmiʿ*): "a light of Theophany which remains fixed for two moments, or nearly that" (*Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 65). As for *talwīn*, Ibn al-ʿArabī def. it as "the migration of the servant through his states (*aḥwālu-hu*)," and adds: "In the opinion of most people it is an imperfect station (*maqām nāqiṣ*), but in our view it is the most perfect of all, the state of the servant therein being that of God's saying: 'Every day He is at some matter' (*Qur.* 55: 29)." Be that as it may, here *talwīn* would appear to be the occasion of the poet's grief, while the "flash" of Divine beauty is the cause of his happiness.

[25] *Himmatu-hu* (see above, p. 263, n. 58), which S def. as "the power of firm intent in entreaty (*qūwat al-ʿazm fī l-ṭalab*) with energy in acts of devotion (*maʿa l-nashāṭ fī l-ʿibādah*)." "Revelation's heaven": *samāʾ al-kashf*.

[26] *Wajdᵘⁿ wa-takwīnū*: "ecstatic emotion and [passivity to] becoming." On *takwīn*, see *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 115 *sq.*; and Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy*, p. 31. *Cf.* also below, at n. 79, and pp. 319, n. 8, and 368 at n. 147. In place of *takwīn*, D repeats *talwīn* (transformation).

[27] *Qaṣd al-sabīl* (*cf. Qur.* 16: 9).

[28] *Dāʿiyah*: the same as the *dāʿī l-Ḥaqq* mentioned above (at n. 20). In this case, however, the ref. would seem to be to Jesus, who, acc. to Ibn al-ʿArabī's own testimony, was the agent of the young man's initial conversion (see above, pp. 3–4, n. 3, for refs.). This may be evinced in the present verse since it was specifically to asceticism and renunciation [of desires] (*al-zuhd wa-l-tajrīd*) that Jesus called the neophyte (see *Fut.* II, 49 [33], tr. in App. IV, 597). It is also possible to read *dāʿīyah min al-ashwāq* as "a certain motivating desire." D2 has mixed up the second hemistichs of this verse and the next.

Lightning flashed in every quarter of the sky,
disquieting the dark clouds like unto my heart![29]
For the night-clouds bring rain and the wind scatters [seeds],[30]
lightning is dazzling and water changeable,[31]
And the Land of Bodies[32] brought forth all of its beauty,[33]
and India and China became fragrant![34]

When my interlocutor had thus heard the description of his condition (*waṣf ḥālati-hi*), I—having confined the full-moon of his spirit in the ring of its halo (*dārat hālati-hi*)[35] [so that] he became conscious of what had been concealed within him (and bringing out a portion of its Meaning for him)[36]—I noticed that he had been listening intently to me with his entire being (*bi-kullīyati-hi*)[37] [so that] he went beyond the [limited] perception of his selfhood (*mulāḥaẓat*

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[29] "Dark clouds" are a very auspicious harbinger for people of the desert (see next verse).

[30] *Fa-l-suḥbu sāriyat*^{un} *wa-l-rīḥu dhāriyat*^{un}. *Sūrah 51* is entitled *Al-Dhāriyāt,* which is often tr. as "The Winds scattering [rain]," though the expression has been interpreted to signify "prolific women [who bring forth many children]" or "the causes of the scattering of the created beings" (see Lane, *s.v. al-dhāriyāt*). "[Seeds]": *dhurrāt.*

[31] *Wa-l-mā'u masnūnū.* C glosses the last as "changeable" (*mutaghayyir*). Rather than "fetid, stinking", as most western dictionaries tr. *masnūn* when applied to water or clay (as in *Qur.* 15: 26, 28 & 33), I would emphasize the secondary meaning given by Lane: "poured forth in a form, or shape . . . as . . . liquified substances are poured forth into moulds" (*s.v. masnūn*).

[32] *Arḍ al-jusūm*: "Nature". Note that, together with the preceding verse, each of the four natural "elements" is represented.

[33] D2 has *ḥabs/ḥubs* in place of *ḥusn.*

[34] As the lands of spice and incense. In Ibn al-ʿArabī's cosmography, the "west" stands for the unmanifest, spiritual pole of creation, and the "east" for the manifest, physical realm (*cf.* intro., pp. 172–77*sq.*).

[35] *Wa-sajantu badra sirri-hi fī dārati hālati-hi,* in all of the earliest ss. and both comms. (though only B and D are voc.). Q has *sujina* ([the full-moon] was imprisoned) instead of *sajantu,* but amends this to *sabaḥa* (swam), as in W, V, B2, Q2 and the margin of W read *sajat* ("became still/dark", as in *Qur.* 93: 2). Our reading is supported by the occurrence of a similar expression (*wuqūʿu-hu fī ḥibālati-ka wa-ḥabsu-hu fī dārati hālati-ka*) in a letter written by Ibn al-ʿArabī, probably around the same time as the composition of the *ʿAnqā'* (see *K. al-Kutub* [in *Rasā'il, r.* 21], p. 1). Q2 has *idārah* instead of *dārah*; and V, B2, S and Q have *dār* (abode). As for the word, *hālah,* Dozy (*s.v.*) thinks that it is a corruption of *ḥalaqah* (circle, ring), but it may rather come from the Gr., *halōs* (halo). S suggests that the halo [formed by the refraction of ice-crystals around the full moon] presages "the rains of [God's] mercy." Here, however, the idea seems to be that the auditor was made to become introverted, reflecting his light back upon himself.

[36] *Wa-abraztu nubdhat*^{an} *min maʿānī-hi.*

[37] Q has *lumʿah* (a flash) before this.

nafsīyati-hī).[38] I then turned my face to him, and he was totally absorbed (*fān*^{in}) in that which I had been presenting, thirsting for more of my verses. And he requested that I continue without delay, so I went on:

[—Continuation of *A Poetic Meditation*]

Over the Land of Body there is no mountaintop[39]
  except it is embellished with bright wildflowers;[40]
And every novel wonder shining forth in the bodies
  and in the souls is predetermined and preproportioned,[41]
The heart taking pleasure in changing its appearance,[42] **13**
  avidly appreciative of Beauty's every aspect;[43]
While the body is an Ark on the Sea of Abundance,[44]
  stirred by a Western Wind laden with the Secrets.[45]

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[38] Instead of *nafsīyatu-hu*, Q2 has *nafīsatu-hu*; and S, *taftīshu-hu* (his inquiry).

[39] *Marqabah* in most of the ss. C, W, B2 and the margin of Q have *martabah* (station); and Q, *manqabah* (mountain pass). A *marqabah* is an elevated place, such as a mountaintop, upon which a watchman may ascend to observe afar. "The land of body": *arḍ al-jism* (*cf.* n. 32, above). Note that the subj. of the preceding verses is being continued. The metre, again, is *al-basīṭ*.

[40] *Al-nuwwār* (*Edelweiss*), in most ss., inc. Q (which amends it, however, to *al-anwār*, as in W). B2 and S read *al-nūr*. M interprets the flowers as the "radiant secrets" (*al-asrār al-munawwarah*) pervading the "inner and the outer senses."

[41] "Souls": *sarā'ir* (s., *sarīrah*). The "novel wonders" (*bidaʿ*, = the *aʿyān*, or ideal realities, understood as conceptual ideations) appearing therein are symbolized by the "bright wildflowers" on the "mountaintop" of the preceding verse.

[42] *Taqlību mashhadi-hi. Taqlīb*, of course, is cognate with *al-qalb* (the heart). *Mashhad*: "appearance, or external aspect".

[43] Or: "avid of ornament" (*mina l-tazyīni ḍinnīnū*). The last word was used to refer to Muḥammad (but in the neg. and w/o *tashdīd*, necessary here for the metre) in the passage from *Qur.* 81: 24 which forms the background to the previous section on the *ṣubḥ mubīn* (clear dawn), p. 257, *et seq.*, above. Lane (*s.v. ḍanīn*) notes that some read this verse as meaning: "[Muḥammad] is not a tenacious concealer of [the esoteric verities] which have been revealed to him."

[44] *Fulk*^{un} *bi-baḥri l-jawdi.* P has *qalb* (a heart) instead of *fulk. Jawd* denotes "plentiful rain", and *fulk* is used for Noah's ark in *Qur.* 7: 64. An otherwise unknown *K. al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn* is mentioned by Ibn al-ʿArabī in both of his autobibliographies (see Yahia, *no.* 146), and Bağdatlı (*Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. II, p. 201) knows it as a work on asceticism. "A western wind": *rīḥ al-gharb* (D has *al-qurb*, "nearness", instead of the last).

[45] "The body is the ship (*al-safīnah*), the sea is the heart, and the wind, desire [to be united with the Beloved] (*al-shawq*). He made it to be the western [wind] because that is the gentlest of breezes" (M). Actually, unlike the Hellenic Zephyr, the westerly wind [*al-ṣabā, al-dabūr*] in Arabic literature was *not* regarded as beneficent (see *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 107–08, where it drives the damned to Hell). Here it is possibly a metonym of the Seal/Mahdī (as arising out of the Maghrib; see Chap. 7 of the intro.).

And the Ark's Passenger[46] (as long as it is driven
by the Wind of the Law) is preserved and blessed:[47]
The [Ship's] Captain sets its course unto the *Tawḥīd*[48]
in which, for the Exalted Host,[49] is safe-harbor.
But were you to behold it stirred by the wind of Yearning,[50]
it sails, neither moving nor yet stationary![51]

* * * * * * *

The Primary Constituents[52] deposited in Man B,8b
are Light and Fire and moulded potter's Clay;[53]
While That which unites my Lord and me[54] is [likewise]
set down and enjoined by the Prophetary *Sunnah*.[55]
For the Secret of my physical and moral Nature[56]
(If you will realize!) is united with God,[57]

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[46] *Rākib al-fulk.* V and Q have *fa-markab* in place of *wa-rākib.* "The spiritual man (*al-insān al-maʿnawī*) is a passenger in the ship of the senses, which is the body" (S).

[47] *Maḥfūẓ^{un} wa-maymūnū.* Instead of the last word, B2 has *maʾmūn* (trustworthy); and D2, *mamnūn* (blessed). "The wind of the law": *rīḥ al-sharīʿah.*

[48] *Alqá l-raʾīsu ilá l-tawḥīdi maqdama-hū.* The *tawḥīd* is the affirmation that God is One, which is the key to salvation in Islam. M styles it the "station of Divine unity" (*maqām al-aḥadīyah*).

[49] *Li-l-malaʾi l-ʿulwīyi* (as voc. in B, C and W): This would normally signify the "heavenly host," but here it is the Ṣūfī brotherhood.

[50] *Rīḥ al-shawq.* M glosses the latter as love (*al-maḥabbah*); and al-Jurjānī def. it as "the inclination (*nazzāʿ*) of the heart towards reunion with the Beloved" (*K. al-Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*).

[51] *Yajrī wa-mā fī-hi taḥrīk^{un} wa-taskīnū*, in most ss., though some of the later ones have *tajrī* instead of the first. Interestingly, B seems to read *baḥr-ī* (my ocean) or *baḥrī* (a diver?); and W has *baḥr*, which it amends to *yajrī.*

[52] *Al-awāʾil.* D2 has the syn., *al-ʿanāṣir.*

[53] *Ṭīn masnūn. Cf. Qur.* 15: 26, 28 & 33, where (*ḥamaʾ*) *masnūn* may have the sense I suggested in n. 31, above. These three substances (corresponding to the "gunas" of Hindu philosophy—*sattva, rajas* and *tamas* (harmony, force and inertia)—are the material principles of the three worlds—spiritual, imaginal and corporeal—apperceived by intellect-intuition, imagination and senses, and inhabited by angels, *jinn* and men, respectively. Perhaps we can speculate that when "light" is likened to the philos. element of "fire", "fire" becomes the "air" of *Eph.* 2: 2 (*cf.* also 6: 12), so that the latter may be assimilated to the "passion" of trn., p. 238 (at n. 11), and the "light" to the intellect, or spirit.

[54] *Al-waṣlu mā bayn-ī ʿalá kathab^{in}/wa-bayna Rabb-ī.* Q2 has garbled this hemistich.

[55] *Mafrūḍ^{un} wa-masnūnū.* Here *masnūn* means "instituted, prescribed by the *Sunnah*" (*cf.* above, n. 53). The final word in both this and the preceding verse is erased in B, but neither appears to have been *masnūn.* The verb, "set down" (*ūdaʿu*), likewise echoes "deposited" (*mūdaʿah*) in the preceding verse. "That which unites": *al-waṣl*, the "connection, or link" with God, is the "supernatural," Divine spirit (*al-sirr*) in man (see next verse).

[56] *Min khalq-ī wa-min khuluq-ī.* Regarding these, see Lane, *s.v. khalq.*

[57] [*Bi-Llāhi*] . . . *mawṣūl^{un} wa-mamnūnū*: "bound and indebted (to God)." The spirit

Declaring: "I am the Heart of the Real!"[58]—But take heed:
In truth, the Heart of God's Scripture is *Yā' Sīn*.[59]
Before He breathed on me, a time of His Eternity
had already over me passed by in my arising:[60]
Neither the sinless Angel[61] can know my *Raison d'être*,[62]
nor yet the Accursèd one, vexed by a [great] serpent.[63]
When I veiled myself with[64] the "Matter" of my Kingdom,[65]
the Clay hid me in its [bosom][66] from [the sinner's][67] knowing;

(*al-sirr*) is "graciously bestowed" (*mamnūn*) by God and remains connected (*mawṣūl*) to Him.

[58] *Inn-ī qalbu l-Ḥaqqi.* Q2 has garbled this phrase. Compare al-Ḥallāj's dictum: *Anā l-Ḥaqq* (see Massignon, *Passion*, I, 126–34). M glosses *qalb al-Ḥaqq* as "defined (*muttaṣif*) in terms of the Real."

[59] This is Chap. 36 of the Qur'ān, named after the letters comprising its first verse, and is one of the most popular *sūrahs*. It is said in a trad.: "Verily, to everything there is a heart, and the heart of the Qur'ān is *Yā' Sīn*." (On this trad. and its variants, see Abū l-Fidā' Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿAẓīm*, vol. III, pp. 562–63; and also *Sufis*, 73). The letters, ي س , are imagined by some to signify *yā insān* ("O man!" *sci.*, the Prophet). See App. I for S's comm.

[60] *Min baʿdi mā qad atá, min qabli nafkhati-hī/ ʿalayya min dahri-hī fī nash'at-ī ḥīnū. Cf. Qur.* 76: 1: "Has there ever come upon man a time when he was not a thing remembered?" (*Hal atá ʿalá l-insān ḥīn min al-dahr*, etc.). A *ḥīn* (time period) is supposedly forty years.

[61] *Al-malak al-maʿṣūm*: Perhaps a generic ref. to the angels, who are incapable of sin.

[62] *Mā sabab-ī*: the first principle of his creation in God's omniscience.

[63] *Yankī-hi tinnīnū. Tinnīn* (from the Heb.; *cf. Gen.* 1: 21 and *Psalms* 148: 7, *et al.*): Usually identified as an aquatic monster (a whale, shark, crocodile, serpent, or dragon), here the ref. is probably to one of the seventy or 99 "serpents" (s., *tinnīn*) which, acc. to trad., will be given power to torment infidels in their graves until Judgment (see Tirmidhī, *Ṣifat al-qiyāmah*, 26; *Musnad*, III, 38; and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *Al-Sunan, Riqāq*, 94). On the *tinnīn*, see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, *s.v.* Instead of *tinnīn*, W, Q, and Q2 have *tabyīn* (demonstration). "The accursed one": *al-laʿīn*, "the devil" (but here probably intended as the sinner in general). Q2 has garbled this hemistich.

[64] *Tasattartu ʿan* (instrumental usage of the prep.). S alone has *fī* (in).

[65] *Ṣalṣālu mamlakat-ī. Ṣalṣāl* (ringing clay) is the compound from which man was fashioned in *Qur.* 15: 26, *et al.* The "kingdom" is the corporeal being of man, the "human estate."

[66] *Akhfā-ni . . . fī ʿayni-hī l-ṭīnū*, in most of the ss. E, R, M and S have *ghaybu-hu* (its transcendence) instead of *ʿaynu-hu*; and V and Q have *ghaynu-hu* (its clouds). *ʿAyn* here has the sense of "material substance" (= *aṣl*, "stock, constituent essence"). "The clay": *al-ṭīn*. This word also frequently denotes the substance of man in the Qur'ān (see 6: 2, *et al.; cf.* also 3: 49, where Jesus creates birds out of *ṭīn*). *Al-ṭīnah* was used by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to tr. the Greek, *hylē* (see S.M. Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology in Arabic and Persian*, p. 117). For both comms., see App. I.

[67] That is, "the accursed one" mentioned above, personifying "passion" (but recall that "the sinless angel" had, likewise, been ignorant of the secret of the poet's true being).

For the Cloud of Darkness blinded him to my appearance[68]
When I was kept secure in the Concealed Mystery,[69]
So that, while I abided there, [the Curs'd one] became proud,
strutting leisurely about with swagger in his gait.[70]

* * * * * * *

When the Heart made its Night-flight to the Highest [Station],[71]
passing by Eden where bright-eyed houris[72] flirt with him,
He lowered his gaze, not dashing off to [woo] them
when [the term] of the loan of his passion expired.[73]
And when he mounted up upon the Throne, he received
homage of the "Tablet", Knowing "Pen" and ["Inkwell"].[74]

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[68] *Fa-kāna yaḥjubu-hū ʿan-nī wa-ʿan ṣifat-ī*: "was screening him from [beholding my essence] and my attribute [= my phenomenal appearance]." It is not the Ṣūfī's true self which is veiled by matter from its would-be beholder, but *vice versa*. *Cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's def. of transcendence (*al-ghayb*) in *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 72: "[It is] all that the Real veils from you *by means of you*, not through It/Him (*min-ka, lā min-hu*)" (the 1990 edn. wrongly omits *min-ka*). "The clouds of darkness [obscurity]": *ghaym al-ʿamá.*

[69] *Wa-anā fī l-ghaybi makhzūnū. Ghayb* (lit., "absence; concealment, invisibility; unconsciousness") may be tr. in different ways, depending on the context (see preceding note). Here, rather than the Divine transcendence as such, the obscuration of embodiment appears to be intended.

[70] Like Antinous, the usurping suitor, in the absence of Odysseus.

[71] *Sará l-qalbu li-l-aʿlá.* This is an allusion to the *Isrāʾ* (night-journey) of the Prophet to the "Furthest Mosque" in Jerusalem (see *Qur.* 17: 1; and above, p. 250, n. 35). Regarding this popular motif, see Morris, "The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ʿArabī and the *Miʿrāj*."

[72] See *Qur.* 56: 22–24, *et al.*, where the paradisiacal consorts are likened to "images of hidden pearls" (see Jeffery, *s.v. ḥūr*). The "gardens of Eden" (*jannāt ʿAdan*) are frequently evoked in the Qurʾān (*e.g.*, 38: 49–54).

[73] *Lammā maḍá ʿan hawā-hu l-qarḍu wa-l-dīnū* (reading the latter instead of *dayn*, for the sake of the rhyme) in B, E, R and D2. On the difference between *qarḍ* and *dayn*, both meaning "loan" here, see Lane, *s.v. dayn* (*cf.* also Jeffery, *s.v. dīn*). Most of the other ss. have *al-farḍ* (religious duty/precept) in place of *al-qarḍ*, plausibly reading *al-dīn* (religion) instead of "loan/debt." Q has *al-fard* (sic), which it amends to *al-gharaḍ* (inclination).

[74] *Bāyaʿa-hū/l-lawḥu wa-l-qalamu l-ʿallāmu wa-l-nūnū: sci.*, universal soul, first intellect, and the highest consciousness of undifferentiated reality. More specifically, acc. to *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 70, the "tablet" is "the place of recording and writing down (*maḥall al-tadwīn wa-l-tasṭīr*) that which is mired [in time] until a fixed limit" (*cf. Qur.* 85: 22); while the "calamus" is a metonym for "knowledge [of everything] in detail" (*ʿilm al-tafṣīl*); and the letter, *nūn*—standing for the "inkwell" (*dawāh*)—emblemizes knowledge [of all in the state] of undifferentiation (*ʿilm al-ijmāl*). Al-Qāshānī applies the latter two to *Qur.* 68: 1 (see his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah*, p. 98). On the first two terms, see *Muʿjam, s.v. al-qalam al-aʿlá* and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ, nos.* 529 and 562. M glosses "the tablet" as *qalb* (= soul), the "pen" as *sirr* (= spirit), and the *nūn* (fish) as *nafs* (= the flesh).

Were you to see Him—but His real Being is concealed—[75]
His station is established on the Throne of the Real;[76]
And if He is revealed in a Being in His Wisdom,
[that is because] He is intent upon that very Being,[77]
By virtue of the mixture of the "Hurlers-forth"[78] with Him
exclaiming to the [latent] Entities of mankind: "*Be*!"[79]
But every heart is heedless[80] of the Secret of [God's] Wisdom
[contained] in every being—and those hearts are deceived![81]

* * * * * * *

Know, then, you cannot comprehend the DEITY[82] **14**
if within you there is no Yarmūk or Ṣiffīn;[83]

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[75] *Wa-qad akhfá ḥaqīqata-hū.* The mystic's accession to the throne of gnostic sovereignty is accomplished in the spiritual world, unbeknown to every observer (inc. the self). Note that in this and the next two verses I have capitalized the prons., indicating that I understand the referent to be quasi-Divine, the apotheosis of mystic man ("your God" in the 5th verse foll.).

[76] *La-hū fuwayqa stiwā'i l-Ḥaqqi tamkīnū*: lit., "he has a rank somewhat above the throning of the Real." In the Qur'ān, God is often described as "mounting the throne" (*istawá ʿalá l-ʿarsh*) after the creation (*e.g.*, in 25: 59; *cf.* also 5: 20). I am not certain of the purport of this expression here (*fuwayqa* is a metrical expedient for *ʿalá*). S, evidently confusing Joshua (Moses's "servant", mentioned earlier) with Jonah, thinks that the heart's "mounting" is upon the back of the whale! On the notion of *istiwā'*, see *Muʿjam, no.* 360.

[77] *La-hū ʿalá ẓahri dhāka l-kawni taʿyīnū.* (On the redundant usage of *ẓahr*, see Lane, *s.v.* [end]). Q2 has *dhāt* (essence) instead of *dhāka. Taʿyīn ʿalá*: "to fix one's eyes, be intent upon".

[78] *Li-mazji l-mulqiyāti bi-hī.* S relates this ref. to the (two) angelic "receivers" (*al-mutalaqqiyān*) who record each man's deeds (see *Qur.* 50: 17–23*sq.*) and who are apparently the same that are commanded to hurl (*alqiyā*) the evildoers into Hell in v. 24. The command for human beings to come forth in the second hemistich, then, may refer to the raising of all mankind from their graves in the Resurrection, or "second creation." On the other hand, there is mention of "those [angels] who deliver scripture (*al-mulqiyātu dhikr*^{an})" in 77: 5, so that, in the present context, we *may* discern a recondite allusion to some kind of demiurgic agents who bring forth the elemental compound from which, by the mandate of the "inner Imām," human beings arise from their Divinely-established seed-potencies (*cf.* above, n. 30). "With Him" refers not to God, of course, but to the quasi-Divine "perfect man" seated on the throne. D2 has *maraḥ* (joy?) in place of *mazj*. (Obviously, my reading of this very obscure passage is highly conjectural).

[79] *Kūnū. Cf. Qur.* 2: 117 (*et al.*): "When He decrees a thing He says to it only 'Be!' and it is." On *takwīn*, see above, n. 26.

[80] Instead of *sahá* (for *sahā*), Q2 has *sahm-ī*(?).

[81] S., *maghbūn.* A name of the Judgment is the "day of mutual deception" (*yawm al-taghābun*; see *Qur.* 64: 9).

[82] *Al-ilāh.* W and Q have *al-ālih*, which has the same meaning but does not suit the metre.

[83] These are the sites of two decisive battles in the early history of Islam: the

So recognize your God before death comes, lest you die B,9
  and you are [still] held captive by convention![84]
If you are manifested in His "Eastern Appearance,"
  as Knowledge of the Hour,[85] all will stroll forth in [your light],[86]
And in all that you conceal and reveal[87] of [men's] deeds,
  the ugly and the beautiful[88] will be made apparent.
Understand (May I be your Ransom!) God's Secret *in you*,[89]

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river, al-Yarmūk, in present-day Jordan, where Muslim armies routed the Byzantines in 15/636; and Ṣiffīn, on the right bank of the Euphrates, where, in 37/657, Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Ṣufyān's Syrian general forced the caliph, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, to a fatal stalemate. M explains these refs. as symbolizing the battle between the heart and the lower-soul (*muḥārabat al-qalb wa-l-nafs*), while S would have it to be the struggle between "your soul and your satan." The copyist of W, for his part, glosses "Yarmūk" as the *sharī‘ah* and "Ṣiffīn" as *ḥaqīqah*. Perhaps we may understand the first battle as an instance of the victory of the spiritual-intellectual forces, while the second represents the inevitable recidivism of disruptive psychic energies. In place of *fī-ka*, Q2 has *qabla* (before).

[84] *Al-taqlīd*: "following a religious/intellectual authority w/o question". In effect, it is the contrary of *ijtihād* (independent judgment based on inquiry into the sources of religious authority). "Conventional faith is second-hand, received from another (*samā‘^{an} min al-ghayr*), . . . while the gnostic draws his proof from himself" (S; *cf. Qur.* 51: 20–21). M's remarks are also worth noting: "Every Muslim must know that which he worships (so that he can serve purposefully) before death takes him away". For if he perishes before coming to know [his Lord], he will be as bound by the "necklace" of desire (*muqallad bi-qilādat al-bughā*), held captive under the compulsion of the Real (*masjūn fī qahr al-Ḥaqq*). [Animals destined for sacrifice at Mecca were given a special collar (*qilādah*)—a practice known as *taqlīd* (collaring)]. "And whoever dies without knowing who is the imām of his time (*imām zamāni-hi*), verily, he has died the death of ignorance (*mawtah jāhilīyah*)" (M). "Your God": *ilāhu-ka* (*cf.* above, p. 228, n. 3).

[85] *Wa-in tajallayta fī sharqīyi mashhadi-hī/ ‘ilm^{an}*. The last word is sometimes read as *‘alam* (= *ma‘lam*), "a sign, or distinguishing mark", in *Qur.* 43: 61 (here, however, the metre does not allow it), usually taken to refer to Jesus as himself one of the signs of the eschaton: "Verily, he is knowledge/a sign (علم) of the hour" (see Lane, *s.v. ma‘lam*). Q2 has *‘ulamā’* (religious scholars), and has garbled the remainder of the verse.

[86] *Tanazzaha fī-ka l-‘āli wa-l-dūnū*. That is, you will yourself become the rising sun of the Seal/Mahdī, and all will be illuminated in the light of your knowledge. Q2 has *tanazzala* (?) for the verb.

[87] D2 and Q2 have the verbs in 3rd-pers. masc. (understanding God as the subj.?). Perhaps there is an allusion here to the end of *Qur.* 3: 49, where Jesus claims the power to apprise men of all that they conceal in their personal lives.

[88] *Mina l-takālīfi taqbīḥ^{un} wa-taḥsīnū*: lit., "of the religious-legal impositions (s., *taklīf*), [both] the estimations of what is reprehensible and what is proper."

[89] *Fa-fham, fadaytu-ka, sirra Llāhi fī-ka*. S paraphrases *fadaytu-ka* with: "I made myself your ransom (*fidā’u-ka*)," after which he quotes *Qur.* 57: 4: "[God] is with you wherever you may be." The Divine secret is not the ransom (*cf. 1 Tim.* 2: 6, *et al.*) but that which is ransomed within the auditor, so to speak, his true self (*cf. Qur.* 37: 107). The phrase could be rendered simply: "I released you from captivity," *i.e.*, the bondage of dependence upon others (= *taqlīd*; *cf.* n. 84, above).

but do not make it known—it is hidden from the others;
Preserve and guard it jealously as long as you live thereby,
for the Secret is [as] dead, buried in the Noble heart.[90]

When [my interlocutor had, thus] heard about the Furthest [Station] of the hearts (*muntahá l-qulūb*),[91] coming to know of the Nobility of the transcendent Mysteries (*sharaf al-ghuyūb*), and seeing the Lordly Attributes and Spiritual Secrets (*al-ṣifāt al-rabbānīyah wa-l-asrar al-rūḥānīyah*) embraced in the Human Kingdom (*mamlakah insānīyah*), he fell to his knee and cast off his darkness,[92] proclaiming: "Truly, I *am* the Most-hidden Secret (*aktam al-sirr*)!" [when] the matter had become quite clear [to him].[93] For denial had ceased and Satan been driven off by virtue of [God's saying:] "My Servants—you [Satan] have no power (*sulṭān*) over them!"[94] So, then, [he implored me:] "Describe [for me] the matter,[95] for, indeed, I submit myself [to you]; and teach me, for, truly, I [am ready to] learn."

[To this] I replied that I never ceased coming and going, morning and evening,[96] at this sublime Place of Witnessing (*al-mashhad al-sanī*) and exalted Station (*al-maqām al-ʿalī*) until the matter became firmly established with me, and the "Secondary Keys" (*al-mafātīḥ al-thawānī*)[97] came into my possession. For when I became possessed of that acquisition, and the Real disposed me to be sent forth (*al-taqdīm*), preparing me for Particularization (*al-tafṣīl*),[98] I came to realize that

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[90] *Qalb al-ḥurr*: "the heart of the free-born [*sci.*, gentleman]."

[91] Instead of *muntahá*, Q has *mushtahá* (one longed for [by the hearts]).

[92] P, M, S and Q have "his two knees" (*rukbatay-hi*, gen.), which the latter alone makes good by reading *ʿan ẓulmatay-hi* ("[casting off] his two darknesses"—*sci.*, ignorance [of God's unity] and transgression [see Lane, *s.v. ẓulmah*]) in the foll. clause.

[93] *Fa-ūdiḥa l-amru*. W and Q have *wa-awdaḥu l-amri* (and the most-evident power, or affair).

[94] *Qur*. 15: 42 and 17: 65.

[95] *Fa-ṣif al-khabar*, in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has *wa-ṣif al-khayr*.

[96] *Fī ghabūq*^{in} *wa-ṣabūḥ*^{in}. Q2 has garbled the first.

[97] In her *Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī*, S. al-Ḥakīm quotes from a ms. in a library in Damascus entitled *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*, which is ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī: "Know that the 'primary keys' (*al-mafātīḥ al-uwal*) cannot be used by anyone but [God]; whereas the 'secondary keys' are known to us, they being His names by which the transcendent mysteries of potential beings are opened up" (p. 867). Q2 has garbled the adj.; and B2 and Q2 have *fī* (instead of *bayna*) *yadayya*.

[98] *Wa-rashshaḥa-nī li-l-tafṣīli*. B glosses the verbal phrase with *qaddama-nī* (He prepared me [for]). E, W and Z read *al-tafḍīl* (preference) instead of *al-tafṣīl*. "Particularization" here may connote s. th. like "individuation" (*taʿyīn*) or "existentiation" (*takwīn*), but *tafṣīl* could also denote "exposition" in the sense of "explaining" abstruse mysteries.

He (Exalted be He!) wills my return to the World of Appearance (*rujūʿ-ī ilá ʿālam al-shahādah*),[99] so I assented to that in accordance with C,53 the condition of present Continuance and the "Addition" (*ʿalá sharṭ al-ibqāʾ al-ḥālī wa-l-ziyādah*).[100] For there is absolutely no definitive evidence for the existence of any terminus (*nihāyah*), nor has any man ever truly realized an end (*ghāyah*), as [God Himself] is the Speaker (Praised be He!) of the declaration of Transcendence and Exaltation (*tanzīh wa-tamjīd*): "They [shall] have all that they desire in [the garden of Paradise], and with Us there is an Excess (*mazīd*)."[101] He who becomes distinguished by this Station acquires the Power of accomplishing B,9b his will (*nufūdh irādati-hi*) in his own domain (*mulku-hu*),[102] along with the "Addition" (*ziyādah*) of that which cannot be attributed to the achievement of [personal] Resolution (*al-himmah*) [alone].[103] The "Power of accomplishing his will" is [alluded to] in His declaration: "It may happen that God will grant the [spiritual] Victory (*al-fatḥ*)"[104]—but on condition of the fulfilment of His Covenant (*ʿahdu-hu*)[105]—while the "Addition" is in the perfection of Sainthood (*tatmīm al-walāyah*)[106] with His saying (Be He Praised!) "—or [send] a Command from His Presence (*amr min ʿindi-hi*)."[107]

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[99] "After granting me the Divine secrets and instructing me in the teachings of the righteous (*taʿlīm al-abrār*), so that I might guide the people in the world of appearance (*ʿālam al-shahādah*) and instruct them in the truth of worship (*ḥaqīqat al-ʿibādah*)" (M). *ʿĀlam al-shahādah*: "the world of sense-perception", equated with the *ʿālam al-mulk* (the kingdom of this world) in *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 73. On the notion of *rujūʿ*, see Chap. 45 of the *Futūḥāt*.

[100] *Al-ibqāʾ al-ḥālī* (the continuation of the present) is the same as *baqāʾ*: "continuance [of existence after the 'death' of *fanāʾ*, the annihilation of the creaturely attributes]" (*cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 59). Regarding *ziyādah, cf.* next note.

[101] *Qur.* 50: 35, referring to the delights of Paradise for the blessed and the "excess/addition" (= *mazīd, ziyādah*) willed by God beyond all of which they could conceive. Note that Ibn al-ʿArabī specifically denies the ultimacy of the classic Ṣūfī notion of *fanāʾ* (extinction), on the principle that *ex nihilo nihil fit.*

[102] When the mystic attains to this station "he is able to exercise magical control (*tamakkana min al-taṣarruf*) in the kingdom of his humanity (*mamlakat insānīyati-hi*) by the power of his command and prohibition (*bi-nufūdhi amri-hi wa-nahyi-hi*)" (M).

[103] On *himmah*, see above, p. 263, n. 58. C inadvertently omits this line and part of the next.

[104] *Qur.* 5: 52. The quotation of this verse is continued below (n. 107).

[105] That is, the pre-eternal covenant (see above, pp. 247–48, n. 18).

[106] Instead of *al-walāyah*, V, B2, Q and Q2 have *al-āyah* ([the conclusion of] the verse), which is plausible (see next note), but the best ss. clearly read "sainthood."

[107] Continuing *Qur.* 5: 52 (see *supra*). This is a good example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of *bāṭinī* hermeneutics: The "*amr* (command = word) from [God's] presence" is Jesus, the *kalimat Allāh*, as *tatmīm al-walāyah*, or *seal* of sainthood. Thus, instead of the existential annihilation of Theravadic buddhahood, Ibn al-ʿArabī opts for the Christic apotheosis (= *ziyādah*) of the bodhisattva.

With my [above-described] departure from adherence to the
[Divine] Companion (*al-rafīq*)[108] [and my return] to the World of
variegation and fabrication (*ʿālam al-tarqīʿ wa-l-talfīq*),[109] I was met by
the "occurrences" of engendered entities (*ḥawādith al-akwān*) in the
way, whereupon I discovered in the infernal and angelic creatures
(*al-ḥādithāt al-āniyah wa-l-ātiyah*)[110] [those] which I beheld personally
(*mā shahidtu-hu*), while from the higher and lower existent beings (*al-* **15**
kāʾināt al-ʿulwīyah wa-l-suflīyah) I came to know [those] which I came
across (*mā wajadtu-hu*).[111] And from that time, as I am now currently
and shall be until my demise (*hulk-ī*)[112] and separation from my
[physical life] (*mulk-ī*, "my domain"), [I remain] in that Experiential
Return (*al-rajʿah al-mashhadīyah*) attesting to the Unitary Quality (*al-ṣifah al-aḥadīyah*).[113]

—And also from that [same "Fathomless Sea"]:[114]

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[108] *Inṣirāf-ī min ghayri mufāraqati l-rafīqi.* Instead of the first phrase, Q2 has "his departure" (*inṣirāfu-hu*).

[109] *Tarqīʿ*: "patchworking". Lane quotes the foll. verse of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak: "We repair (*nuraqqiʿu*) . . . our state in the present world by rending . . . our religion,/so that neither our religion remains nor what we repair" (*s.v. raqaʿa; cf. Matt.* 9: 16). Acc. to S, this denotes "a kind of mending of clothing with colored patches, that being an indication of the diversity of worship (*tanwīʿ al-ʿibādah*). For the angels do not have that, but rather they all have one sort of worship," as they lack man's completeness. D and Q2 have *al-tarfīʿ* (elevation) instead of *al-tarqīʿ*.

[110] B, E, R, Q2 and the margin of C have *al-ḥādithāt* instead of *al-ḥawādith* (which cannot be construed as animate), as in all of the other ss. In the two adjs. there is much disparity in the ss., and I have followed B (the earliest, though it is not the least obscure). E, D, R and Z can also be read thus (by supplying the *maddah*); and C has the second but omits the first. The association of *al-āniyah* with infernal punishment is based on *Qur.* 88: 5, where the damned are said to drink from a boiling (*āniyah*) spring. Ibn al-ʿArabī's intent is probably rather the *jinn* (morally neutral "demons, or spirits of fire") than "devils", however. As for the second adj., Lane notes that *āt*^{in} (coming) can connote the sense of "an angel" (*s.v.*). Exc. for Q2, which has *al-ātiyah* twice, all of the later ss. read *al-annīyah wa-l-aynīyah*, which is apparently intended to signify "temporal and spatial".

[111] *ʿUlwī* denotes "supralunar" in the Ptolemaic system, and *suflī*, "sublunar". Note the possibly implicit contrast between *wujūd* and *shuhūd* (in the preceding clause).

[112] Q2 has *halakat-ī* (my destruction) instead of *hulk-ī* here; and *malakat-ī* (my character trait) in place of *mulk-ī* in the next clause.

[113] In his return to the *ʿālam al-shahādah/ al-mulk*, the mystic experiences (and, so, bears witness to) the world as the manifestation of the one God.

[114] See above, p. 246 at n. 1, and below, p. 287, n. 56. Al-Saʿdī apparently alludes to a legend which would identify this sea as that in which King Solomon's signet-ring was lost for a time when it was purloined by a satanic spirit (see the art., "Sulaimān b. Dāwūd," in *E.I.* 1). Acc. to Rabbinic and Muslim lore, satans were employed by Solomon to dive for pearls (see *Qur.* 21: 82 and 38: 37); and he also knew the language of birds (*manṭiq al-ṭayr*, in 27: 16*sq.*; see next note).

3. A Trustworthy Hoopoe Bringing Sure Tidings[1]

—*Who took concrete form in Three Lights and Wrappings of Secrets*[2]

Among [the forms of] him who saluted me from his horizon (*ufuqu-hu*),[3] manifesting unto me a part of his nature (*khuluqu-hu*), [were, firstly] a Setting Star (*kawkab al-ufūl*)[4] in the robe of Love (*ridāʾ al-miqah*);[5] [after which] his Moon rose up (*bāzigh*)[6] in the garb of illuminative Guidance (*ḥullat al-hidāyah al-mushriqah*), for every Luminary bestows its reality (*ḥaqiqatu-hu*) and clarifies for us its way (*ṭarīqatu-hu*). Then these both were followed by the Greater Sun (*al-shams al-akbar*)[7] and the Most-resplendent Light (*al-nūr al-azhar*),[8] which dispelled the darknesses (*al-sudaf*), illuminated the [celestial] chambers (*al-ghuraf*) and eliminated troubles (*al-kulaf*)[9]—[this] being the "Exemplary Self-manifestation" (*al-tajallī l-mithālī*) and "Light Sent-forth" (*al-nūr al-irsālī*).[10] B,10

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[1] *Hudʾhud amīn jāʾa bi-nabaʾ yaqīn* (see *Qur.* 27: 20–44). V, B2 and Q insert *ishārah* (an intimation) before this. S continues his relation of this passage to the story of Solomon (see preceding note), in which the hoopoe was said to have brought the prophet-king news (*nabaʾ yaqīn*, v. 22) of the Queen of Sheba (Bilqīs), upon which he had it carry a message (*kitāb*) inviting her to accept the true religion (*cf. 1 Kings* 10: 1–10). On the hoopoe and the many legends surrounding it in Islamic lore, see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, vol. II, p. 413, *et seq.*, part of which S quotes (w/o acknowledgement).

[2] *Wa-qad tajassada fī thalāthati anwār*^{in} *wa-aghṭiyati asrār*^{in}. Q2 alone has *aghṭiyatu-hu* instead of the last expression. The comms. explain this phrase as alluding to Solomon's having to search for (*tafaqqada*) the hoopoe among the birds in *Qur.* 27: 20 because of its being concealed [*ghāʾib*]. The "three lights" al-Saʿdī interprets as the star, moon and sun of the story about Abraham in *Qur.* 6: 74–78*sq.*, these being also the "wrappings of secrets," or veils (*ḥujub*) of the truth. While this interpretation is also written in the margin of M (by al-Saʿdī?), al-Maqābirī himself glosses the "lights" as those of apostleship (*al-risālah*), gnosis (*al-maʿrifah*) and spiritual colloquy (*al-munājāh*). This line is highlighted as part of the section-heading in B, R, P, Z and M.

[3] In the *Sīrat al-Nabī* of Ibn Hishām (vol. I, p. 237; and Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 106) the angel Gabriel appears to Muḥammad as "a man pure (of form), his two feet astride the horizon (*ufuq*) of heaven," whence he salutes the prophet-to-be.

[4] Whereas, properly, the *ufūl* of a star is its setting beyond the horizon (*i.e.*, obscuration), here and below it seems, rather, to denote the time of the luminary in its brightness, as it appears near the horizon just before setting (*cf. Qur.* 6: 76; and the Gloss., *s.v.*).

[5] As in B (which glosses the second word as *al-maḥabbah*) and all other early ss. W is unclear; and B2 and both comms. have *al-maqt* (aversion) in place of *al-miqah*! Q has *alaqu-hu* (its brightness); and Q2, *ulfah* (? intimacy). The "morning star" is Venus, planet of love in astrology.

[6] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 77.

[7] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 78, where Abraham calls the sun "greater" (than the moon and star).

[8] "If the sun of the profession of Divine unity (*shams al-tawḥīd*) dawns in the city of your humanity (*madīnat insānīyati-ka*) and the light of faithfulness (*nūr al-ikhlāṣ*) illuminates it, their radiance will shine on the attributes of your soul" (M).

[This Solar-figure] saluted [me], then set in the Occident of the Unseen (*maghrib al-muʿammá*)[11] until the advent of the appointed Time (*al-ajal al-musammá*).[12] When the Time is imminent, drawing near, he will rise as a Guide (*hād*ⁱⁿ) from the place in which he had set.[13] This, then, is the Sun of Guidance (*shams al-tawjīh*) and the Station of Transcendence (*maqām al-tanzīh*), with the setting of which (*bi-ufūli-hi*)[14] polytheism (*al-ishrāk*) shall cease[15] and the covenants of false-Associates [with God] (*ʿuqad al-ashrāk*) will dissolve,[16] so that their prey gets away,[17] their ruse being lifted.[18]

This Setting (*al-ufūl*), in its entirety, is in two parts[19] for him who has two eyes [to see]: Although it takes place in [the Mystic's] heart, yet it is by a Light from his Lord in the World of his transcendent Being (*ghaybu-hu*), the Light of His Nearness (*qurbu-hu*) remaining with him:[20]

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[9] Or: "affectations; ceremonies" (*kulaf* are also "freckles, sun-spots"). S interprets this to mean the lifting of "religious imposition" (*taklīf*) from the righteous.

[10] V and B2 have *al-timthālī* (? assimilative) for the adj.; and Q has both.

[11] This sentence begins: *Fa-sallama, thumma afala.* In place of the second phrase, Q2 has *ilayya*; and *al-ghamy* instead of *al-muʿāmmá*, reading: "and he submitted to me in the occident of unconsciousness"(!). W and Q have *maghribu-hu*; and M, *maghrib-ī*.

[12] That is, the time predetermined by God (see, *e.g.*, *Qur.*, 11: 3, 13: 2, *et al.*) when the sun will rise from the place of its setting, signalling the beginning of the eschaton, cosmically or mystically.

[13] *Ṭalaʿa hādiy*ᵃⁿ *min ḥaythu gharaba.* As we have seen, the sun rising in the west symbolizes the rightly-guided Mahdī. M interprets differently: "With the setting of the sun of the delusive imagination (*ghurūb shams al-wahm*), [the intellect as the 'guide' (*al-hādī*)] comes to the fore to guide me."

[14] Q2 has اقوله (?) instead of *ufūlu-hu* here and in the next sentence.

[15] In the story of Abraham and the "twilight of the idols" (*Qur.* 6: 74–83), upon which this imagery is based, when the sun set ("I love not things that set," v. 76) the prophet exclaimed: "O my people! Verily, I am [now] free from that which you associate [with God]" (v. 78).

[16] C, D, V, Z and Q have the sing., *ʿuqdah*; and M has *wa-yanjalī ʿuqadu*, etc. B2 is wanting this clause.

[17] There is a pun here on the two significations of *ashrāk*, the plur. of both *sharīk*, "a (false) partner (of God)", and of *sharak* (a snare, trap).

[18] S quotes *Qur.* 4: 76 in this connection: "Verily, the ruse of Satan (*kayd al-shayṭān*) is weak."

[19] That is, in two modes (see next note).

[20] The state of *fanāʾ* (mystical "annihilation") is absolute for the temporal qualities, but is mitigated by *baqāʾ* (abiding continuous) in the mystic's essential being (see above, p. 275 [at nn. 100–01], where Ibn al-ʿArabī states his case against the ultimacy of *fanāʾ*).

> And there shall be for him "Light upon light"[21] and Joy accruing to joy. . . .[22]

And if the Most-luminous Place (*al-maḥall al-aḍwā*)[23] becomes "dark" at the setting [of the lesser luminaries of the false-Associates], denuded of the attributes of their dwelling-place,[24] [that is because] it was plunged in the Ocean of the Holiest Essence (*al-dhāt al-aqdasīyah*), stripped of the garments of their essential attributes (*ṣifāt maʿnawīyah*).[25] So, contemplate this sublime Secret (*al-sirr al-sanī*)[26]—how marvelous it is; and this delectable Taste (*al-dhawq al-shahī*)—how sweet it is![27] I remained with this Solar Light (*al-nūr al-shamsī*) in his Most-holy Station (*maqāmu-hu l-aqdasī*), conversing intimately with him for years, and moonlit nights, and ages. . . .

Now God has already made manifest to us the Sign (*al-ʿalāmah*) that he [*viz.*, the Solar-figure?][28] was the Seal of the Imāmate (*khātam al-imāmah*)—that is to say, the Particular *Muḥammadan* Imāmate (*al-imāmah al-Muḥammadīyah al-juzʾīyah*), not the Universal, *General* Imāmate (*al-imāmah al-muṭlaqah al-kullīyah*).[29] Therefore, he who has understood, may he know! and he who is ignorant, let him knock on the door and persist [in that] as long as this Light endures on his horizon, before he sets in his Truth (*ḥaqqu-hu*). But I have fully verified his properties,[30] and came to know what Secrets the Real has placed in his keeping. . . .

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[21] *Cf. Qur.* 24: 35. The two modes of light are those of "the direct perception (*mushāhadah*) of the 'dazzling signs' (*al-āyāt al-bāhirah*) in the external world, and . . . of the perception of the interior (*mushāhadat al-bāṭin*) in the correspondence to reality" (M). In the margin these are correlated with the *sharīʿah* and *ḥaqīqah*, the exoteric and the esoteric. But *cf.* below, p. 284, n. 24.

[22] *Surūr*^{un} *wārid*^{un} *ʿalá surūr*^{in}. Again, the comms. read these as two types of felicity, *e.g.*, "acquaintance with the exoteric and esoteric secrets" (M). V omits *wārid.*

[23] Thus in all ss. exc. Q, which has *al-aḍwá*, meaning the same. The comms. explain this as the heart, "the locus of light."

[24] *Muʿarr*^{an} *min ṣifāti maqīli-hā*. W/o the reflected color of the container (= matter), the water (= spirit) is invisible.

[25] That is, the specific attributes of the *ashrāk* (see n. 17, above).

[26] W seems to have *al-sunnī* (customary, Prophetary).

[27] *Cf. Psalms* 34: 8: "O taste and see that the Lord is good." *Dhawq*, of course, signifies the "immediate, non-discursive experience of God" in Ṣūfī parlance. Q2 adds *mā aʿjaba-hu* from the preceding clause.

[28] "To us": that is, to the author himself. This revelation occurred in Fez in 594/1197–98, when, Ibn al-ʿArabī later wrote in *Fut.* III, 514 (13–14), "God gave me the sign (*ʿalāmah*) [of the Muḥammadan Seal of the saints]." This could also be the certain Divine secret (*sirr*) which Ibn al-ʿArabī ill-advisedly divulged in Fez in that same year (see *ibid.*, II, 348 [31–32*sq.*]). We may well suppose that the information which he was reprimanded for sharing with some friends was the fact that he was *himself* the Muḥammadan Seal (see above, pp. 59–60). Otherwise, and more specifically, the *ʿalāmah* is an actual physical protuberance which appears between the nominee's shoulder-blades, similar to one said to have been found on Muḥammad's back (see below, pp. 465–66, n. 33).

[29] Foll. *khātam al-imāmah* in the preceding clause, B has *aʿnī l-imāmah* in the margin, and then the remainder of the phrase, indicating that a change in the text was

—And out of that ["Fathomless Sea"]:[31]

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evidently established with that ms. V, B2, and both comms. have garbled this line; and W adds *khātam min ḥaythu l-walāyah* (a seal of sainthood) as a gloss on "the particular Muḥammadan imāmate." From this we see, again, that Ibn al-ʿArabī conflates the notions of Mahdī (= the "western sun") and Seal, at least at this stage, though it is true that he formally distinguishes them explicitly elsewhere (see pp. 239, 495 and 508–09, of the trn.). *Muṭlaqah* (absolute) here means "generic, not connected with any particular religious community." For M's comm., see App. I. See also App. II, 572, for H's brief comm. on this chap.

[30] *Fa-taḥaqqaqtu mā laday-hi.* Q2 has *fa-ḥaqqaqtu.*

[31] See above, p. 246, n. 1; and below, p. 287, n. 56.

4. Purest Sealed Wine—Its Blend, Heavenly Water[1]

. . . Until the year, *Ninety-five and half of a Day* [= 595 *Anno Hejirae*/ B,10b
1198–99 C.E.],[2] when the gloom of clouds was dispelled from the sun
as I was in my spiritual condition (*ḥālat-ī*) upon the above-described **16**
Return [(*rujūʿ*) to the world of perception],[3] with my established Sign (*ʿalm-ī l-mashhūr*)[4] and my Knowledge concealed (*ʿilm-ī l-mastūr*) in the undergarments of Light (*ghalāʾil al-nūr*). But this choice Wine [*sci.*, the Seal of the Saints] was sealed with musk[5] and blended with [water from the celestial fountain] Tasnīm, because he is the Follower of a [true] Leader (*tābiʿu matbūʿ*^{in})[6] and the Auditor of One whose word is to be heeded (*sāmiʿu masmūʿ*^{in}). The Signal (*al-ishārah*) [to descend from Heaven] will come to him at the end of time (*min*

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[1] *Raḥīq makhtūm mizāju-hu Tasnīm. Cf. Qur.* 83: 25–28, of which the heading is a paraphrase. M writes that "*al-raḥīq* is the most-elevated of the waters of Paradise, and *al-Tasnīm* [*sic*] is a spring therein from which 'those brought near [to God]' (*al-muqarrabūn*) drink," and he goes on to say that the first symbolizes the "secrets" and the latter the "lights." On both *raḥīq* and *Tasnīm*, see Jeffery, *s.v. Cf.* also Yahia, *no.* 591.

[2] That is, the Islamic lunar year which began in Nov., 1198, reckoning a "day (of the Lord)" as one-thousand years (see *Qur.* 22: 47, *et al.*). V, B2, S, and a footnote of Q have "fifty-five" instead of "ninety-five"; and M and the margin of V read "forty-five." S adds that one copy has "sixty-five." Q2 has the correct date but omits the conj. before *niṣf.*

[3] See above, pp. 274–76. M's comm. is prohibitionist: "That is, I remained drunk (*walhān*, 'perplexed') with that [celestial] drink until the darkness of the self (*ẓalām al-nafs*) was dispelled from my heart." *Cf. Rev.* 1: 10.

[4] As voc. in B and W (consonant with *ʿilm-ī*). *Cf.* the saying, *Ashharu min nār*^{in} *ʿalá ʿalam*^{in}, said of s.th. very famous. This could conceivably refer to the young Ṣūfī's growing renown in the Maghrib with the spread of his published writings, but the allusion is probably rather to the *ʿalāmah* (sign) distinguishing the Seal of the saints, obliquely hinted at here (see n. 28 on p. 279). M reads *ʿilm-ī l-mashhūr* (my celebrated *knowledge*), which he associates with exoteric knowledge and the *sharīʿah*, as opposed to the *ʿilm-ī l-mastūr* (my esoteric knowledge) of the foll. clause, which he correlates with *ḥaqīqah.*

[5] *Kāna l-raḥīqu bi-l-miski makhtūm*^{an}. The Qurʾānic wine is also "sealed with musk" (*khitāmu-hu misk*^{un}; but *cf.* Lane, *s.v. khitām*; and Jeffery, *s.v. khātam* and *misk*). S relates *misk* to "messiah" (*masīḥ*) when he writes that God "sealed His *sharīʿah* with the sainthood of Jesus," for the latter will finally reëstablish the law of Muḥammad's community.

[6] Both comms. read this as *tābiʿ*^{un} *matbūʿ*^{un}, M applying both participles (here and in the next clause) to the Seal/Mahdī, while S refers them to Muḥammad as "follower of the community of Abraham" and "followed by Jesus as Mahdī." But in *Fut.* III, 335 (30), Ibn al-ʿArabī describes the Mahdī as "a follower [of the Prophet] (*muttabiʿ*), not one followed (*matbūʿ*)." *Tābiʿ* and *matbūʿ* could also be taken to parallel the *Ismāʿīlī* terms, *al-tālī* (the follower) and *al-sābiq* (the forerunner). *Cf.* also p. 330, n. 20, below.

baʿd),[7] and with him [will be] the Threat and the Promise (*al-waʿīd wa-l-waʿd*).[8]

Now when three months of the above-mentioned year had gone by,[9] and when, upon my withdrawing apart (*firāq-ī*) to this Western Sun (*al-shams al-maghribīyah*)[10] and my making over [my affair] (*tarak-ī*) to him in the "Yathribite Assembly" (*al-ʿiṣābah al-Yathribīyah*)[11]—the Seal (*al-khatm*) receiving me with his purest Wine,[12] the heavenly Water (*al-Tasnīm*)[13] clarifying for me the blend of his Way (*mizāj ṭarīqi-hi*)[14]—I then beheld the Seal of the Saints of God, the Real (*khatm awliyāʾ Allāh al-Ḥaqq*),[15] in the Seat of the Comprehensive

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[7] Or: "afterwards" (as voc. in W). *Min buʿd* (from afar) is also possible, but it does not rhyme with *waʿd*, below.

[8] The "promise" is that of Paradise for the righteous (see *Qur.* 4: 122, *et al.*), and the "threat", that of final Judgment itself (50: 20). W has these inverted.

[9] That is, *into* the third month (Rabīʿ I) of 595, which corresponded almost exactly with Jan. of 1199. On p. 288, below (at n. 2), Ibn al-ʿArabī again places this occurrence in Rabīʿ I. This date, then, is firmly attested as the definite *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*.

[10] "Where I 'set' in my existence (*afaltu fī wujūd-ī*) and learned of the essence of what I sought and what I worship (*ʿalimtu ʿayna maqṣūd-ī wa-maʿbūd-ī*)" (M). S identifies the *shams al-maghribīyah* with "the greater Seal (*al-khatm al-aʿẓam*)" and the "Jesus of inspiration (*ʿĪsá l-ilhām*)." Q2 omits the conj. at the beginning of this clause.

[11] Yathrib, of course, is the pre-Islamic name of Medina, the "City of the Prophet." M glosses *Yathribīyah* as syn. with *Muḥammadīyah*, but this is hardly revealing. The *nisbah* adj. is an allusion to *Qur.* 33: 13: "O people of Yathrib, there is no station [reading *maqām* instead of *muqām*, 'abiding'] for you, so return [to God]!" (*cf. Mawāqiʿ*, 141, cited by Chodkiewicz, along with other refs., in *Seal*, 72, n. 44). As for the significance of the word, *ʿiṣābah* ("group, association," = *jamāʿah*), cognate with *taʿaṣṣub*, it may be relevant to point out that Ibn al-ʿArabī used to meet with a circle of fellow Ṣūfīs in Fez in 594/1198 for nightly practice of *dhikr* (see Morris's trn. of *Fut.* III, 334 [29–31], in *Illuminations*, 134–35), and he even suggested that it was on account of the break-up of this group that he began shortly thereafter to disseminate his knowledge (*bathth al-ʿilm*) in books. However, the ref. is more likely to the "station of the inexpressible" (*maqāmu mā lā yuqālu*) associated with *Qur.* 33: 13 in another Maghribine work by Ibn al-ʿArabī, the prologue to the *Mashāhid* (see H. Taher, ed., "Sainthood and Prophecy," p. 21), as Chodkiewicz pointed out.

[12] There may be something wrong with the orig. text here. The earliest ms., B, clearly reads *talaqqā-nī l-khatmu bi-raḥīqi-hi*, which can be construed as I have translated. Q alone has *fa-lammā atá l-khatmu*, etc. (and when the Seal brought forth the wine). The other ss. lack either of these readings, taking *talaqqā-nī* from the beginning of the clause as the verb.

[13] In the Qurʾān (83: 27) the name is w/o the art.

[14] The implication is that the celestial wine, with "Logic absolute," opens the eyes to the truth. D, V, B2 and M have *ilá* instead of *lī*.

[15] M specifies that this is "the particular [Muḥammadan] Seal, not the universal," and that it is meant to signify "the self/soul (*al-nafs*) fortified (?) by its imbibing of the pure, sealed wine," *etc.* This would, indeed, seem to be the case; but if so, we must assume that the mystic is beholding his own self apotheosized, a motif

Imāmate and Truth (*maqʿad al-imāmah al-iḥāṭīyah wa-l-ṣidq*).[16] He showed me the Secret of his lineage (*sirr maḥtidi-hi*), and I was commanded to kiss his hand.[17] And I saw him descend upon the "Faithful one" (*al-Ṣiddīq*)[18] and the "Discriminator" (*al-Fārūq*) [*viz.*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the first and second Caliphs] and approach[19] the "Truthful and Trustworthy one" (*al-Ṣādiq al-maṣdūq* [*sci.*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the third Caliph?]),[20] standing parallel to him, next to his ear.[21] The latter listened intently to receive information (*al-idhn*),[22] the Banner of [the Seal's] Precedence unfurled (*liwāʾ taqaddumi-hi*

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we will encounter again in the present work (see, *e.g.*, pp. 316–17, below). B2 and Q omit *Allāh*; and Q2 has *Ḥaqq* (w/o the art.). For S's comm., see App. I.

[16] D, V, Q2 and both comms., read *al-imāmīyah* instead of *al-imāmah*; and V, B2 and S have *bi-l-ṣidq* (in truth) in place of *wa-l-ṣidq*. M glosses the "seat" as the "all-encompassing heart (*al-qalb al-muḥīṭ*)." The passage from *Fut.* II, 49 (see App. IV, 593–96) is inscribed in the margin of M at this point.

[17] "Because [the Seal] was the means of my salvation" (M). S repeats this and quotes *Qur.* 5: 119: "This is a day on which their truthfulness (*ṣidqu-hum*) shall profit the truthful (*al-ṣādiqūn*)."

[18] This epithet is usually tr. "the veracious one," although, when applied to Abū Bakr, it probably was primarily intensive of *muṣaddiq*: "one who accepts, or admits, the truth of what is said," *i.e.*, one who is *faithful* (see Gloss., *s.v. ṣiddīq*). At any rate, in the present context we need to distinguish this term from the meaning of *al-ṣādiq* in the foll. clause. On the Judeo-Christian messianic connotations of the name, *al-Fārūq*, and its eventual application to the Caliph ʿUmar, see S. Bashear, "The Title, 'Fārūq', and Its Association with ʿUmar I," in *Studia islamica* (1990).

[19] *Wa-raʾaytu-hu mutadalliy*^{an} *ʿalá . . . wa-mutadāniy*^{an} *min . . .*, etc. Cognates of these two participles occur (in reverse sequence) in *Qur.* 53: 8, describing Gabriel's appearance to Muḥammad. On the order of these words here, see Lane's quotation from al-Farrāʾ on *Qur.* 53: 8 (*s.v. tadallá*).

[20] The referent is not at all certain here, and may, rather, be the Prophet Muḥammad. But it should be noted that Ibn al-ʿArabī explicitly correlates the terms, *ṣādiq* and *ṣiddīq*, with *tābiʿ* and *matbūʿ* ("follower" and "followed") and *murīd/murād* (disciple/master) in the unpub. *K. al-Amr al-Muḥkam al-Marbūṭ* (see *Ms. Princeton 1574* [Garrett], f. 2b), written in 602/1205. Moreover, this entire scene evidently represents the same (?) visionary experience that is the basis of the memorable passage from the opening *khuṭbah* of the *Futūḥāt*, which I give in App. IV (pp. 589–92), where the *Ṣiddīq* appears on the right-hand of the apotheosis of Muḥammad, the *Fārūq* on his left, and the Seal (Jesus) in front, "recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthá*)." Most significantly, ʿAlī is then said to translate the Seal's words into Arabic (*yutarjimu ʿani l-khatmi bi-lisāni-hi*) for the Prophet. Finally, it may not be insignificant that one of the notable descendents of ʿAlī and a progenitor of Ṣūfism, the sixth Imām, Jaʿfar b. Muḥ. al-Bāqir (d. 148/756), was called *al-Ṣādiq*.

[21] *Muḥādhiy*^{an} *la-hu min jihati l-udhni.*

[22] Besides "permission", *etc.*, the Qur'ānic usage of *idhn* can sometimes signify "command" (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 4: 64), "knowledge" (in 2: 102 and 3: 145), or "information" (2: 279), as Lane notes (*s.v.*). S, who believes that the Seal is listening to the Prophet, cites *Qur.* 59: 7: "And whatsoever the Apostle gives you, take," *etc.*, in this connection. The subj. would seem, rather, to be Muḥammad, as if listening to Gabriel (*cf.* n. 19, above), the "spirit of God," associated with Jesus. My best guess,

manshūr),[23] and his two Seals (*khātamā-hu*) were "Light upon Light."[24] In that [Station of] Comprehensiveness Pre-eminence is his,[25] while others in that regard are "like the wearer of two garments of falsehood."[26] And I noticed that the Noble Sun (*al-shams al-baytīyah* [= ʿAlī?—the Mahdī?])[27] had kissed [the Seal's] hand even as I had, [so I asked the Latter concerning the Former][28] and the Seal declared to me: "He[29] is of my People."

Thereupon he discoursed with me,[30] and we sang the praises of the ancient and the modern,[31] the cup-bearer pouring out the vin-

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however, is that the Seal is speaking to ʿAlī, his *turjumān* (interpreter), as we saw in n. 20.

[23] The comms. and Q2 have garbled this.

[24] See *Qur.* 24: 35, also quoted above, p. 279 (at n. 21). "That is, the light of Divine law in following the Prophet, and the light of the truth in sincerity and following inspiration" (S). Rather, the "two seals," which are "two lights" [= suns], are the two modes of light, cosmic and mystical (adumbrated, also, above), personified in the universal Seal of sainthood (*viz.*, Jesus) and the particular Muḥammadan Seal (Ibn al-ʿArabī), both subsumed in the higher Reality of Muḥammad (*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*). Note that in the vision described in the prologue to the *Futūḥāt* (see App. IV, 537, n. 10) the one called "he of the two lights" (*dhū l-nūrayn*) actually seems to be a conflation of Ibn al-ʿArabī himself ("covered in the robe of his modesty") and Jesus, his "father", both Seals standing *before* the Prophet.

[25] *Fa-kāna la-hu fī dhālika l-jamʿi l-ẓuhūru.* Q has a conj. between the last two words. In comprehension the two Seals are united.

[26] *Ka-lābisi thawbay zūr*^{in}. This is part of a trad. recorded in Muslim, *Libās*, 127, and Abū Dā'ūd, *Adab*, 83. Lane (*s.v. mutashabbiʿ*) gives several explanations of the expression, among them: "the hypocrite who wears the garments of the [Ṣūfīs]" (see also *s.v. zūr*). Having merged with his spiritual counterpart, Jesus, Ibn al-ʿArabī transcends duplicity (*cf. Eph.* 2: 14–15*sq.*).

[27] *Al-baytīyah* signifies descent from the noble house of the Prophet and ʿAlī-Fāṭimah. In this context one would assume, of course, that the ref. is to the Mahdī; but another possibility is that this "sun" is simply of *Arab* stock rather than non-Arab (as Jesus, the other "sun"). In that case, we could surmise that the "noble sun's" kissing the hand of the other is a kind of visionary dramatization of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own act, both gestures meant to signify sonship (= virtual identity) to the universal Seal, Jesus. Q2 has *al-yaqīnīyah* instead of *al-baytīyah.*

[28] *Fa-sa'altu-hu ʿan-hā* (found only in Q).

[29] Actually, *she*, since *shams* is fem. (as is, by the way, the fantastic solar figure described by John the Divine in the first chap. of *Revelations*, judging by the word used for its "breasts" [see v. 13*sq.*]).

[30] *Nāzaʿa-nī l-ḥadītha.* Both comms. construe this to mean that the Seal is citing a certain *ḥadīth* (in Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 28; *Bad' al-khalq*, 6, *et al.*; and Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunnah*, 16), telling how a man's good works precede him to Paradise, based evidently on a loose analogy between the verbs, *nāzaʿa* and *sabaqa.*

[31] The relative merits of the classical (= *qadīm*) and modern (*ḥadīth*) poets was a popular theme of scholarly debate in Arabic literature. Q2 has garbled the verb (*taghannaynā*). Ibn al-Muʿtazz (quoted below), author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿarā' al-Muḥdithīn*, was himself an outstanding example of the "modern" Arab poets.

tage wine (*al-sāqī yaḥthu l-mudāmah*),[32] beginning with the "Pillar of
the Throne of the Imāmate" (*sāq ʿarsh al-imāmah* [*sci.*, the Seal]).
Meanwhile, he leaned upon me like one intoxicated (*nashwān*)[33] and
dallied with me like one fallen madly in love (*haymān*),[34] imploring:
"Restore me in the Robe of Secrecy (*ridāʾ al-katm*),[35] for, verily, *I am* B,11
the Seal:[36] There will be no Saint after me[37] and no one to bear my
Covenant.[38] Without me states will pass away,[39] and those of the
Latter days shall be connected to the First":[40]

Of what I mentioned not, it was *what it was*—
So, presume the best, and do not ask about it![41]

When hearts exchanged their Secrets confidentially and the suns of the transcendent Mysteries (*shumus al-ghuyūb*)[42] rose in the Heaven of its lights[43]—[our] Session [together] (*al-majlis*) reaching its term[44]

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[32] Q2 has *yuḥibbu* (he loves) for the verb. *Mudāmah*: so-called either on account of its age or because the drinking of it can be continued for many days (due to its quantity or quality).

[33] Or: "he became attached to/fond of me", *etc.*

[34] *Wa-yughāzilu-nī mughāzalata haymān*^{in}.

[35] *Ruddi-nī bi-ridāʾi l-katmi.* S glosses this with: "Conceal me from the others" (as the gallant lover conceals the secret of the beloved).

[36] *Fa-innī anā l-khatmu.* V, B2 and S have garbled this.

[37] *Lā walīya baʿd-ī.* Instead of the first two words, S and Q2 have the adj., *al-ūlá* (the first).

[38] *Wa-lā ḥāmila li-ʿahd-ī.* *ʿAhd*: "knowledge; obligation, responsibility; pledge, covenant", *etc.* Q has *maʿhad-ī* (my place).

[39] *Bi-faqd-ī tadhhabu l-duwalu.* In the margin of M it is noted again that Jesus is the universal Seal of sainthood "from Adam to the end of time," and that after him—that is, after his *second* appearance—there will be no more saints, and, indeed, all "states will disappear and the final hour will arise." S has also garbled this line.

[40] *Wa-talḥaqu l-ukhrayātu bi-l-uwali.* In *Qur.* 3: 59, Jesus (the last saint) is likened to Adam (the first; *cf. 1 Cor.* 15: 45, *et al.*). Another meaning may be that the communal mission of the Seal will resemble that of the Prophet (*cf.* also pp. 291–92).

[41] *Wa-kāna mā kāna mim-mā lastu adhkuru-hū/ fa-ẓunna khayr*^{an} *wa-lā tasʾal ʿani l-khabarī.* This verse (in *al-basīṭ*) is from the *Dīwān* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz, who had the great distinction of reigning as caliph in ʿAbbāsid Baghdad for one day (in 296/908) before being assassinated. Ibn al-ʿArabī would have known the verse from al-Ghazzālī's *Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, where it is quoted (see *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, by W.M. Watt, p. 61), though he might have met with it also in the opening pages of the "philosophical novel," *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, by his near-compatriot, Ibn Ṭufayl (see L.E. Goodman, *Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy Ibn Yaqẓān*, p. 96).

[42] V, S and Q have the sing., *shams*; and Z has *shumūs min.*

[43] "This is an allusion to . . . the spiritual colloquy (*munājāh*) between the heart and the perfect soul, and the manifestation of the suns of the mysterious lights . . . and their converse with the perfect soul, so that its essence is illuminated and its attributes displayed" (M). S quotes here part of a poem from the *Futūḥāt* (beginning: *Fa-abdá lī l-maḥbūba shamsu ttṣāli-hī*).

and Abū l-ʿAbbās and his Companion (*ṣāḥibu-hu*) [*sci.*, al-Khaḍir and Moses][45] entering upon it—I departed to verify the Truth of what I knew, and there was no exquisite *coup de Maître* (*nuktah nādirah*) except it was received or issued at my gate.[46] And were it not for the vow of jealous Protection [of the sacred Secret] (*ʿahd al-ghayrah*)[47] taken, and the fact that disclosure would be a violation thereof, we would surely reveal [the Seal of Sainthood] to you in his outward and his inward form (*ḥullatu-hu wa-bunyatu-hu*).[48] But I shall, indeed, **17**
represent him for you behind the veil of his finery (*warāʾa killati-hi bi-ḥilyati-hi*),[49] for he who dares and raises [the Secret's] veil (*sitru-hu*), sees [the veil's] Secret.[50]—And so shall I do with the Sun of our West (*shams gharbi-nā*) [*sci.*, the Mahdī], revealing him to you from *beyond* our heart (*warāʾa qalbi-nā*) in the seclusion of our Transcendence (*ḥijāb ghaybi-nā*).[51]

He of Divine Revelation and firm Resolution (*dhū kashf ʿalwī wa-ʿazm qawī*) [*sci.*, the Angel of Inspiration][52] burdened my heart until the Sun of my Lord (*shams Rabb-ī*) was seen therein.[53] But one who

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[44] *Akhadha l-majlisu ḥadda-hu.* M glosses this with "the completion, or maturation (*takāmul*), of the attributes of the perfect soul."

[45] *Abū l-ʿAbbās* is one of the *kunyahs* bestowed upon al-Khaḍir by genealogists, but I do not know on what basis, nor can I explain the significance of this clause. M suggests simply that al-Khaḍir, "who is the leader of the saints (*naqīb al-awliyāʾ*), is a personification of the finding of the knowledge of reality (*wujūd ʿilm al-ḥaqīqah*) and the subtle secrets (*al-asrār al-raqīqah*) at the completion of things," while his companion, Moses, stands for the knowledge of the law (*ʿilm al-sharīʿah*). S identifies the "companion" as Elijah (Ilyās). One printing of Q2 has *abad* instead of *Abū*.

[46] *ʿAlá bābi ḥaḍrat-ī wāridat^{un} wa-ṣādirat^{un}.*

[47] *Cf.* the final verses of the poem ending on p. 273–74, quoted by M at this point.

[48] As voc. in C, R and W: lit., "his apparel and his physique." This could also be read *ḥillatu-hu wa-binyatu-hu* (his [proper] station and his body). Instead of the last, V, B2 and the comms. have *wa-bayyinatu-hu* (his proof); Q has *malbisu-hu* (his garb); and Q2, *baytu-hu* (his house).

[49] As in B, D and the margin of W. E and R are unclear in the second phrase. Instead of *killatu-hu*, C has *kalimatu-hu* (his word); V, W, B2 and Q read *kullīyatu-hu* (his entirety); Q2 has *kunyatu-hu* (his honorific) alone; and S has completely garbled the phrase.

[50] Or: "he who dares to raise his [own] veil will see his [own] secret." (Compare this with the *ḥadīth*: "He who knows himself knows his Lord"). V lacks *sirru-hu*; and Q2 has, instead, *sayru-hu.*

[51] He will reveal his doctrine of the Seal in the most veiled manner, relying upon the reader's intuition to divine its real meaning.

[52] Instead of *ʿazm*, the printed edns. have *fahm* (understanding) and *ḥazm* (resoluteness).

[53] "Burdened my heart": *shaqqa ʿan qalb-ī.* I take "him of Divine revelation" to be none other than the angel Gabriel, who "forced" the prophet-to-be to begin reciting the Scripture (see *Sīrat al-Nabī*, vol. I, p. 237; and Guillaume, tr., *The Life*

rides the swift steed of divulgement (*ʿatīq al-ifshāʾ*) is sought and overtaken,[54] while he who gets down from its back to the more docile mount of secrecy (*dhalūl al-katm*) is saved and delivered. That is, unless one does as I shall—and as has been done before me—with surrepititiousness of symbol, and by wrapping meaning in enigma and riddle.[55]

—And also out of that afore-mentioned Sea:[56]

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of Muḥammad, p. 106; *cf.* also the story of two angels' splitting open [*shaqqa*] the young Muḥammad's heart to purify it in *ibid.*, p. 72). Instead of *Rabb-ī*, Q2 has *ẓill-ī* (?).

[54] *Ṭuliba wa-luḥiqa* (as voc. in V and W). M comments that the over-proud are "sought by the sword of the Divine law (*sayf al-sharʿ*) and overtaken by slavegirls (? *al-amawāt*)."

[55] *Min khafīyi ramaz*^{in}*/wa-darji maʿn*^{án} *fī muʿamm*^{án} *wa laghaz*^{in}, as in C, E, D, W and Q2. B, R, Z and M have the same, w/o the *min* at the beginning (a *lapsus calami* of the former?); and V, B2, S and Q begin with *fī*. M describes the "enigma" as such that "no one can attain unto it who has not already been chosen by Divine providence (*al-ʿināyah*) in pre-eternity."

[56] That is, the "fathomless sea" introduced on p. 246. This is actually part of the foll. subj.-heading in B, C, R, V, M and Q.

5. The Dropping of the Veils on the Full Moons[1]

In the month of the Prophet Muḥammad's birth[2] (Peace be upon B,11b him!)[3] [God] (Praised be He!) sent unto me the Messenger of Inspiration (*rasūl al-ilhām*)[4]—that being Revelation (*al-waḥy*)[5] which He kept in our possession,[6] and the Message (*al-khiṭāb*) which He granted to us thereby.[7] Then He caused [that Messenger] to be followed by a spreading Herald-wind (*mubashshirah sāṭiʿah*)[8] in a lush garden (*rawḍah yāniʿah*), which commanded me therein to write down this concealed book (*al-kitāb al-maknūn*) and well-guarded secret deposited (*al-sirr al-maṣūn al-makhzūn*),[9] entitling it for me:

The Book of Unveiling and Concealing
concerning the Gnosis of the Caliph and the Seal[10]

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[1] *Irkhāʾ al-sutūr ʿalá l-budūr.* Probably the "dropping of the veils on the full-moons" refers to the successive revelations of the book-titles of the *ʿAnqāʾ* described in this chap.

[2] That is, Rabīʿ I, which began on the first day of Jan., 1199 (*cf.* above, pp. 281–82, nn. 2 and 9).

[3] *ʿAlay-hi l-salāmu,* in most of the best ss. (B, C, E, R, D and W). The abbreviated form of the benediction would be odious for most later Muslims, but the intention is simply to rhyme with *ilhām* in the next clause. The entire phrase is highlighted as the heading in Z.

[4] "Potentially existent in every human being" (S).

[5] Both comms. explain this as the *ruʾyā ṣāliḥah* (veridical dream), or *waḥy al-muʾmin,* which, acc. to trad., is 1/46th part of prophecy, and is accessible to any believer. "It is sometimes cast into the heart by a sound revelation (*kashf ṣaḥīḥ*) during waking hours, and sometimes in a dream (*manām*)" (S). Q has *al-raḥá* instead of *al-waḥy* (but this is amended in the *corrigenda*). *Raḥ*^{an}: "a millstone, or grinder"; but one usage could suggest the idea of "impressing with a seal" (see Lane, *s.v. khatama*).

[6] *Alladhī abqā-hu ʿalay-nā.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's explicit claim to receiving revelation (*al-waḥy*), a prophetary prerogative, is exceedingly bold.

[7] The verb in this second clause is *jaʿala,* so that the entire sentence is analogous to the legal sense of one cited by Lane (*s.v. abqá*): *Abqá aṣla l-shayʾi wa-jaʿala thamara-hu fī sabīli Llāhi* ("He made the thing itself to remain inalienable . . . and assigned the profit arising from it to be employed in the cause of God").

[8] *Cf. Qur.* 30: 46: "And of His Signs (*āyātu-hu*), He sends the winds as heralds (*al-riyāḥu mubashshirāt*^{in}), that you may taste of His mercy." *Cf.* also Bukhārī, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā,* 9 (*et al.*): "Nothing remains of prophecy [after the mission of Muḥammad] except for the "herald winds", spiritual intimations (*al-mubashshirāt*)." When asked what this signified, the Prophet answered: "The veridical dream (*al-ruʾyā l-ṣāliḥah*)." Instead of *bi-mubashshirah,* B2 has *bi-shams*; and Q2, *bi-maysarah* (?).

[9] "That I might reveal it with a veiled presentation and veil it with a manifest meaning" (M).

[10] *K. al-Kashf wa-l-Katm fī Maʿrifat al-Khalīfah wa-l-Khatm.* Yahia lists this as a variant title of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (p. 157), but I am not aware that any mss. have actually been given this title. S identifies the *khalīfah* and the *khatm* as "the Mahdī and Jesus,"

[Not entirely satisfied] I consulted the Angel (*al-malak*)[11] concerning this indication (*al-ʿalāmah*), and he said [to me], "Young man, be patient [—I will verify the matter]."[12] Thereafter he returned to me and did not depart, but prepared the Most-hallowed Place (*al-maḥall al-aqdas*)[13] and alighted, and the "Presence" (*al-ḥaḍrah*) declared: "I have definitely entitled it:[14]

The Book of the Lote-Tree of the Furthest Boundary
and the Secret of the Prophets concerning
the Gnosis of the Caliph and the Seal of the Saints[15]

At this I said [to him]: "Indeed, I do [not] find in myself[16] an expression (*nuktah*)[17] for this impression (*al-simah*),[18] but/so do not compel me or lay me under a spell unawares!"[19]—at which he declared: "I

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which is undoubtedly the case, but another possibility would be to understand these expressions as denoting the exoteric, or "political", and esoteric, or strictly mystical, aspects of the complex Mahdī/Seal persona, corresponding to the modes of "unveiling" (*kashf*) and "concealment" (*katm*). In one sense, the first aspect can be taken to be embodied in Jesus as Mahdī and universal Seal, while the second is represented by Ibn al-ʿArabī himself as the special Muḥammadan Seal and *Muḥyī l-dīn* (revivifier of Islam).

[11] (As voc. in D). That is, Gabriel, the angel of revelation, but also, evidently, the above-mentioned "messenger of inspiration." W and the comms. read this as *al-malik*, the king "of the city of his humanity" (M).

[12] *Ayyuhā l-fatá, mah*. On *mahha*, see A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* [hereafter, Kazimirski], *s.v.*

[13] "He prepared [the heart] as a *majlis* (place of sitting together)" (S). Instead of *al-aqdas*, B2 has *al-asná*; and Q, *al-qudsī*.

[14] *Qad wasamtu-hu*: "I have already branded/entitled it" (note the increased tone of definiteness). Q2 has *wa-sammaytu-hu* for the verbal.

[15] *K. Sidrat al-Muntahá wa-Sirr al-Anbiyāʾ fī Maʿrifat al-Khalīfah wa-Khatm al-Awliyāʾ*. This is another variant title listed by Yahia (p. 157). Regarding the *sidrat al-muntahá*, see *Qur.* 53: 13–18, where it is named as the locus of another of the Prophet's visions of the angel Gabriel (*cf.* vv. 5–9). The "Lote-tree of the furthest boundary" is so-called because "beyond it is no destination for the way-farer nor any station" (S).

[16] *La-ajidu fī-nafs-ī*, in the oldest ss. Instead of the first, however, D, V and both edns. have *lā ajidu* (I do *not* find), which, indeed, seems to make more sense, if we understand *al-simah* as denoting the messenger of inspiration's suggested title (*qad wasamtu-hu*).

[17] "That is, a point (*nuqṭah*) in the heart imported from the emanation of inspiration (*al-fayḍ al-ilhāmī*)" (S). On *nuktah*, see the Gloss., *s.v.*

[18] This word means "brand, sign, feature", and, by extension, "title" (see n. 14, above), but it is difficult to say precisely what Ibn al-ʿArabī has in mind here.

[19] This, again, calls to mind the story of how the angel Gabriel *compelled* the "illiterate" Muḥammad to recite on the occasion of the first revelation of the Qurʾān (see above, pp. 286–87, n. 53). "Lay me not under a spell unawares": *Lā tuʾakhkhadh-nī baghtat*^{an}.

am shamed [by your rejection]."[20] But I replied:[21] "My Lord it is Who gives [both] death and life!"[22]

Then, on Friday, while the Preacher (*al-khaṭīb*) was in full swing,[23] summoning the hearts of the Saints of God and His Servants to [God],[24] I obtained the Mantle of "Suspending attraction (*burd kaff al-jadhb*) *away* from the Presence of [Divine] Proximity (*ḥaḍrat al-qurb*),"[25] and the [precisely suitable] words (*al-kalimāt*) unexpectedly[26] occurred to me—the promptings of the heart (*dawāʿī l-qalb*) actively abounding because of what the Impressions (*al-simāt*) brought to it.[27] Thus, the Most-precious Sermon (*al-khiṭāb al-anfas*) is from the Holiest Station (*al-maqām al-aqdas*). "O astounding Preacher (*al-khaṭīb al-mughrib*)[28] and amazing Critic (*al-muntaqid al-muʿjib*),"[29] [I exclaimed] "will you be content with [*this* title]?—

The Fabulous Gryphon concerning the Gnosis
of the Seal of the Saints and the Sun [Rising] in the West,[30]

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[20] There is a humorous association of the angel's remark (*innī la-astaḥī*) with that of the king (*anā uḥyī*) in *Qur.* 2: 258 (see n. 22, below).

[21] Q is wanting *fa-qultu*, and, so, reads: "—to which he said, 'I would be ashamed [to do that]! My Lord it is,'" *etc.*

[22] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 258, recounting the theological argument between Abraham and a vainglorious king. The order of the verbs has been altered to allow *yuḥyī* to rhyme with *astaḥī.*

[23] During the regular Friday sermon (*khuṭbah*). Both comms. interpret "the preacher" as symbolizing the heart's moving the senses to remember God in *dhikr.* After this note S is missing one or more folios.

[24] *Qulūbu awliyāʾi Llāhi ilay-hi wa-ʿibādi-hi.* Both printed edns. omit *ilay-hi.*

[25] *Jadhbah* would ordinarily be taken to signify "attraction (of the servant) *to* (God by His grace)", but here we evidently have the opposite sense of *jadhb* as "captivation, enticement", *away* from nearness to God.

[26] *Li-l-ghaflah* (in the sense of *ʿalá l-ghaflah* ?) in all mss. The printed edns. have *fī* for the prep.

[27] The *simāt* (= *maʿān*^{in}), planted by the angel of inspiration, naturally develop into the heart's *dawāʿ*^{in}, which ultimately evoke the precisely suitable words (= *ʿibārāt*). Thus, in a compelling manner, Ibn al-ʿArabī conveys in this remarkably detailed (and psychologically accurate) account of the process of literary creation the notion of the essential autonomy of spiritual inspiration, or—it would be the same to say—of the existential *freedom* of the true servant of God. In the margin of M is written: "This is an indication that [all] matters are in the hand of God, even the very naming of this book, which was by inspiration (*ilhām*) from Him." In place of *al-simāt,* Q2 has *al-nasamāt* (the breaths; souls).

[28] E(?), Z and both printed edns. have *al-muʿrib* (clear-speaking) for the adj.

[29] Instead of the first, E has *al-muttaqid* (one who burns with zeal); and V and B2, *al-muttaqaddim* (the forerunner). Q reads *al-munqid* (?), perhaps intending *al-munqidh* (the savior).

[30] *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib fī Maʿrifat Khatm al-Awliyāʾ wa-Shams al-Maghrib.* This, of course, is the final, correct title of the work. M explains that the book is so-titled "because

and the Allegory of the Secret of the Boundary (al-shafā) in the Century Following That of the Chosen One (al-Muṣṭafá).[31]

*[32]

All of these symbolic expressions (*al-ishārāt*) refer to the Lesser
Copy (*al-nuskhah al-ṣughrá* [*sci.*, Man as microcosm]), not the Greater 18
Copy (*al-nuskhah al-kubrá* [the macrocosm]). As I explained to you B,12
earlier, there is no benefit in the knowledge of that which is external to your own Self (*mā kharaja ʿan dhāti-ka*) unless the way of your salvation (*sabīl najāti-ka*) is dependent thereupon.[33] For the Sun of the West (*shams al-maghrib*) is that which ascends of the Lights of Intellections (*anwār al-ʿulūm*) in the World of your Transcendence (*ʿālam ghaybi-ka*) and that which manifests itself (*tajallá*) of the Secrets of Particularization and Generalization (*asrār al-khuṣūṣ wa-l-ʿumūm*) to your heart,[34] just as the Seal [of Sainthood] (*al-khatm*) is that by which your Station (*maqāmu-ka*) is sealed in the "Furthest Boundary" of your term [of duration] (*muntahá muqāmi-ka*).[35] Similarly, if you [act] in your

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the gryphon (*al-ʿanqāʾ*) is potentially existent but *not* existent, and no one has first-hand knowledge of it except for Solomon, the prophet of God. . . . Since the gryphon, then, is so distinguished as to existence (*ʿazīzat al-wujūd*), the book has been given this title by virtue of the recondite nature of its meanings and its symbols, and [the author's] doctrine concerning the Seal of the saints and the Sun of the west." On the *ʿanqāʾ* symbolism, see pp. 184–95 of the intro.

[31] *Wa-Nuktat Sirr al-Shafā fī l-Qarn al-Lāḥiq bi-Qarn al-Muṣṭafá.* D and W read *al-shifā* (for *shifāʾ*, "recovery, cure"), but this would seem to make an unsuitable rhyme with *al-muṣṭafá. Shaf*^{an} occurs in the Qur'ān (3: 103 and 9: 109), but only with negative connotations (as the "brink [of the land of the dead]", it is an appropriate designation for the extreme *Maghrib*). Here the purpose is perhaps to make an association between the expressions, *sirr al-shafā* and *sidrat al-muntahá* (see above, n. 15). *Muṣṭafá* (for *muṣṭafá Llāh*, "God's chosen one") is an epithet of the Prophet. (Similarly, Adam is *ṣafī Allāh*, meaning the same). The "secret of the boundary" (= the Seal/Mahdī) is said to be of "the century following" that of the Prophet in the sense that he is his *tābiʿ* (follower) and the *omega* to his *alpha. Qarn min al-nās* means "people of one time succeeding another . . ., among whom is a prophet or class of learned men, whether its years be many or few" (Lane, *s.v. qarn*).

[32] Exc. for B, all mss. indicate this division (with either *faṣl* or *waṣl*).

[33] See above, pp. 240–42*sq*. M suggests that the caveat refers to "the sciences related to the Divine law, for they are the way of your salvation and the ship of your life unto your death" (M).

[34] The Mahdī (the Western Sun) personifies the triumphant light of realization/understanding rising out of the unconscious, as well as the concrete and ideal content of that creative self-manifestation in the heart.

[35] As voc. in D and W. Here and in the preceding line we have our author's most unequivocal statement of the essential *interiority* of the apocalyptic personae billed in the title of this work. For Ibn al-ʿArabī, eschatology is a radical component of mystical psychology.

own time and among your own brethren as those who went before among the Companions of the Prophet [May God bless and keep him!][36] as regards sublime Practice (*al-ʿamal al-sanī*)[37] and exalted Self-manifestation (*al-tajallī l-ʿalī*),[38] then your time will surely be joined with theirs, and you will truly become one of their peers (*aqrānu-hum*)![39]

—And out of that [same "Fathomless Sea"]:

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[36] Only V includes this formula (W has it in abbreviation), although one would think that it was required, both for protocol and for the rhyme (*taqaddama/sallama*). M glosses *al-nabī* with *al-inbā'* (informing), and suggests that it refers to the heart. S (whose comm. resumes at this point) reads the ref. correctly and cites as a proof of the author's point the case of Uways al-Qaranī, a mystic who lived in Yemen at the time of the Prophet but never met him, yet who knew of his existence—as the Prophet did his, saying: "The Breath of the Merciful (*nafas al-Raḥmān*) comes to me from Yemen" (see Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 223–25; and *Musnad*, II, 541). The idea is that even as space could not separate Uways and the Prophet, so time cannot alienate the latter-day saints.

[37] B2 is wanting this phrase, and Q has *al-ʿilm* (knowledge) in place of *al-ʿamal*.

[38] V, B2 and Q have *al-kullī* (universal) for the adj., evidently reading the preceding one as *al-sunnī* (customary, prophetary).

[39] For S's comm. on this passage, see App. I.

6. The Lifting of a Veil and the Holy Struggle of an Unpierced Pearl[1]

When that of which I have been speaking was fully determined[2] and that about which I have written accrued to me, [the Messenger of Inspiration][3] addressed [me]: "O Muḥammad,[4] have you discerned this Intimation (*al-ishārah*) concerning the delay of the Wazīrate (*taʾakhkhur al-wizārah*[5] [*sci.*, the mission of the Mahdī ?]) until after [his appointment by] the Commander (*al-amīr* [*sci.*, the *Ṣiddīq* ?])[6] at the time of the Amīrate (*al-imārah*)?[7] Were it not for the Caliphate of the true Friend (*khilāfat al-ṣadīq*),[8] the people would have turned aside from the Path (*al-ṭarīq*)[9] because of the absence of [the ongoing process of] Revelation (*ʿadam al-kashf*) and because of the Gnosis of [God's] Turning-away [the evildoer] (*maʿrifat al-ṣarf*).[10] But can there be a Caliphate except after the determination of the One who appoints the Caliph (*thubūt al-mustakhlif*)?[11] For this reason the sophistic disputant (*al-mujādil al-mutaʿassif*)[12] has his doubts. [But] say to him, Muḥammad: "O Man, how wrong you are! All that is required for his existence—it is as though it already is, and he *does* exist![13] And yet he is *not* existent in this World of change and affliction (*ʿālam al-taghyīr wa-l-ḥadathān*),[14] but rather has Wisdom (*al-ḥikmah*) held him back, harboring him for a Secret (*sirr*)[15]—that Secret which will be made manifest in its proper season (*fī awāni-hi*), at the coming of its destined time (*ḥulūl zamāni-hi*)."[16]

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[1] *Rafʿu sitr*^{in} *wa-mujāhadatu bikr*^{in}. "Unpierced pearl" is one of the several meanings of *bikr* listed by Lane and Blachère (*s.v.*), which resonates with the imagery of the present work. Another possibility would be "first-born", in the sense of first "successor", since the allusion is surely to Abū Bakr as the successor of the Prophet, the caliph *par excellence* (but *cf.* p. 328, n. 3). S interprets the heading as meaning the "unveiling of a virgin bride [*ʿarūsah bikr*]." *Mujāhadah*: "striving against bodily desires" (see *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 63). Q2 has *fikr* (thought) instead of *bikr*. For H's comm., see App. II, 573.

[2] *Naṣṣa* in all ss. exc. Q, which has *faḍḍa* (was pierced; concluded).

[3] That is, the *rasūl al-ilhām* first named on p. 288 (at n. 4). I have taken this figure to be substantially the same as the "clear dawn" personified on pp. 257*sq.*, and the "trustworthy hoopoe" on pp. 277*sq.*—*viz.*, the angel Gabriel, the spirit of revelation (*cf.* below, where Gabriel is portrayed as herald of the eschaton).

[4] Only Q (and S?) have *lī*, but both comms. understand the question to be addressed to the author himself. Ibn al-ʿArabī's personal name (*ʿalam*), by which he was known amongst his family and friends, was *Muḥammad.*

[5] V, B2, S and Q have *taʾkhīr* (postponement) in place of the first. S explains this as the "holding back" (*taʾkhīr*) of Jesus in Heaven until the appointed time of his second coming.

[6] *Amīr al-muʾminīn* (commander of the faithful) is the official title of the caliph (= here, the *ṣiddīq*, as exemplified in Abū Bakr, the prototypical "successor" [*khalīfah*] to the Prophet). M alone has *al-amīn* ("the Trustworthy" *sci.*, the Prophet) instead of *al-amīr.*

[7] "Because the wazīrate must be in [its proper] place in the amīrate (*fī maḥalli* [*-hi fī*] *l-imārah*)" (S). I am not entirely certain what the offices of the *wizārah* and *imārah* are intended to signify here. As a lesser rank to the amīrate (= the "caliphate" of the *Ṣiddīq*, as in my trn., or else of the Seal?), the wazīrate could stand for the *walāyah*-rank of the *Ṣiddīq* or the Mahdī, depending on whether the amīrate is taken to represent the *khitāmah* or the *ṣiddīqīyah.*

[8] Although this should be voc. thus (rather than *al-ṣiddīq*, as in W) for the sake of the rhyme, the ref. is to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.

[9] The caliphate of Abū Bakr was occupied by the wars of apostasy (*ḥurūb al-riddah*) fought against Arab tribes that attempted to secede from the Islamic confederation after the death of the Prophet (11–13/632–34). I take this to be the referent of the phrase, *Mujāhadat Bikr*, in the heading. My copy of the *Barq al-Lāmiʿ* of al-Saʿdī (S) breaks off suddenly at this point.

The Sun of the West (*shams al-maghrib*) [*sci.*, the Mahdī] ranks below the Station of the "Faithful One" (*rutbat al-ṣiddīq*)[17]—but keep that a secret!—even as the Faithful and, therefore, he who is below *him* [*viz.*, the Mahdī], is under the Banner of the Seal [of the Saints] (*liwāʾ al-khatm*).[18] That is to say that the Lights of the Transcendent B,12b

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[10] Other possible trns. of *ṣarf* here might be "evasive artifice, cunning" (*cf. Qur.* 25: 19), "repentance", and "supererogation," *etc.* (see Lane, *s.v.*). I have opted for the sense of the cognate verb in *Qur.* 9: 127: "God turns away (*ṣarafa*) their hearts, for they are a people who know not"; and 7: 146: "I shall turn away from My Signs (*āyāt-ī*) those who wrongfully magnify themselves in the earth, so that [even] if they see every Sign, they will not believe it, and if they see the way of righteousness, they will not adopt it; while when they see the way of error, they will take it as their way."

[11] As voc. in B and W. This perhaps represents an argument pointing out that inasmuch as the Mahdī (the last caliph) has not yet been appointed (by the caliph preceding him? or by the Reality of Muḥammad?), the office, therefore, does not now exist, and is of no account. M reads, quite plausibly, *al-mustakhlaf* (the one appointed as caliph), whom he identifies as Jesus.

[12] The adj. suggests an aberrant or devious use of language, as in sophistry. The allusion is probably to the specious usages of rationalistic theology.

[13] *Mā lā budda min kawni-hi, fa-ka-anna-hu qad kāna wa-kāna.* Q2 is wanting the first and the last words; and M lacks *wa-kāna.*

[14] Instead of *al-taghyīr*, B2 has *al-taghayyur*, and Q, *al-taʿyīn* (appointment; particularization). *Ḥadathān* = *taklīf* (acc. to M).

[15] "That is, the prophet of God, Jesus, the 'greater caliph' (*al-mustakhlaf al-akbar*), for he exists in the world of Divine power and transcendence (*ʿālam al-jabarūt wa-l-ghayb*)" (M).

[16] The messenger of inspiration apparently concludes his statement at this point, though it is possible that the remainder of the section represents his discourse (*cf.* first sentence of next chap.).

[17] P has *martabah* in place of *rutbah*; and Q reads *rutbatu-hu l-ṣiddīqu.*

[18] Here we have Ibn al-ʿArabī's first explicit ranking of the *walāyah*-grades *vis-à-vis* one another (see also *infra*). C, D and Q2 have *wa-man* instead of *fa-man* (indicating subordination).

Mysteries (*anwār al-ghuyūb*) shining in the hearts (which we alluded C,53b
to [earlier])[19] might still be attained unto by one who is *not* a Greater "Faithful-One" (*ṣiddīq akbar*) and who has not achieved that most-significant Station (*al-maqām al-akhṭar*).[20] Indeed, [even] one utterly deluded, duped and deceived can attain unto them—the Secret of this being in God's saying (Be He Exalted!): "We shall lure them step by step from whence they know not"[21]—whereas [the Station of] Supreme Faithfulness (*al-ṣiddīqīyah*) is attained only by the People of Sainthood (*ahl al-walāyah*) and he to whom it is foreordained by God from Pre-eternity (*azal*^{an} *sābiqa ʿināyat*^{in}).[22] For [Faithfulness][23] is the Way of Salvation [*sabīl al-najāt*] for one who possesses it and proceeds according to its way (*madhhabu-hā*).[24]

This, then, is the reason we made the [Western] Sun to be beneath [the Faithful One] and dependent upon him, even as the Seal is *above* the Station of the Faithful: [The Mahdī] is the one who paves the way (*al-mumahhid li-l-ṭarīq*) upon which a Noble One (*ʿatīq*)[25] will walk.[26] But the Seal is Prophetary in origin (*nabawī al-maḥtid*), Heavenly in appearance (*ʿalawī al-mashhad*).[27] Therefore, we have placed him
above the [Station of] Truthfulness (*al-ṣidq*),[28] even as the Real had **19**
placed him. For he who takes his light from the Lamp of Prophecy

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[19] See above, p. 291.

[20] C, D, V and Q2 add *al-azhar* (most radiant).

[21] *Qur.* 7: 182 and 68: 44. M adds a note of caution to this sanguine pronouncement, quoting *Qur.* 6: 121: "Indeed, the devils inspire their followers (*awliyāʾu-hum*). . . ."

[22] Here al-Maqābirī is anxious to distinguish the *walāyah* of man from that of the devil: "Do you not see how Adam and Iblīs each disobeyed God, and, despite that, He foreordained [His] Providence in pre-eternity for Adam and saved him . . . and brought him near and honored him, while He did not do so for Iblīs, but banished and cursed him to the day of Judgment?" (M).

[23] *Al-ṣiddīqīyah*. M supposes that the referent of the pron. here is Divine providence (*al-ʿināyah*).

[24] *Wa-tamadhhaba bi-madhhabi-hā*, in all ss. exc. Q2, which has garbled this phrase.

[25] *ʿAtīq Allāh* (freed by God) is another epithet of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who stands here for the "faithful". M glosses *ʿatīq* as the intellect (*al-ʿaql*), in accordance with the trad., "The first thing created by God was the intellect" (see Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunnah*, 16, *et al.*; but *cf.* below, p. 324, n. 52), for it "became precedent" (*ʿatīq*) in the sense of existential priority (*sābiqīyat al-wujūd*).

[26] *Cf. Isa.* 40: 3, applied by Christians to John the Baptist (in *Matt.* 3: 3; *John* 1: 23, *et al.*).

[27] Or, possibly: "Prophetary as to place of origin, heavenly in place of demise." Instead of *maḥtid*, W has *maʾkhadh* (origin), which it corrects to *maḥtad* [*sic*] in the margin.

[28] Instead of *al-ṣidq*, D, V, B2 and Q have *rutbat al-ṣiddīq*; and M and Q2, only the last.

(*mishkāt al-nubūwah*)[29] is greater than one who takes it from the Lamp of Faithfulness (*mishkāt al-ṣiddīqīyah*)—the relationship between the Follower (*al-tābiʿ*) and the Companion (*al-ṣāḥib*) being as that of one who is present (*al-shāhid*) to one who is absent (*al-ghāʾib*).[30]

When it was established that the Seal would be the Head of the Community (*muqaddam al-jamāʿah*)[31] on the Day of the coming of the Hour (*qiyām al-sāʿah*), it was determined that he would have two Congregations (*ḥashrān*),[32] being Master of the Two Seals (*ṣāḥib al-khatmayn*). But whereas the "Winged One" (*dhū l-ajniḥah* [*sci.*, the Angel Gabriel]) will share with [the Seal the task of gathering] the two Congregations,[33] the Seal is alone in [charge of] his two Signet-seals (*khātamā-hu*).[34] The "Winged One" in Man is he in whom spirituality (*al-rūḥanīyah*) predominates[35] and who is devoted to the purification of his soul (*taṭhīr nafsi-hi*)[36] by virtue of the Angelic Station (*al-rutbah al-malakīyah*).[37] Incontestably, in our view, as regards this Station there is no putting off [its power].[38]

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[29] The Seal, as the one who takes his light (*al-ākhidhu nūra-hu*) from the lamp of prophecy, might well be assumed to rank *below* prophecy. This, however, is probably not the case, as the saints are themselves endowed with "absolute prophecy" (*nubūwah muṭlaqah*), or "general informing" (*al-inbāʾ al-ʿāmm*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's developed doctrine (see App. IV, 610), and in the same clause we learn that the *ṣiddīq* takes his light from the lamp of his own proper station. *Mishkāh*: properly, "a niche in the wall" where "a lamp . . . gives more light than elsewhere" (see Lane, *s.v.*; and *cf.* the famous "Light-verse", *Qur.* 24: 35).

[30] Each of the four participles in this line can be interpreted in contrary ways, and are, indeed, mutually interchangeable. This is reflected in M's comm., where the text applies the term, *tābiʿ*, to the Seal, and *ṣāḥib* to the *Ṣiddīq*, but that has been crossed out and the refs. reversed in the margin. Keeping in mind the multivalence, it is probably best to read "the companion" and "the follower" as representing, respectively, one who is present first-hand, and the other only by mediation, to the reality of prophecy—that is, the (Prophet's) "companion" and the (companion's) "follower". On this analogy, then, the first class would be those who are "present", and the second, the "absent" (contrary to the actual logic of Ibn al-ʿArabī's text).

[31] Instead of the first, Q2 has *mutaqaddim* (the forerunner).

[32] M glosses the "two congregations" (and the "two seals," *infra*) as being of the "tangible and the heavenly worlds (*ʿālam al-mulk wa-l-malakūt*)." In the margin, however, the correct interpretation is given: "[This is] indicative of Jesus (May the blessings and peace of God be upon him!), for he has two congregations—that is, one of his own people, the children of Israel [*sci.*, the Christians], in respect to his own prophethood, and another with our Prophet Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him) and his community" (see *Fut.* II, 9 [9–10] and 49 [20–21], the latter tr. in App. IV, 594–95 [see nn. 35 and 36]). The final Judgment is known as the "day of Congregation" (*yawm al-ḥashr*).

[33] Gabriel is the angel who will blow the trumpet heralding the beginning of the Resurrection.

[34] As voc. in B and W. The specific meaning of the "two seals" is given in what follows.

[35] Or: "triumphs over the shackles of human nature (*kutuf al-nāsūtīyah*)" (M). Q2 has *ʿalá* instead of *ʿalay-hi*.

According to [the degree of] his ascent in [that Station], an Angel (*ṣāḥib* [*al-ajniḥah*]) may have two, three or four [wings].[39] However, the *Most*-Trustworthy of Spirits (*amyan al-arwāḥ*)[40] will have in [that Station] *six-hundred* wings[41]—with no objection and no sin (*junāḥ*) B,13 therein.[42] We, however, have called him a "Seal" (*khātim*),[43] and placed him as an authority (*ḥākim*) over the Saints, because on the Day of Resurrection he will come with an "Allegorical-Material" Seal (*khātam mithālī jusmānī*)[44] in his right hand—the locus (*maḥall*) of the Most-sublime Ruler (*al-malik al-asnā*)—and a "Revelatory-Spiritual" Seal (*khātam niẓālī rūḥānī*)[45] in his left hand—the locus of the Noblest Imām (*al-imām al-asrā*).[46] For [his authority] was propagated on the right-hand in the host of the people of Appointment (*ahl al-taʿyīn*),[47] while on the left it spread with the people of Empowerment (*ahl*

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[36] "From the vile corruptions of humanity (*ʿafūnāt al-basharīyah*)" (M). D has *taṭahhur* (purification of o.s.) instead of the trans., *taṭhīr*.

[37] Voc. thus in W. Another possibility is *al-mulkīyah* ("this-worldly", as opposed to *al-malakūtī*, "of the unseen world").

[38] *Wa-lā difāʿa ʿinda-nā fī hādhā l-maqāmi wa-lā niẓāʿa.*

[39] *Cf. Qur.* 35: 1: "Praise be to God . . . Who makes the angels to be messengers having wings (*rusul*^{un} *ūlū ajniḥat*^{in}), two, three or four."

[40] Gabriel is commonly referred to as the "trustworthy spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*) on the basis of *Qur.* 81: 21. Here, however, the "*most* trustworthy of spirits" is apparently assimilated to the Seal of the saints—that is, Jesus in his eschatological role as "the Son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory" (*Matt.* 24: 30; *cf.* also 26: 64, and *Rev.* 1: 7). The verb is in the fut. tense.

[41] Dr. Chodkiewicz has drawn my attention to *Fut.* III, 261 (17), where Ibn al-ʿArabī states that some angels have even *more* than 600 wings.

[42] Note the play on words between *janāḥ* (wing) and *junāḥ* (sin).

[43] Voc. as *khātim* (to rhyme with *ḥākim*, below) to denote the Seal as agent as opposed to the instrument, which is conventionally spelled *khātam* (see Lane, *s.v. khātam*). At any rate, Ibn al-ʿArabī (foll. the precedent set by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī) generally employs the inf., *khatm*.

[44] This is the first of the two "signet-seals" mentioned above (at n. 34).

[45] Q has *turābī* (earthly) in place of *niẓālī*.

[46] These two "seals" *may* correspond to the two imāms featured in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn* (in *Rasāʾil, r.* 19), pp. 1–2; and, before that, in *Mawāqiʿ*, 138–39, *et al.* In these ss. the imām on the left of the central figure is higher in rank than the one on the right (see *ibid.*, 139 [2–3]). See App. I, 547–48, for the passage from the *Quṭb* on the two imāms (but *cf.* App. IV, 590, where the *right* hand ranks higher).

[47] "These are the élite (*al-khawāṣṣ*) among the [ordinary] servants of God" (M). *Taʿyīn*: "specification; determination, appointment" (see next note; and *cf.* p. 305 at n. 32). Instead of that, C has *al-yaqīn* (certainty). Q2 has garbled this clause.

al-tamkīn)[48]—[the Seal] being characterized by two Sciences [*ʿilmān*][49] and addressed by two Names [*ismān*].[50] For he has leadership from the Beginning (*al-taraʾʾus fī l-ḥāfirah*) and precedence (*al-taqaddum*) in the Sainthood of the Hereafter (*walāyat al-ākhirah*).[51] So, understand, O Intelligent one (*al-labīb*), these secrets, and strive for the radiance of these lights![52]

—And out of that [same "Fathomless Sea"]:

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[48] M theorizes: "These are the people of sainthood (*ahl al-walāyah*), for one of them has said: 'Knowledge of the Divine law is safer, but knowledge of reality is more empowering (*ʿilm al-sharīʿah aslam, wa-ʿilm al-ḥaqīqah amkan*).' Perhaps the Master was alluding to this saying" (the copyist of M has crossed out this maxim). Acc. to al-Jurjānī, *tamkīn* is "the station of establishment (*rusūkh*) and consolidation (*istiqrār*) in rectitude. As long as the servant is on the path, he is subject to alteration (*ṣāḥib talwīn*), for he ascends from state to state, moving from quality to quality. But when he arrives [at the goal] and is joined [to it], there is establishment/empowerment (*al-tamkīn*)" (*Taʿrīfāt, s.v.; cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 66). Possibly, *tamkīn* here signifies an *a posteriori* excellence, while *taʿyīn* (pre-determination, election?) is *a priori* (*cf.* below, p. 407, n. 177; and Gloss., *s.v. tamkīn*).

[49] "That is, the knowledge of the *sharīʿah* and the *ḥaqīqah*" (M).

[50] "*Viz.*, the religious-scholar (*al-ʿālim*) and the saint (*al-walī*)," acc. to M, denoting specialists in each of the two "sciences" mentioned in the preceding note. Perhaps, rather, the "two names" are simply those of Jesus given by Ibn al-ʿArabī below (p. 522): *ʿAbd Allāh* and *ʿĪsá*. Q2 omits *fa-qad* at the beginning of this line.

[51] This sentence is wanting in Q2. M comments: "For he is of the elect of God (*khawāṣṣ Allāh*) and His beloved (*aḥibbāʾu-hu*), and, therefore, He brings him to the fore and raises him over the heads of the witnesses (*al-ashhād*) at the end of times. And he will intercede for his family (*ahl bayti-hi*) and kin (*ʿashīratu-hu*) and his companions (*aṣḥābu-hu*)."

[52] At this point a *samāʿ* (certification of accuracy) occurs in the margin of B.

7. A Pledge Held in *Lieu* and the Adoption of a Covenant[1]

When I heard what [the Messenger of Inspiration] had to say, and he made manifest to my eyes what had been formerly concealed, I was adjured to record these most-sacred passages (*al-nubadh al-aqdasīyah*), contracting to divest them of their sarcenet veils (*ghalāʾilu-hā l-sandusīyah*) until they should display no more faint glimmer (*ighrīḍ*), nor their lightning bring forth a twinkle (*wamīḍ*)[2]

[The Messenger] said: "[This Secret] is a Pledge (*rahn*) in your hand,[3] [which] has been left [with you].[4] So grieve not and hold it fast, not letting it go, or else you will become utterly bankrupt!"[5] And at that, the Command (*al-amr*) came upon me in the revelation (*ifshāʾ*)[6] of this concealed secret (*al-sirr al-maktūm*) and sealed treatise (*al-kitāb al-makhtūm*)[7]—the revelation of an intimation (*taʿrīḍ*), not an open statement (*taṣrīḥ*)—giving to know (*iʿlām*)[8] by an incitement and insinuation (*tanbīh wa-talwīḥ*).[9]

When, in this wise, I received the Command from him and came under this agreement (*al-ʿaqd*), fulfilment of the contract (*al-ʿahd*) B,13b became incumbent upon me. Hence, I now shall make manifest [sometimes] and refrain [from that] at times.[10] Be careful, I say, and listen, girl (*jārah*)![11] How can I reveal a Secret[12] or bring to light the hidden content of a Command,[13] when I am [myself] the One "bequeathed" unto others than me (*al-mūṣá bi-hi ghayr-ī*)[14] in every single passage in my poetry and prose?[15]

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[1] *Rahnu ighlāq*^{in} *wa-akhdhu mīthāq*^{in}. The idea would seem to be that the Seal, representing the "inner imām," is man's earnest, or "pledge in hand," of the high spiritual station he has lost by entering upon this conditioned existence (*cf. Qur.* 52: 21 and 74: 38). M suggests that "the one who took the pledge made an agreement (*ʿahd*) not to reveal it to anyone except its owner or one authorized [by him]."

[2] That is, until there is nothing left to conceal.

[3] C has *bayna yaday-ka* (before you) instead of *bi-yadi-ka.*

[4] *Huwa rahn*^{un} *bi-yadi-ka, wa-qad ghaliqa* (see Lane, *s.v. rahn*, who gives an account of this expression). *Cf. Eph.* 1: 13–14: "[We are] sealed with that holy spirit of promise which is a pledge (Gr., *arrabōn*) of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession . . ." (*cf.* also *2 Cor.* 1: 22). Instead of *ghaliqa*, P, V, B2 and both printed edns. have *ʿaliqa* (? has been suspended).

[5] Nothing but the genius of your own heart can guide you—good news for the courageous few, not so good for the mediocre majority.

[6] *Ifshāʾ*: "revelation; dissemination, publication".

[7] This is similar to a common variant title of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see Yahia, p. 157).

[8] Instead of this, Q has *iʿlān* (publication, manifestation).

[9] C adds the neg., *lā*, before *talwīḥ.*

[10] *Fa-anā l-āna ubdī wa-uʿriḍu tārat*^{an} (as voc. in W). Q2 has garbled the verb. The latter is voc. as *uʿarriḍu* (I will insinuate) by a later hand in C. The problem remains that both of these verbs are trans., but no obj. is indicated in our text.

[11] *Wa-iyyāki, aʿnī, wa-smaʿī, yā jārat*^{an}, in the earliest ss. All of the later ones (exc. for M) have *fa-smaʿī* (so listen), as we see also in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim* (*q.v.* in *Rasāʾil, r.* 18, p. 47). M comments on the first clause: "I mean none other

[*Be Patient till Truth Comes*][16]

Call attention to the Secret, but do not reveal it; **20**
  Disclosure of the same would be shameful
In the discloser.—Therefore, bear patiently,
  and keep the Secret well—*until the Time comes.*[17]

He who is possessed of insight and sagacity (*dhū qalb*^{in} *wa-fiṭnat*^{in}) is distracted by the search for Wisdom (*al-ḥikmah*) from gluttony (*al-biṭnah*),[18] applying himself to what we have symbolized, and solving the enigma (*al-muʿammá*) of what we enunciated in riddles. But for the Divine Command (*al-amr al-ilāhī*) [to keep it secret], we would surely have spoken of it confidentially, back and forth at length,[19] making it to be the Nourishment of the dweller (*qūt al-muqīm*)[20] and the Provisions of the traveller (*zād al-musāfir*). But the pen (*al-qalam*) has become quite dry[21] [recording] all that preceded from Eternity;—

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than *you*. For the great secret (*al-sirr al-ʿaẓīm*) is existent in you, and you are its locus (*maḥallu-hu*). I merely speak of the existent things of the world for the sake of establishing a correspondence with you, so that you might discern [the secret] in yourself by way of my speaking to you, O my sister." *Jārah*: "a wife; mistress; dependant", *etc.* (see Blachère, *s.v.*). I have tr. in the sense of *jāriyah* (concubine, female slave), which, as al-Maqābirī explains, is a standard trope in literature for one to whom a man can unreservedly express himself (see also the explanation in the *Tarājim*, cited above).

[12] Q has *bi-sirri-hi*, with a pron., here and after *amr* in the next clause.

[13] *Aw ubdī maknūna amr*^{in}. Q2 has *wa-* in place of *aw*.

[14] Instead of this, D and B2 have *al-mūḥá bi-hi* (the one inspired by revelation).

[15] *Fī ghayri mā mawḍiʿ*^{in} *min naẓm-ī wa-nathr-ī*. Q2 in one printing has *waḍʿ* instead of *mawḍiʿ* (passage).

[16] The metre of these verses (in D2, 31) is *al-sarīʿ*.

[17] That is, until the advent of the Seal/Mahdī. M cites *Qur.* 13: 38 in this connection: *Li-kulli ajal*^{in} *kitāb*^{un}. On *waqt*, see p. 230, n. 22.

[18] This may be an allusion to the doctrine of "esoterism" (*al-bāṭinīyah*), but the primary idea has to do with the proverbial opposition of sagacity and gluttony, as in the saying: *Al-biṭnatu tudhhibu l-fiṭnata* (gluttony eliminates sagacity).

[19] *La-shāfahnā bi-hi l-wārida wa-l-ṣādira*. The verb denotes the act of conversing close together, "lip to lip."

[20] Instead of the first, Q2 has *qūwah* (power).

[21] The "pen" here calls to mind the first intellect, or universal consciousness, which Ibn al-ʿArabī facetiously describes as having become exhausted with recording all known things in a playful allusion to the Muslim predestinarians' dictum, *Qad jaffat bi-hi l-aqlāmu* (regarding which, see J. van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie*, p. 79).

then, how noble is Man (*mā ashraf al-insān*), whom God made the locus of the Spiritualities of [all of] these entities (*maḥall ruḥānīyāt hādhihi l-akwān*)![22] for God originated his "Image" (*salkhu-hu*)[23] when He caused him to become His Most-perfect Transcription (*akmal naskhi-hi*).[24] God is the [True] Guarantor (*al-kafīl*):[25] "Unto God is the betaking of the Way (*qaṣd al-sabīl*). . . . Had He willed, He would have guided you all."[26]

—And out of that ["Fathomless Sea"]:

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[22] "For everything in the universe exists in the perfect man. Do you not see that the celestial spheres turn by his breaths (*bi-anfāsi-hi*)? and that God has made him to be the locus of the spirituality of the world (*maḥall rūḥānīyat al-ʿālam*)?" (M). The *akwān* are the innumerable phenomena recorded by "the pen," and their *rūḥānīyāt* may be understood as corresponding *noumena.* While the external universe, or macrocosm, is evidently infinite, the microcosm, man, comprises the same perfection in an intelligible form.

[23] As voc. in W. On *salkh* (and *naskh*), see Gloss., *s.v.*; and below, p. 385, nn. 122 and 123. Q has *ḥaythu* (inasmuch as) rather than *ḥīna* (when) following this. Apropos of this and the preceding clause, *cf. Col.* 1: 15: "Christ [is] the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature."

[24] Instead of the superlative, D and Q2 read *wa-akmala* (and [God] completed him); and W and Q have *nuskhah* instead of *naskhu-hu.*

[25] *Cf. Qur.* 16: 91.

[26] *Qur.* 16: 9. The clause omitted is: *wa-min-hā jā'ir*^{un}, which could be read: "and a part of [the way] is deviating."

8. The Station of Distinction and Effect of True Devotion.[1]

Inasmuch as truth and falsehood (*al-ṣidq wa-l-mayn*) may [both] enter into this Command (*al-amr*)[2]—despite the fact that, at the time it was spoken (*ʿinda qāʾili-hi*), it was in accordance with immediate eyewitness (*mushāhadatu ʿayn*^{in})—the hearer would not affirm its truthfulness unless the report (*al-khabar*) was corroborated by virtue of [its] unmistakable inimitability (*iʿjāz qāṭiʿ*) or by an indubitable Light shining in his heart.[3] It was for this reason that Imām Abū Yazīd [al-Bisṭāmī][4] told [Abū] Musá l-Daybalī[5] that the Believer (*al-muʾmin*), in the language of the people of this Way, is "One who has his petition granted on High" (*mujāb al-daʿwah ʿinda l-ʿalī*).[6] For the supremely

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[1] *Mawqifu khtiṣāṣ*^{in} *wa-natījatu ikhlāṣ*^{in}. "The ranks of the saints are various: For each one of them there is a station specially for him (*mawqif mukhtaṣṣ bi-hi*), beyond which he cannot go; but if he does, he is burned up in the light" (M). The point of the heading, as we learn below with respect to a saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, is that, by virtue of the high station of the the sincere believer (*al-muʾmin al-ṣiddīq*, = the Ṣūfī), his personal petition (*daʿwah*) is rendered particulary effectual.

[2] The ref. is to the "Divine command" to Ibn al-ʿArabī to convey his message in an enigma (*muʿamm*^{án}), mentioned in the last section. The "falsehood," or fiction, which enters into the latter can be said to be exonerated in the Qurʾānic verse quoted in n. 26 therein.

[3] *Nūr*^{un} *bi-ḥusni ẓann*^{in} *bi-qalbi-hi sāṭiʿ*^{un}.

[4] Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. ʿĪsá b. Surūshān al-Bisṭāmī, known as Bāyazīd (d. 260/874). On the teachings of this important Ṣūfī, see Hellmut Ritter, "Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī," in *E.I.* 2, and "Die Aussprüche des Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī, eine vorläufige Skizze," in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen* (F. Meier, ed., Wiesbaden, 1954).

[5] He was the famulus (*khādim*) of al-Bisṭāmī, who recorded many of the master's famous *shaṭaḥāt* (see Ritter, *ibid.*, p. 231). Most of the available ss. (exc. for Z and Q) lack *Abū*, which is the correct form of the name. Unfortunately, our best source, B, temporarily breaks off just at this point, and three pages of the major printed edn. (Q2, p. 20 [l. 10] to p. 23 [l. 3]) are also missing. This is particularly unlucky since there is some uncertainty as to the precise form of the *nisbah* surname. C, E, D, R, P and W may be read as I have transcribed, exc. that W is voc. as *al-Daybulī*—which does not entirely suit the rhyme with *al-ʿalī*, however. Q has *al-Daylī*; and Q2, *al-Daynalī* (as amended in C by a later hand). V, B2(?) and M have *al-Dubaylī*, which seems to be the favored reading of modern scholars (see, *e.g.*, Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, pp. 243*sq.*; and Yahia, *Fut.-Y.*, XI, 272 [9]), although this could also be pronounced *al-Dabīlī* (from Dabīl in Armenia), as in Ritter, *Die Aussprüche des Bāyezīd Bisṭāmī*, p. 231. As Yahia acknowledges (n. 9), his Konya ms. of the *Futūḥāt* could be voc. *al-Daybalī* or *al-Daybulī*, as can the 1911 edn. (II, 6 [15]). Finally, in his edn. of the *Shaṭaḥāt* (p. 54, n. 10), ʿA.-R. Badawī reads *al-Daybulī* (as in W), which he relates to a town in Sind (but *cf.* p. 190, last note). Unless his source is vowelled, however, it could also be read as I have given here, simply on the basis of the rhyme-scheme. (Note that our option tends to support R.C. Zaehner's position in the well-known debate between him and A.J. Arberry over the orientation, "eastern" or "western", of Abū Yazīd's teachings).

[6] On the expression, *mujāb al-daʿwah*, in early Andalusian piety, see M.I. Fierro,

Faithful Believer (*al-muʾmin al-ṣiddīq*) surely attains unto partnership (*al-ishtirāk*) with the Truthful One (*al-ṣādiq* [*sci.*, the apotheosized Prophet Muḥammad?])[7] by means of a highly-esteemed Way, not by miraculous proofs.[8]

But when this Command came [down] to the level of mankind (*al-khalq*)—they being veiled from the "Sublime Signpost" (*ʿaẓīm al-nuṣbah*)[9] which is with God—we concealed it from them as a Mercy toward them, proceeding with them in accordance with their [simple] beliefs (*madhhabu-hum*). For Prophecy was not manifested to the masses (*al-jumhūr*) except "commensurate with the capacity of their intellects,"[10] for fear of their [precipitate] rushing toward [the "Signpost"][11] and their bafflement,[12] so that they [would be led to] disbelieve the truthful Advisor (*al-mukhbir al-ṣādiq*), and, then, the punishments of misfortunes (*mathulāt al-ʿawāʾiq*) would befall them.[13]

Then the venerable Ancestors among the [Prophet's] Companions (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ min al-ṣaḥābah*) followed upon that wide, easy road (*al-mahyaʿ*),[14] and proceeded to descend from the Station of fearful Reverence (*al-haybah*) to that of joking and jest (*al-muzāḥ wa-l-duʿābah*),[15] in imitation of those who make fun of the elderly and those of no account[16]—the exoteric aspect [of their teachings] instilling delusion

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"The Polemic about the *Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ* and the Development of Ṣūfism in al-Andalus," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 55 (1992), p. 237.

[7] But *cf.* above, p. 283, n. 20.

[8] *Bi-ṭarīq*^{in} *ḥusni l-ẓanni, lā bi-l-dalāʾili l-khawāriqi.*

[9] *Cf. Qur.* 70: 43. On the meaning of *al-nuṣbah*, see Gloss., *s.v.* I take the ref. here to be to the Reality of Muḥammad (or, possibly, the Seal of the saints), as a kind of "image of the invisible God" (see *infra*). Instead of *al-nuṣbah*, R has *al-naṣībah*, meaning much the same.

[10] *Illā qadru ḥamli ʿuqūli-him.* M identifies this as a *ḥadīth*, but I have not been able to ascertain its provenance.

[11] *Nufūru-hum la-hu.* Q2 has "their flight *from* it," but the intention seems to be rather their ineluctable attraction *to* it, as moths to the flame (*cf. Qur.* 70: 43–44).

[12] *Dhuhūlu-hum. Cf. Qur.* 22: 2, where the cognate verb describes the effect of the day of Judgment.

[13] Q2 has garbled this clause. The *ʿawāʾiq al-dahr* are the "accidents, or casualties, of time".

[14] *Cf. Matt.* 7: 3.

[15] M thinks that this is the "station of beauty" (*maqām al-jamāl*) as opposed to that of "majesty" (*al-jalāl*), represented by *al-haybah.* Rather, Ibn al-ʿArabī may be referring to the kind of levity that Goldziher remarked in the character of Abū Hurayrah (see n. 18, below), a prime example of the kind of "venerable ancestor" that our author finds fault with here.

[16] *Māzaḥa l-shīkhata wa-dhā l-nufayri.* In the latter phrase I follow V, B2, M and the margin of W, reading to rhyme with *khayr.* The lacuna in B deprives us of the

(*ẓāhiru-hu mūhim*), the esoteric being superior (*bāṭinu-hu khayr*). But they concealed themselves in their dealings with external things (*al-muʿāmalāt fī l-ẓawāhir*) and kept silent respecting what they knew of the well-guarded Knowledge and the Secrets (*al-ʿilm al-maṣūn wa-l-sarāʾir*), although they were, in fact (May God be pleased with them!), well informed as to affairs not accessible to the multitude (*al-jumhūr*), having been spoken to concerning all of these things from behind the veils (*al-sutūr*).[17]

As Abū Hurayrah[18] averred: "Were I to disseminate [that esoteric Knowledge], this gullet would be torn from me!"[19] And Ibn al-ʿAbbās[20] declared: "If I interpreted [that verse], I would be the damnable **21**
denier among you."[21] [—That is to say] when they perceived[22] that the Realities of the transcendent Mysteries (*ḥaqāʾiq al-ghuyūb*) were beyond the capacities of some minds. They received the Command from above (*al-amr min fawq*) as a Gnosis of immediate perception and intuitive experience (*maʿrifat mushāhadah wa-dhawq*), a preserved Prophetic Heritage (*wirth nabawī maḥfūdh*) and observed Exalted Station

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earliest reading, and the other ss. do not seem to have understood the expression, garbling it in various ways. My guess is that *nufayr* is the dim. of *nafīr*, which occurs in the well-known saying cited by Lane (*s.v.*): "He is neither in the caravan (*al-ʿīr*) nor among the company going out to fight (*al-nafīr*)"—applied to one who is of no substance or consequence.

[17] *Khūṭibū bi-hā min warāʾi l-sutūri.* Compare Iamblichus' description of the advanced disciples of Pythagoras: "Those who appeared to be worthy to participate of his dogmas . . . became Esoterics, and both heard and saw Pythagoras himself *within the veil.* For prior to this they participated of his words through the hearing alone, beyond the veil, without seeing him. . . ." (T. Taylor, tr., *Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras*, p. 52).

[18] A companion of the Prophet, whose close association with him during the later years of his life led to many trads. being ascribed to him, whether truly or otherwise. Goldziher wrote of him: "The humorous temperament (*mazzāḥ*) of Abū Hurayrah, which gave rise to numerous anecdotes . . ., is often reflected in the way he gave his *ḥadīth* communications, in which he enveloped the most unimportant things in pathetic language" (*E.I.* 1). This being the case, Abū Hurayrah's claim to discretion might seem to be ironical, if not disingenuous.

[19] Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, 42 (see O. Houdas, tr., *Les Traditions islamiques*, vol. I, pp. 57–58, esp. n. 1).

[20] ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās, also called Abū l-ʿAbbās, was a cousin of the Prophet and of ʿAlī. His knowledge of sacred and profane science was excessively praised (he is called "the sea of learning"), and he is credited with the origination of Qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*).

[21] *Law fassartu-hu la-kuntu bayna-kumu l-kāfira l-marjūma.* C, D and Q2 have *fī-kum* instead of *bayna-kum* (but this is corrected in the margin of C). I have not been able to identify this *ḥadīth.*

[22] Q2 has *rawā* (?) in place of *raʾawā* (the dual refers to Abū Hurayrah and Ibn ʿAbbās); and V has *ʿalimū* (they learned).

(*maqām ʿalawī malḥūẓ*).[23] For [Gabriel, the Angel of Revelation] beckoned in his informing of [the Prophet Muḥammad] (*inbāʾu-hu*)[24] on the eve of his "Night-Journey" (*isrāʾu-hu*)[25] to the acquisition of a Knowledge which he [the Prophet] would have to keep secret when he [Gabriel] urged his understanding (*fahmu-hu*) upon another.[26]

And since these points of Knowledge (*al-ʿulūm*) which I have written down in the present composition (*al-majmūʿ*, "compilation") and others of its kind[27] are of this [same] sort and derived from the Lamp of this [same] Generation (*mishkāt hādhā l-jīl*)[28]—as well as from that which can only come after the ***departure*** of Gabriel (*baʿda mufāraqat Jibrīl*) and all [other] types and species of the angelic Host[29]—it is not permissible for us to disclose them nor raise the veil thereupon, thus exposing their secret Essence (*sarīratu-hā*). For all that I have presented to the eye of the discriminating critic (*al-nāqid al-baṣīr*) is, indeed, derived from teachings received from the Trustworthy Spirit (*talaqqiyāt al-rūḥ al-amīn* [*sci.*, Gabriel])[30] and from the "Lote-Tree of the Furthest Boundary" of the Mystic Wayfarers (*sidrat muntahá l-sālikīn*)[31]—as well as some of the Instructions of Appointment and Empowerment (*talaqqiyāt al-taʿyīn wa-l-tamkīn*)[32] from the "Presence of

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[23] This is the same Divine command from on high discussed in the preceding pages. That it begins here to take on the concrete form of the angel Gabriel becomes apparent below—hence, the ref. to the Prophet Muḥammad as well, though he is actually to be understood merely as a type for the true *saint* (or, more specifically, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself). Note that here as elsewhere the adjs., *nabawī* and *ʿalawī*—possibly evoking the *Sunnī*-Shīʿite polarization—are paired.

[24] This could be construed lit. to mean "causing him to become a prophet." The sentence is garbled in Q2.

[25] This is traditionally said to have been on the 27th of Rajab.

[26] That is, when Gabriel brought the command of God (*amr Allāh*) to the prophet-to-be, pressing, or choking him (*ghatta-hu*), to cause him to recite, teaching him "that which man knew not" (see *Qur.* 96: 4–5; and *cf.* above, pp. 286–87, n. 53; and *Sīrat al-Nabī*, vol. I, pp. 236–37).

[27] Instead of *wa-ashbāhu-hu*, Q2 has *wa-ushāhidu* (? and I observe).

[28] *Wa-mutalaqqā-hu min mishkāti hādhā l-jīli* (as voc. in W and M). Instead of the first, C(?), V, B2 and Q have *wa-mutalaqqāh* (?). As M notes, the pron. refers to the esoteric "knowledge" of the preceding sentence. *Jīl*: "people, nation; generation; century", *etc.* The ref. is to the generation of the Prophet, not Ibn al-ʿArabī's contemporaries, as W supposes.

[29] That is, "concrete" spiritual agents. One is reminded of Christ's promise of the Paraclete, or "spirit of Truth" (*John* 14: 12–19 and 26), who can only come after the departure of Jesus, acc. to *ibid.*, 16: 7.

[30] See *Qur.* 26: 193; but *cf.* also 27: 39.

[31] V and B2 have *sidratu l-muntahá li-l-sālikīn*; Q has *sūrah* (a chap. of the Qurʾān) instead of *sidrah*; and Q2 has *suṭrah* (an object of desire). See p. 289, n. 15.

[32] See above, pp. 297–98 (nn. 47 and 48), for M's distinction of these two terms.

[Divine] Colloquy" (*ḥaḍrat al-munājāh*)[33] in human language (*lughat al-ins*), to avert the chastisement of [God's] Awe-inspiring Aspect (*saṭwat al-haybah*) and [cause] the descent of the Mercy of [His] Intimacy (*raḥmat al-uns*).[34] But I shall [now] reveal of all of this as much as [my reader's] powers of perception (*abṣār al-nāẓirīn*) are able [to receive]; for among them are those who understand and are without blame, as well as those who occupy themselves in the forum of [sophistic] debaters (*maydān al-mutanāẓirīn*).[35]

—And from that [same "Fathomless Sea"]:

Here he glosses *ta'yīn* as "the station of the Seal (*maqām al-khatm*)" and *tamkīn* as "the end of sainthood (*maqām nihāyat al-walāyah*)"—as if the two were thus distinguished.

[33] Ibn al-'Arabī's notion of the Divine colloquy appears to be based on that of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (see below, p. 322, n. 30). Concerning this theme in the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī, see Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 187*sq*. For M's comm., see App. I.

[34] Voc. thus in W. In the margin of M is written: "[This is] as in the case of the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!), after Gabriel's departure from him. For the Real conversed with him (*khāṭaba-hu*) then in accordance with the way of intimacy (*ṭarīqat al-uns*) in order to banish his fear."

[35] B2, M and Q2 have *maydān al-munāẓirīn*, meaning the same. The ref. is to the dialectical theologians (*mutakallimūn*) and rationalizing *falāsifah*.

9. A Tempestuous Wave from Which a Hidden Pearl Is Drawn Forth[1]

When the rays of the Lights (*ashiʿʿat al-anwār*) were flowing continually to the inner hearts (*al-asrār*) and radiating from every pore of my being (*masāmmu nashʾat-ī*), I bathed in pure water to block the pores so that the Lights reflected back into the locus of Inspiration (*maḥall al-ilhām* [*sci.*, the Heart]).[2] Then their streams and their rivers swelled,[3] while the western wind (*al-rīḥ al-gharbī*)[4] became violent and the seas surged, their waves coming one upon another, rushing to that which Firm Decree (*al-mubram*) decreed should be abolished and annulled.[5] Nothing could be seen but clouds piled high and tempestuous waves[6] "in an abysmal sea, covered by wave upon wave surmounted by clouds, layer upon layer of darkness,"[7] until there no longer remained on the surface of this sea a ship sailing (*fulk*^{un} *yajrī*),[8] nor appeared in the sky a star travelling (*falak*^{un} *yasrī*), except by the Grace of the [Divine] Helper (*al-Mughīth*)[9]—Praised be He! For He calms the violence of the wind and breaks the wave upon the shore,[10] [where] it spreads itself, hurling its foam (*zabadu-hu*) upon the coast[11] as "churned Cream" (*zubdata makhḍ*^{in})[12] to both the lowly of the time and the highborn:[13]

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[1] *Mawj*^{un} *majnūn*^{un} *tajarrada ʿan-hu luʾluʾ*^{un} *maknūn*^{un}. Instead of *majnūn*, Q has *majūn* (? "thick"; but *cf.* Lane, *s.v. ʿuqbah majūn*; and the *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, *s.v. majana*). Q2 adds *mujarrad* after *mawj*. M suggests that the first expression signifies "vehemence of the spiritual state (*qūwat al-ḥāl*)." There could be an allusion here to *Qur.* 6: 76, where the "[the night's] falling upon him" (*janna ʿalay-hi*) is the backdrop for Abraham's vision of the star, *etc.*, which we have already had occasion to consider (see p. 277, n. 2). Otherwise, the symbol of the arching "wave" may be taken to graphically represent the differentiation (*taʿayyun*) of the immutable Divine essence, the knower turning in upon itself to become the intelligible obj. of its own knowledge. As for the "hidden pearl," it is not mentioned further in this chap. (but see below, p. 346, n. 2), though it may well be taken to signify the present book itself, inasmuch as it is apparently presented in this section as the quintessence of the "sea-foam/cream" thrown up on the shore of the fathomless abyss. On the *leitmotif* of the sea and pearls, *etc.*, see pp. 83–85 of the intro.

[2] Some kind of Ṣūfī physiology of light underlies this passage, but the brief glimpse afforded here does not permit a full outline. It would appear that the rays of light (shining from within?) pass through the "inner hearts" (*al-asrār*), then radiate out through the pores of the body.

[3] Foll. V, B2, Z and the margin of W, which read the verb, *fa-tabaḥḥarat*. (There is a lacuna in B, and many of the other early ss. are dubious, apparently reading *fa-tajarrat* (? and they were sent forth) or *fa-tafajjarat* (and they gushed forth), *etc.* In any case, the idea is clear enough: The "streams and rivers" of the lights, blocked from passing outward, are turned inward to flood the heart with the efflux of the Divine "Giver-of-rain" (*al-Mughīth*; see *infra*).

[4] Acc. to M, the "western wind [is] the most beneficial and fecundating (*alqaḥ*) of the winds." But, actually, this was not true of the westerly wind in Arabic literature (as is clear in the text itself), where the *eastern* wind was generally considered the more beneficial. Al-Maqābirī goes on to explain that this is a metonym for the "Divine inspirations" (*al-wāridāt al-ilāhīyah*).

[5] *Mā abrama-hu l-mubramu bi-l-ḥalli wa-l-naqḍi. Ibrām* (ratification) and *naqḍ* (nullification) are contrary legal terms, so irony is intended here. Blachère (*s.v. ibrām*) quotes a phrase from al-Jāḥiẓ's *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, "the days that nullify what has been established (*tanquḍu l-mubrama*)." *Al-qaḍāʾ al-mubram*: "irrevocable decree, destiny".

[6] As in the heading, Q has *majūn* in place of *majnūn*.

[7] *Qur.* 24: 40 (foll. the famous "Light-verses"). *Cf.* also 31: 32 and 10: 22.

> "All peoples know their drinking-place (*mashrabu-hum*),"[14] and realize their own method and their manner (*ṭarīqu-hum wa-madhhabu-hum*).

For that "Gift" (*al-zabd*)[15] is the measure of what issued from the **22**
sea of the Gnostics' hearts,[16] in accordance with their appearances (*ẓawāhiru-hum*) to mankind,[17] though no one can know its full measure[18] except for the Master of mystical Insight (*ṣāḥibu dhawq*^{in})—and [the author of] this book, well-preserved from the misfortunes of deficiencies (*ṭawāriq al-ʿilal*) and entitled in the depths of Eternity (*ghiyābāt al-azal*):

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[8] As in all ss. exc. W, which has the fem., *tajrī* (as in *Qur.* 31: 31, *et al.*).

[9] This is regarded as a Divine name (the Giver of rain) on the basis of *Qur.* 31: 34, *et al.* Q adds *taʿālá* after *subḥāna-hu.*

[10] M interprets the "shore" as the *nafs*, and the clashing waves of the sea as the commotion of the heart stirred by the wind of love and desire. In place of the verb, *kusira*, Q has *kashafa* or *kushifa* (? it [was uncovered); and Q2, *kathura* (it became numerous).

[11] Q2 alone has *safīnah* (a ship) instead of *sīfu-hu.* Regarding *zabad, cf.* what follows.

[12] *Zubdah*: "fresh (unclarified) butter; milk froth, cream" (*q.v.* in Gloss.). Buttermilk is *makhīḍ*. V, B2, M and Q2 have *zabad* instead; and Q has *zabad*^{an} (acc.). In place of *makhḍ*, Q2 reads *maḥḍ*^{an} ("pure", acc.).

[13] *Li-waḍīʿi l-waqti wa-sharīfi-hi.*

[14] *Qur.* 7: 160, referring to the twelve tribes of Israel in the desert. The "cream" of Ṣūfī wisdom (see *infra*) is the common libation of the various separate *mashārib* ("drinking places; inclinations, schools", *etc.*).

[15] Foll. the voc. of R, D and W.

[16] "The "cream/gift" (*al-zubd/al-zabd*) is differentiated in the [gnostics'] various spiritual conditions (*aḥwāl*), in accordance with the agitation of the winds of love upon the sea of their hearts" (M).

[17] *ʿAlá ẓawāhiri-him ilá l-khalqi.* R, V, W, B2, Z and Q read *ẓāhiru-hum.* This line appears to be based on a passage from the *Bayān al-Farq* (p. 52), attr. to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (but perhaps, rather, a work of the Akbarian school), where the wiseman's pronouncements to mankind (*al-khalq*) are likened to the foam spewed forth by the sea and put to good use by man (*Meerschaum*, once thought to be petrified sea-foam, was apparently used as a salve for diseased eyes). S.M. Stern called attention to a similar passage in an *Ismāʿīlī* tractate where the *walī al-mukhāṭabah* is described as "eliciting from the 'religious *hylē*' (*al-hayūlá l-sharʿī*) its choicest parts (*zubad*)" ("The 'Book of the Highest Initiation' and Other Anti-*Ismāʿīlī* Travesties," in *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism*, p. 60).

[18] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 91, *et al.*

THE FABULOUS GRYPHON
(*ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*)

concerning ***the Gnosis of the Seal of the Saints***
and ***the Sun [Rising] in the West****,*

and

An Account of the Secret of the Boundary
of the "Century" Following That of the Chosen One[19]

—From that, the Foam/"Cream"[20] which the wave cast [upon the shore] will appear to the one who stands apart from it (*al-munfarid bi-hi*)[21] as the Solitary One (*al-fard*),[22] while to him who unites with it (*al-jāmiʿ ʿalay-hi*) it appears as the "Consort" (*al-zawj*).[23] So, he who wills shall separate, and he who wills, subjoin;[24] and he who wills shall conceal; and he who wills, expose.[25]

Now the time of [the above-mentioned] "Century" (*hādhā l-qarn*) [following that of the "Chosen One"][26] has come, and its moment approaches; so let him who is prepared (*al-mutaʾahhib*) be prepared for his arrival (*ḥulūlu-hu*),[27] and may the effort to attain unto this

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[19] See above, pp. 290–91 (nn. 30 and 31). The book is evidently presented as the "hidden pearl" of the subject-heading (which is otherwise unmentioned).

[20] Foll. the voc. of W, which reads: *Min dhālika, l-zabadu*, etc., in preference to that of D (*min dhālika l-zabadi*).

[21] Instead of the first, C has *al-mutafarrid*, meaning the same; and D, *al-mufrad* (the isolated).

[22] *Cf. Qur.* 21: 89. This is a common designation for God in theology, although the usage does not occur in the *Sunnah* (see Lane, *s.v.*). In the present context, with its ant., *zawj*, below, it signifies primarily "the odd in number". I think that the epithet, *al-fard*, here may also refer to the sacred month, Rajab, symbolizing the advent of the Seal/Mahdī (see below, p. 528, n. 12, *et seq.*).

[23] *Zawj*: "the second of a pair; an even number; a partner; spouse", *etc.* (*cf.* Jeffery, *s.v.*). I have tr. this as "consort" in view of the peculiar marriage-imagery of the next section.

[24] *Fa-man shāʾa fa-l-yūtiru, wa-man shāʾa fa-l-yashfaʿu. Awtara* could be rendered: "to make single; odd"; and *shafaʿa*: "to make double; even". Also, the latter can signify "to intercede, mediate".

[25] *Wa-man shāʾa fa-l-yaktumu, wa-man shāʾa fa-l-yashnaʿu*, in C, D and Q. E, P, V and B2 are indistinct and could be read thus. R, W, and Q2 have *fa-l-yashiʿʿu* (? he will disperse) instead of the last; and Z and M repeat *fa-l-yashfaʿu. Shanaʿa* means, specifically, "to expose the bad qualities [of s.o.]".

[26] On the meaning of *qarn* here, see above, p. 291, n. 31 (end). *Cf.* also Ibn al-ʿArabī's peculiar doctrine of the seventh century (*qarn*), below, pp. 527–29, *et seq.* Q has *al-farq* in place of *al-qarn.*

[27] Or, possibly: "his incarnation." "At that time the truth of his proof (*ḥaqīqat burhāni-hi*) will be manifested, so that an evidentiary miracle (*muʿjizah*) of that prophet [viz., *al-Muṣṭafā*, Muḥammad] might take place at the hand of that saint [? the *sirr al-shafā* = the Seal/Mahdī]" (M).

Divine Light (*al-nūr al-ilāhī*) before its setting (*ufūlu-hu*)[28] be hastened! Do not wonder, O my brother, that "the Century following upon C,54 that of the Chosen One" [exists even now, and] will not cease to exist[29] as long as Man, together with his Lord (Be He Praised!), is a Witness (*shāhid*) to it—while the Real is [Himself] thereby Borne witness to (*mashhūd*).[30] Despite what is hinted at in the Revelation (*al-sharʿ*)[31] and what one hears [in Tradition] (*al-samʿ*)[32] concerning the civil disorder and slaughter [of the Last days] (*al-harj wa-l-qatl*),[33] that is [pre-eminently] the time of "Precedence and Preference" (*al-taqaddum wa-l-faḍl*).[34] For the Laborer (*al-āmil*) among [those of the Latter days] shall receive the wage of *seventy* of those who went before,[35] even [in the case of] the preceding Leader (*al-imām al-muqaddam*).[36] They will not be found better Helpers (*aʿwān*)[37] than those [in the time of the Prophet], nor shall they see their Imām with their own eyes as [that earlier generation] did.[38] But there is nothing stronger than faith in an Unseen (*īmānu ghayb^{in}*), for doubt (*rayb*) never overtakes its adherent.[39]

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[28] The "Divine light" is the Seal/Mahdī as *shams al-Maghrib*. "You will deeply regret it if you are not [found] among the people of this Seal!" (M). On the word, *ufūl*, see Gloss.

[29] In this connection, M quotes an *ḥadīth* (which I have not been able to verify): "There is a sect (*firqah*) founded upon the Command of God which shall not cease until the Command of God comes to them. . . ."

[30] Instead of this, Q has *mashhūr*^{an} ("well-known", acc.).

[31] That is, the revealed canon law, inc. both Qur'ān and sound *ḥadīth* (= *al-Sunnah*).

[32] That is, popular or otherwise unsound lore (*khabar*).

[33] Foll. V, W, B2, M and Q (the other ss. appear to read *ʿibādah*, "worship", instead of *ʿibārah*). This is a ref. to the "great wars (*malāḥim ʿuẓmá*) and rumors of wars" characteristic of traditional eschatology in Islam as in Judaism and Christianity. M quotes another trad.: "If civil disorder and wars (*al-harj wa-l-marj*) become numerous, then expect the Hour [of Judgment]." I have not identified this particular *ḥadīth*, but many in the standard collections on the subj. of *fitan* resemble it (see, *e.g.*, Bukhārī, *Akhbār al-āḥād*, 5). *Harj* = *fitnah*. Anarchy was recognized as one of the signs of the eschaton (see Lane, *s.v. harj*).

[34] Or: "advancement and grace." Q2 has *fī* (in) rather than *wa-*. "Islam began as a stranger (*gharīb*) and it shall return as it began. Blessed, then, are the strangers" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 232; and Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, 13, *et al.*).

[35] *Ajru sabʿīna mim-man taqaddama*. Q2 is wanting the first two words. Instead of "seventy," C and D read "fifty" (but this is corrected in the margin of C), as in *Fut.* I, 109 (9–10), quoting Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr* (on *Qur.* 5: 18, *q.v.*); Abū Dā'ūd, *Malāḥim*, 17; and Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 61. *Cf. Matt.* 20: 1–16.

[36] I take this to be the Prophet Muḥammad (= *al-Muṣṭafá*). M adds: "For he has the excellence/privilege (*al-mazīyah*)." The word, *muqaddam*, itself means "foreman", as does *imām* (and as can *ʿāmil*). In *Qur.* 39: 74, the expression, *ajr al-ʿāmilīn* (the wage of the laborers), refers to Paradise.

[37] Chap. 366 of the *Futūḥāt* treats of the Mahdī's "helpers" (*wuzarā'*, "ministers"), but not in a manner that throws much light on our present concern (see *Illuminations*, 119–47). At this point (f. 147), R has an inscription in the margin indicating that the orig. ms. of Muḥ. b. Isḥāq [al-Qūnawī] ([X] in Fig. III, p. 198) was read to Ibn al-ʿArabī and certified.

That is the time of trials (*al-fitan*) and the coming of calamities and hardships (*al-balāyā wa-l-miḥan*).[40] "So avoid him who turns away from Our Remembrance (*dhikru-nā*), desiring only the life of this World (*al-ḥayāh al-dunyā*)—that being the sum of their knowledge! Verily, your Lord knows best him who strays from His Path, and He knows best him who is rightly guided (*ihtadā*)."[41] Then meditate upon these intimations in your mind (*nafsu-ka*), and assimilate to them in your heart and your senses (*qalbu-ka wa-ḥissu-ka*). For, truly, time (*al-zamān*) is ominous, its tyrant (*jabbāru-hu*)[42] obdurate, and its "Satan" obstinate. So cast them off as the day sloughs off the night,[43] or you will surely join the people of ruin and woe!

Now I have given you good advice, so *know*! and I have clarified for you the Path, so cleave [thereto]![44]

—And out of that [same "Fathomless Sea"]:

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[38] "Because the guiding Imām (*al-imām al-murshid*) of that time can hardly be found until [the people go out to] follow him. . . ." (M).

[39] *Cf. John* 20: 29; and *Heb.* 11: 1, *et seq.* (esp. v. 13).

[40] Speaking for God, M comments: "Indeed, We have given to the people of this [latter] time Grace and Increase over those who preceded them because theirs is a time of trials and hardships. Therefore, blessed is he who devotes his activity in [that time to God]."

[41] *Qur.* 53: 29–30.

[42] In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 63, *zamān* is glossed as "the *sulṭān*." "Our time is reproached because of the lack of sincerity of our hearts; and its ruler (*ḥākim*), which is the lower-soul (*al-nafs al-ammārah* [*bi-l-sū'*]), is called 'obdurate' because of its stubborn opposition to the merciful inspirations and Divine secrets" (M). Q2 omits the poss. pron. here and after *shayṭān*.

[43] *Cf. Qur.* 36: 37 and 7: 175. *Cf.* also the opening line of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Isrā'* (p. 51).

[44] *Wa-awḍaḥtu la-ka l-sabīla, fa-lzam.* Q2 has garbled this clause.

10. A Marriage Is Contracted and a Wedding Attended[1]

Since that which is true in Vision (*al-ruʾyā*) is a considerable part of
Prophecy (*juzʾ kabīr nabawī*),[2] we swore our belief in what [such
Vision] confers and conveys[3] of the Favors of the Real (*min ayādī
l-Ḥaqq*)—Praised be He![4] For I entered the House of Lights (*bayt al-
anwār*) and let down[5] the curtains and the veils (*al-ḥujub wa-l-astār*), **23**
jealously protective of the "women and children" (*al-ḥurum wa-l-abkār*).[6]
Then, while I was conversing intimately with [the Real] in His pres-
ence, the attraction of a Dear/Mighty One (*jadhbatu ʿazīz*^{in}) attracted
me to him,[7] and the Real installed me in the Station of the "Ocean"
(*maqām al-baḥr*),[8] the waves of which heave and overflow, one enter-
ing into another and rising aloft.[9] And I was in a state (*ḥālah*)[10] which B,14

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[1] *Nikāḥ*^{un} *ʿuqida wa-ʿurs*^{un} *shuhida* (as voc. in W, Z and M). C also reads both verbs as pass. C and D voc. the second noun as *ʿirs* (a bridegroom/bride); Q has *ʿarūs*, meaning the same; and Q2, *ʿarīs*, which in Modern Arabic is "bridegroom". M interprets the "marriage" and the "wedding" as the union of the *qalb* (heart) and the *nafs* (lower-soul), but in what follows Ibn al-ʿArabī implies that the union is of his own intellect (*ʿaql*) and soul. *Cf.* Whitman's poem, "The Sleepers." The anon. author of the *Kashf al-Ghāyāt* (a comm. on Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tajalliyāt al-Ilāhīyah*, inc. in Yahia's edn. of the latter) cites this chap. (see p. 431). For H's comm., see App. II, 573.

[2] *Ruʾyā*, generally understood as the "veridical dream" (*ruʾyā ṣāliḥah*), is widely considered to be a genuine part (*juzʾ*) of prophecy—indeed, the first manifestation of God's guidance of Muḥammad (for citations of the numerous trads. on this subj., see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition, s.v.* dreams).

[3] There are three verbals in this sentence, all meaning "[the vision] confers [what is true]": *tuhdī-hi, tunʿimu bi-hi,* and *tusdī-hi.* In Q2 the last is given as *tubdī-hi* (it discloses it).

[4] In E and R. C(?), P, W(?), Z and M have, instead, "Exalted be He!"; and Q gives both. The other ss. have neither.

[5] Instead of *wa-asdaltu*, both printed edns. read *wa-nsadalat* ([the veils] were lowered); and P and B2 have *wa-stadalat*, meaning the same as the latter.

[6] "These two [denominations] are symbolic of the secrets which are kept from the eyes of those who are veiled [from reality]" (M).

[7] Foll. C and M: *Idh jadhaba-nī jadhbatu ʿazīz*^{in} *ilay-hi*, in preference to the reading of E, D(?) and R: "Then . . . [the Real] attracted me with the attraction of a Dear/Mighty one (*jadhba ʿazīz*^{in})," since the mystic was *already* in the immediate presence of the Real (*bayna yaday-hi*). P(?), B2, Z and both printed edns. can also be read as in our trn. (exc. that Q adds *la-hu* before *ilay-hi*). W alone has *jadhbat*^{an} *ʿazīzat*^{an}. "The attraction of a Dear/Mighty one captivated my heart by the hand of power (*yad al-qudrah*) or the yearning of love (*tashawwuq al-maḥabbah*)" (M). We may assume that the *ʿAzīz* is the mystic-author's beloved, Jesus (*cf.* below, p. 335, nn. 67–68).

[8] That is, the "abysmal sea," so graphically described in the preceding section.

[9] "When the sea surges and the waves mingle with one another, it increases and rises because of their conjoining one with another" (M). Al-Maqābirī goes on to liken the heart to the sea in which the "Sun of the West" [the Seal/Mahdī] sets,

no one can know but he who has borne it, and no one describe but he who has seen it, as has been said:

> No one knows Desire except for one who bears it,
> nor fervent Longing, but he who suffers from it.[11]

I remained, then, reclining on the Right-hand (*al-yamīn*),[12] and I made over my heart in exchange for the celestial Heights (*fī muqābalat ʿIllīyīn*).[13] For [my heart] is the locus of the Truth (*maḥall al-ḥaqq*)[14] and the seat of Sincerity (*maqʿad al-ṣidq*):[15] The water has quite inundated it, tempest-rains[16] engulfing it, and its waves cease not churning and its winds stirring and vying with one another, until [my heart] was rent in the upper-left side (*al-wark al-aysar al-aʿlá*)[17] to the

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causing the wave of the heart to arch upon that of the soul, from which mingling a dream (*ḥulm*) results.

[10] Regarding *ḥālah* (= Gr., *diathesis*) see *Iṣṭilāḥāt,* 55, *s.v. al-ḥāl; Muʿjam, s.v.*; and, more generally, Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology,* pp. 104–05. Q2 garbles the pron. At this point the text of B resumes again on f. 14.

[11] I have not been able to identify the source of this verse (the metre is *al-basīṭ*), although it is often quoted in Arabic literature. "Desire" here is *al-shawq*; and "fervent longing," *al-ṣabābah.* See App. I for M's comm.

[12] "That is, the station of the people of the right-hand (*maqām ahl al-yamīn*), they being those whom God has favored, making them to be 'those of the right-hand' (*aṣḥāb al-yamīn*)" (M). See *Qur.* 56: 27, *et al.* They are so-called because, as a sign of their election, on the day of Judgment they receive the record of their deeds in their right hands (see 17: 71, *et al.; cf.* also the next note).

[13] See *Qur.* 83: 18*sq.*, where *ʿIllīyūn* is the place or register of the record of the pious (= *aṣḥāb al-yamīn*). On this word, see Jeffery, *s.v.* R, W and Q leave out *fī* (possibly reading: "I left my heart facing *ʿIllīyūn*").

[14] Or: "the Real" (*al-Ḥaqq; q.v.* in *Muʿjam, s.v.*). B2 has *maḥfil al-ḥiqd* (the gathering of malice)!

[15] Or: "the sure abode" (*cf. Qur.* 54: 55 [Arberry's trn.]; and below, p. 488, n. 33, *et al.*).

[16] *Al-anwāʾ.* W glosses this as "wind and rain," but M supposes it to be an asterism, symbolizing "a light for the believers in Divine unity and a stoning for the devils." While that is, indeed, the principal signification of the word (see Lane's long art., *s.v. nawʾ*), Ibn al-ʿArabī evidently intends here the secondary connotation, which was thought to be the effect of the setting of the stars.

[17] B, E, R, V, B2 and M all lack *al-aysar,* but it is added in the margin of B, apparently by the orig. copyist. Q reverses the order of the adjs. I am not certain what the significance of *al-wark/warik* (upper thigh, haunch, hip; side) here might be, nor even if it is the correct reading, since, if it is, then the adjs. should be fem. Could the "side" signify "the loins", and the "tear" emitted from it *infra* a drop of semen? Another possibility would be to read *wirk* (a side of a bow; the place where the bowstring is attached), but that also should be fem. M, which omits *al-aysar* (the left), glosses *al-wark al-aʿlá* as "the heart of the saint . . . because man's 'side/haunch' is his middle part (*wasaṭu-hu,* 'his waist'), . . . while the heart is [also] in the middle part of man, and is called, therefore, the 'side' (*al-wark*)." Actually, while *wasaṭ* connotes both "waist" and "heart", I cannot find the latter applied to *wark* in any dictionary.

size of a needle-prick (*khurt al-ibrah*).[18] For it leaks therefrom as much as the tip of a hair (*ra'ʾs al-shaʿrah*)—in which I discerned a "Tear" (*ʿabrah*),[19] which the Real (Be He Praised!) created as an Angelic Figure (*shakhṣ malakī*)[20] and set up as a Celestial Arising (*nashʾ falakī*).[21] I saw him as One praising and proclaiming God's Oneness,[22] and reciting: "God is Greatest!" [*Allāhu akbar!*] and "At Thy Service!" [*Labbay-ka!*].[23] And I recognized that that Figure (*al-shakhṣ*) is the [very] Substance (*jusmānīyah*)[24] of this present book which the Real sent down to me, presenting it to plain view by my hand[25]—it being, in truth, a drop (*qaṭrah*) from that surging Ocean and a fleck [of spray] (*rashḥah*)[26] from that precipitate wave. Then, Praised be God, Who[27] caused me to become for Him an All-inclusive Sphere (*falak muḥīṭ*)[28] and made me His Pure Spirit (*rūḥ basīṭ*)!

Now, consider and contemplate, O Most-perfect Saint, a Prophet whose body (*juththatu-hu*) had been lost,[29] while [the memorial of] his Way (*sunnatu-hu*) remained in the less well-attested Traditions:[30] Called up from his tomb (*qabru-hu*) by night,[31] he was led forth to his Gathering (*ḥashru-hu*), the Living one joining with the dead—who, then, was "gathered up,"[32] the Lord of the House (*rabb al-bayt*) remaining in the House, which [thus] was filled with life![33]

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[18] *Ilá an futiqa fī l-warki l-aysari l-aʿlá qadra khurti l-ʾibrati.* The latter phrase may, rather, denote "the eye of a needle", but see what follows. In place of *futiqa*, in one printing Q2 has *futika* (was destroyed). Instead of *khurt*, E, W, B2 and Q2 read *khurm*; and V and Q, *kharq*, intending the same. On the rest of this line, see the preceding note.

[19] Q is wanting this. W and M read *ʿibrah* (a lesson, an example).

[20] "That is, in the image of the attributes of His "Divine humanity" (*bi-salkhi ṣifāti nāsūti-hi*), for he became at that time a subtle spirituality (*rūḥānī laṭīf*) after the pattern of Gabriel" (M).

[21] Instead of the first, both printed edns. have *inshāʾ* (creation, production), and B2 omits this clause. M describes this "celestial arising" as a soul (*nasamah*), so called "because its bodies [*sic*] are purified of the vile corruptions of humanity (*ʿafūnāt al-basharīyah*)."

[22] *Musabbiḥ*^{an} *wa-muhallil*^{an}: that is, reciting the ejaculations, "Praise be to God!" (*subḥāna Allāh*), and "There is no god but God" (*Lā ilāha illā Llāh*). *Cf. Qur.* 17: 108 (note that much of the language of what follows is reflected in the last verses of *Sūrah 17*).

[23] *Mukabbir*^{an} *wa-mulabbiy*^{an}.

[24] Instead of this, P, V and B read *juthmānīyah*, meaning much the same (*cf.* above, p. 240, n. 30).

[25] *Wa-abraza-hu li-l-ʿiyāni ʿalá yadayya.* W and the margin of C have *li-l-ʿālamīn* (to the worlds) rather than *li-l-ʿiyān*; and Q2 has *li-l-ʿibādah*. For M's comm., see App. I.

[26] *Rashḥah* actually signifies "the fine moisture [that appears on the face] behind the veil" (M), and hence, "a drop of sweat". Like *zabd*, it also denotes "a gift" (see above, p. 308 at n. 15).

[27] This expression is used frequently in the Scripture (*e.g.*, 17: 111).

[28] "Even as the 'starless sphere' (*al-falak al-aṭlas*) includes all spheres . . ., so the Master—once he attained unto the station of the Seal of the saints of his age—his fame and his influence spread throughout the world. . . ." (M).

[29] *Qad fuqidat. Juththah*: "body; corpse". M supposes that the prophet's "losing his body" signifies "the true death (*al-mawt al-ḥaqīqī*) in the separation of the spirit from

Then [the Prophet Muḥammad] requested the hand of his "Little Fair-One" (*ḥumayrā'u-hu*[34] [= Ā'ishah]) from his "Noble One" (*'atīqu-hu*[35] [= Abū Bakr]), plucking her from the hands of his Friend (*ṣadīqu-hu*). He proposed for her a bridal-price [*ṣadāq*] the figure of which

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[the body]." Rather, the ref. *could* be to Jesus, whose body was taken up to heaven to await the time of his return [as Mahdī] (*cf. Qur.* 3: 55 and 4: 157–59). In what follows, however, the referent is clearly the Prophet Muḥammad, whose body, of course, was interred in his tomb in Medina.

[30] *Al-āḥād* (as voc. in W). These are *ḥadīth*s (or lexicological data) transmitted from one authority alone and, hence, suspect—whether rightly or not (see Blachère, *s.v.*; and Lane, *s.v. aḥad* [end]).

[31] *Bu'itha laylat^{an} min qabri-hi.* "That is, [from the grave of] his existence and his essence (*wujūdu-hu wa-dhātu-hu*), for the essence of man [*qua* man] is the 'tomb' of his spirit" (M). The ref. here is probably *not* to the "night-journey" of the Prophet, since he is generally supposed to have made that trip in his physical body (= "his tomb").

[32] *Wa-ltaḥaqa l-ḥayyu bi-l-mayyiti, fa-ḥushira.* Outwardly, this refers, of course, to the events of the resurrection (*ba'th*) of the physical body and the gathering (*ḥashr*) of the living and the dead for the final Judgment. More specifically, the Seal/Mahdī may be conceived here as emerging from the "tomb" of his existential concealment, himself the "living one joining with the dead," so to speak. Esoterically, the ref. could be to the Seal's own initiatic transfiguration, his lower nature being mystically united with his own higher self in the kind of "alchemical" transmutation that is hinted at later in this chap. (and more than once elsewhere in the proliferous imagery of the *'Anqā'*).

[33] *Fa-'umira* (omitted in Q2). The *bayt al-ma'mūr*, the "inhabited (or worshipped) house," is a name for the Ka'bah—or, more properly, its heavenly prototype, which is visited/inhabited by angels. Here, however, the symbolism refers, rather, to the re-animation of the body by the spirit, but also, as we will see, to the Prophet/Seal's female consort, assimilated to Muḥammad's young wife, 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr. For *bayt* in the sense of "wife", see Lane, *s.v.* [end]). Compare the notion of Jerusalem as the bride of Christ (in *Rev.* 21: 2 & 9).

[34] Instead of حميراه, V and M have حميرا; and Q2, حميرة. 'Ā'ishah was the Prophet's favorite wife, the young daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph. She is called *Ḥumayrā'* (the Little Fair-One) in a trad. cited in the *Tāj al-'Arūs* (see Lane, *s.v. aḥmar*). Dozy writes (*s.v. ḥammīrā*) that in Andalusia the حمّيرا is the *anchusa tinctoria*, the "kanet, or alkanna" (< *al-ḥinnā'*, "henna") plant, indigenous to Provence and the Spanish Levant, from the root of which a fine red-dye was extracted. The foll. verb (*intaza'a*) might suggest that Ibn al-'Arabī has this local signification in mind (see also below, p. 320, n. 12).

[35] *Al-'Atīq* is another epithet of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, said to have been so-called by the Prophet either for his nobility or beauty, or else because he was "free" (*'atīq*) of the possibility of punishment in Hell (see Lane, *s.v.*; and Jeffery, *s.v.*).

was unknown to me,[36] and requested of me a testimony to that. So he wrote on a piece of red silk a document (*kitāb*) in shining gold,[37] B,14b and I was the first, by his permission and command (May God bless him!),[38] to witness his dower (*mahru-hu*)[39]—that being in his highest Stopping-place (*manzilu-hu l-aʿlá*) and most-manifest Station (*maqāmu-hu l-ajlá*). When he had so commanded, [the Prophet's] dower was left in my care,[40] and he entered his dwelling with his Bride (*ʿirsu-hu*), secluding himself with her,[41] while the dower remained in my possession till the expiry of my term.[42]

Then, when the Dawn broke for him who has two eyes,[43] bringing together for me the "Two Lights" (*al-nūrān*),[44] I did not find a "Bride" (*ʿirs*) or a "Husband" (*baʿl*)[45] *other than my own Essence* (*dhāt-ī*), nor a dower other than *my own Nature and attributes* (*khulq-ī wa-ṣifāt-ī*)![46] **24**

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[36] *Fa-aṣdaqa-hā ʿadad^{an} ghāba ʿan-nī.* Either the father or the suitor of the woman could propose the *ṣadāq*, or "bridal dower". Here it is evidently the Prophet who does so.

[37] Q2 has "I [instead of *he*] wrote"; and *ẓahr* (flowers) instead of *dhahab* (gold). E omits "red".

[38] As in most of the earliest ss. (B, E, R and W). The rest have the regular benediction here.

[39] The *mahr* (= *ṣadāq*) is the nuptial gift given by the husband to the bride or her family (*cf. Gen.* 34: 12).

[40] *Turika bi-yad-ī mahru-hu.* R has *nazala* ([the dower] descended) for the verb.

[41] *Wa-khalā bi-hā wa-bi-nafsi-hi.* M, who plausibly interprets the "bride" as the Qurʾānic "soul at peace" (*al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinnah*), cites *Qur.* 89: 27–28: "O soul at peace, return to your Lord (*Rabbu-ki*), well-pleased, well-pleasing!" Compare this imagery with that of the well-known Gnostic myth of Simon Magus and Helen of Tyre (recounted in H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, pp. 103–11); and *cf.* also the strange doctrine of the so-called *Gospel according to Philip* (in B. Layton, tr., *The Gnostic Scriptures*), p. 340, *no.* 53. Finally, *cf. John* 3: 29–30 on "the friend of the bridegroom" (and also *Matt.* 9: 15 and 25: 10; *Psalm* 19: 5; *Isa.* 61: 10, 62: 5 and 49: 18; and *Rev.* 21: 2). As Chodkiewicz has shown in *An Ocean without Shore* (pp. 88–89), in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings the "fiancées, or brides" (*ʿarāʾis*) are the *Malāmīs*, or "men of blame," whom Divine jealousy conceals in the disguise of infidels (see *ibid.*, p. 158), n. 40, for extensive refs.).

[42] *Ilá nqiḍāʾi amad-ī*: "as long as I live."

[43] That is, "external, physical sight (*al-baṣar*) and interior, spiritual perception (*al-baṣīrah*)," acc. to M.

[44] *Viz.*, the sun, on the one hand; and God (in *Qur.* 24: 35), His revelation (in 7: 157), or His prophet (5: 15), on the other (in accordance with a trope cited in Lane, *s.v. nūr*). The eternal, spiritual significance of the dawn is realized in its temporal instantiation.

[45] *Baʿl*: "a husband, lord, master", *etc.* On the idol of this name (whence, perhaps, the name of Apollo, "the most Greek of all gods"), mentioned in *Qur.* 37: 125, see Lane, *s.v.*

[46] *Khulq* (as voc. in C, R and W): "nature, natural disposition (= *ṭabʿ*), in accordance with which one is created". Although Ibn al-ʿArabī's words do not actually

For I was [myself both] the Husband and the Bride,[47] and I married together the Intellect and the Soul [*al-ʿaql wa-l-nafs*].[48] And the "Little Fair-One" (*al-ḥumayrāʾ*) became purified by her Husband, supported by the firm will (*ʿazīmah*) of her Intellect.[49]

I marveled at my Affair (*amr-ī*)—that there was none but me![50] So it was that I arrived at the lifting of the veils on matters concealed (*mukhabbaʾāt al-umūr*):[51] [And I marveled at] a Shore which has no sea for its complement (*zawju-hu*) to seek refuge in, and at a Sea without a shore for its waves to break upon; and [at] a Speaker of realities (*nāṭiq bi-ḥaqāʾiq*) without a tongue and places of articulation,[52] and a Silent One (*ṣāmit*)[53] who ceases not to summon and show the way to God;[54] and a Sphere without location (*kurah lā makāna la-hā*)[55] which is not known to anyone, nor does anyone *not* know it;[56] and

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warrant it, we might speculate that the mystic-author's "nature" is personified in the "bride" and his "essence" (*dhāt*) in the "husband", while the "attributes" are represented by the dower.

[47] "This is a matter of mystical intuition (*amr dhawqī*) and a flash of love (*lamʿ shawqī*) which cannot be understood by anyone who has not experienced it (*man lam yadhuq lam yadrī*)" (M). *Cf. Eph.* 2: 14–15: "For [Christ] is our peace, who made the two one, breaking down the middle wall of partition . . . to make in himself of two *one new man*, so making peace."

[48] Q2 has *wa-zawjah* (and a wife) in place of the verbal, *wa-zawwajtu.*

[49] *Fa-taṭahharati l-ḥumayrāʾu bi-baʿli-hā.* Compare the contrary Gnostic theme of war between the intellect and passion (*al-hawá*), above, p. 238. The bride/soul's "intellect" is the bridegroom.

[50] "That is, there was no 'husband' or 'bride' other than me, inasmuch as I discerned [them] in my own essence, which is the way of my salvation (*sabīlu najāt-ī*). For [they] disclosed to me the mirror of my own being (*mirʾāt-ī*), and I beheld my own essence in my mirror" (M). "I marveled": *fa-ʿajibtu.* This corresponds to the beginning of the poem immediately foll.

[51] Exc. for W and Q, all of the ss. read *makhabbāt.*

[52] *Makhāriq* (glossed as *makhārij* in B and W): "places of emission of phonetic articulation".

[53] Instead of this, R and Q have *ṣāḥib* (a companion). For a lucid discussion of the mystical "silent speaker" (*mutus liber*), see Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, pp. 28–29. Apropos of this, I would suggest that the subj. of our present passage, which is the apotheosis of the mystic-author's own self, is, indeed, the same "young man" (*fat*^{án}) who is encountered, again, by the Kaʿbah on the occasion of the "conception" of the *Futūḥāt* (for a list of studies of this intriguing theme, see *ibid.*, p. 140, n. 39).

[54] *Lā yabraḥu dāʿiy*^{an}, *wa-ilá Llāhi hādiy*^{an}. The terms, *nāṭiq, ṣāmit* and *dāʿ*^{in}, are all represented in *Ismāʿīlī* nomenclature.

[55] In place of the first, Q has *kathrah* (multiplicity).

[56] *Mā ʿarafa-hā aḥad*^{un} *wa-lā jahala-hā.* It contains every place but is not contained by any. *Cf.* the third verse in the poem below, which does not say quite the same. M identifies the "sphere" as spirit (*rūḥ*), citing *Qur.* 17: 85 as a prooftext.

a Dome (*qubbah*) without supports (*ʿamad*), and a rich Earth (*ʿamid*)[57] which is not based on reasons (*asrār*) desecrated by being mentioned and adulterated by thought.[58] For [its Reasons are, rather] from the Presence of That which occurs not to the mind of man,[59] nor does the attentive ear hear its report, nor eye-sight[60] perceive it truly.

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[57] See Lane and Kazimirski, *s.v.* Q2 alone has *la-hā* instead of *la-hu* in the clause foll. (evidently reading the pl., *ʿamad*, again).

[58] *Wa-min ʿamid*^{in} *mā la-hu fī l-arḍi mustanad*^{un} *ilá asrār*^{in} *tatadannasu bi-l-dhikri, wa-lā tatakhallaṣu bi-l-fikri.* That *ʿamid* signifies the earth here is more evident in the corresponding fifth verse of the poem foll.

[59] *Ḥaḍratu mā khaṭara ʿalá qalbi bashar*^{in}.

[60] Q2 has *bashar* (man) instead of *baṣar*.

[*An Ocean without Shore*][1]

I marveled at an Ocean without shore,
and at a Shore that did not have an ocean;[2]
And at a Morning Light[3] without darkness,
and at a Night that was without daybreak;
And then a Sphere[4] with no locality
known to either fool or learned scholar;
And at an azure Dome[5] raised [over the earth], B,15
circulating 'round its center—Compulsion;[6]
And at a rich Earth without [o'er-arching] vault[7]
and no [specific] location, the Secret concealed. . . .

* * * * * * *

I courted a Secret which existence did not alter;[8]
for it was asked [of me]: "Has Thought enchanted you?"[9]

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[1] The opening verse of this poem has provided the title for Chodkiewicz's recent study, *An Ocean without Shore* (see p. 35), which is there applied to the Qur'ān (which is so designated in *Fut.* II, 581 [11]), although, as Chodkiewicz acknowledges, that is not really the referent in our present context. Rather, I think that the ref. is to the Divine Unity (corresponding to the Neoplatonic "One"), represented as pre-cosmic *Chaos*. The imagery of a shoreless sea (*baḥr^{un} lā yurá shaṭṭu-hu*) is also employed by the author of the *Bayān al-Farq* (attr. to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī) to signify the one Divine Being in which the gnostic is submerged (see p. 102 [ll. 2–3]). The metre of the poem (found in D2, 31–32) is *al-sarīʿ*.

[2] As noted above, these first five verses correspond to the respective clauses of the preceding paragraph.

[3] *Ḍaḥwah*: "the brightness of morning after sunrise, the early forenoon". If we correlate this figure with the "speaker of realities" (*nāṭiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*) mentioned earlier, we might view it as a symbol for the first intellect. Moreover, it is feasible to relate this image to that of the primeval light of *Gen.* 1: 3, foll. the mention of the spiritual and chaotic waters of v. 2. In that case, the "sphere" of the next verse could be correlated with the "firmament" of the second day (vv. 7–8).

[4] *Kurah* (Q has the variant, *ukrah*). This is presumably the ninth, or "all-encompassing sphere" (*al-falak al-muḥīṭ*), otherwise styled the "starless sphere" (*al-falak al-aṭlas*). Corresponding to the universal soul, which is the source of all motion in the universe, the outermost sphere is the only one that does not move to some degree by the external compulsion (*qahr*) of superior spheres (see n. 6, below).

[5] *Qubbah khaḍrāʾ*: the sky, or visible heaven. "Green", in Arabic may signify a shade extending to black or a hue ranging to azure.

[6] *Jārīyat^{un} markazu-hā l-qahrū*. The heavenly sphere revolves by compulsion. In place of *markazu-hā*, D2 has *nuqṭatu-hā* (its point).

[7] *Wa-ʿamid^{un} laysa la-hū qubbatū*. B2, D2 and Q2 have *la-hā* instead of *la-hu*, reading the first as plur., *ʿamad* (pillars). Q has *ʿumdah* (support).

[8] *Khaṭabtu sirr^{an} lam yughayyir-hu Kun*. Recall that the poet is himself both the suitor and the secret, the bridegroom and the bride. *Kun* (Be!), the Divine *fiat* (see *Qur.* 2: 117, 6: 73, 36: 82, *et al.*), here signifies the causation of existence (*cf.* above, p. 272, at n. 79).

[9] *Fa-qīla hal hayyama-ka l-fikrū*. "Discursive thought" (*fikr*) is *at least* as consistently denigrated by Ibn al-ʿArabī as is "passion" (*haw^{an}, shahwah, shawq*, etc.).

[—To which] I replied: "I have no power [over that;
I counsel you]: Be patient with it while you live.[10]
But, truly, if Thought becomes established
in my mind,[11] the embers kindle into flame,
And everything is given up to fire
the like of which was never seen before!"
And it was said to me: "He does not pluck a flower[12]
who calls himself with courtesy 'Freeborn'."[13]
"He who woos the *belle femme* in her boudoir, love-beguiled,[14]
will never deem the bridal-price too high!"[15]

* * * * * * *

I gave her the dower and was given her in marriage[16]
throughout the night until the break of dawn—[17]
But other than Myself I did not find.—Rather,
that One whom I married—may his affair be known:[18]
For added to the Sun's [measure] of light
are the radiant New Moon and shining [Stars];[19]

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[10] *Fa-rfaqū/ ʿalay-hi fī l-kawni wa-lā ṣabrū*: lit., "so be nice to [thought] in existence, though it be unbearable."

[11] *Idhā mā stawá/ fī khalad-ī. Khalad*: "mind; heart". Q2 has garbled the latter.

[12] That is, he will not take it w/o proffering a proper bridal-dower. The "flower" (*zahrah*) here may signify the *ḥumayrā'*, or "little henna-blossom" (= 'Ā'ishah) of the preceding section (p. 315, n. 34). Both printed edns. read *tajtanī* instead of *yajtanī*, as in all mss.

[13] *Man qāla rifq*^{an} *inna-nī ḥurrū*. On the notion of the *ḥurr*, see *Muʿjam, s.v.*

[14] *Man khaṭaba l-ḥusnā'a fī khidri-hā/ mutayyam*^{an}. Instead of *al-ḥusnā'* (the beautiful woman), D2 has *al-Khansā'*, the name of the famous pre-Islamic poetess. This is actually quite a learned variant, as the *K. al-Aghānī* relates a story (vol. IX, p. 11) of how the Arab chieftain, Durayd b. Ṣimmah, one day beheld al-Khansā' at her bath, and, falling in love with her beauty, petitioned her father, ʿAmr b. Shurayd, for her hand in marriage. But ʿAmr left the decision up to his spirited daughter, and she spurned the suitor on account of his advanced age (see M. Smith, *Rābiʿa the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints in Islam*, pp. 115–16). Notwithstanding, all of the ss. (other than both edns. of the *Dīwān*), inc. B, clearly read as I have tr. Q2 has *khāṭaba* (he addressed) for the verb.

[15] *Lam yaghlu-hu l-mahrū*. B2 and Q lack the art. on the last word. D and Q2 have garbled the verb. "He who really desires to come together with his beloved (*maḥbūbatu-hu*) will not hesitate to offer the bridal-price," reasons M.

[16] *Wa-unkiḥtu-hā* (as voc. in B).

[17] D2 has "my night" (*laylat-ī*) instead of "the night."

[18] *Fa-man dhā lladhī/ nakaḥtu-hu, fa-l-yunẓari l-amrū*. Only B, D and Q2 give the correct reading of the first verbal, all other ss. having the doubly-trans., *ankaḥtu-hu* ([that one] to whom I gave [her] in marriage). As the obj. of the verb is now masc., the poet is evidently taking the part of the "bride."

[19] *Qad udrija . . ./l-qamaru l-sāṭiʿu wa-l-zuhrū* (as voc. in W). *Cf.* p. 231, n. 30; and

Like Time, dispraised[20]—though [the Prophet] (Blessings on him!) **25**
had once declared of your Lord that *He is Time.*[21]

I would like to present to you as many of these marvels (*al-ʿajāʾib*) as I may, clearing the way for you over difficult terrain. By God, my brother, were you to see the state of the Gnostics [of God] (*ḥāl al-ʿārifīn*) when they go out of themselves, advancing beyond what is perceptible by the senses! For hearts are purified and mysteries clarified, veils are raised and lights arise;[22] and the [Divine] Self-manifestations (*al-tajliyāt*)[23] are commensurate [with the capacities of the beholder]. For one beholds a Holiness (*quds*) and one an Intimacy (*uns*), and one beholds a Magnificence and a Beauty (*ʿaẓamah wa-jamāl*), while another sees a Kindness and a Majesty (*mulāṭafah wa-jalāl*);[24] yet another is bewildered in [Divine] "I-ness" (*anīyah*), while B,15b
another is dazzled in [Divine] "He-ness" (*huwīyah*).[25] Were you to be

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p. 277, *et seq. Qur.* 75: 9 ([when] the sun and moon are combined) was sometimes explained as foll. the rising of the sun out of the west.

[20] *Ka-l-dahri madhmūm*^{un}. The sun, like time, was frequently reviled by Muslims on account of its having been worshipped by the pagan Arabs.

[21] *Cf.* Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 101 (*et al.*): "God said: 'The Children of Adam insult Me in blaming Time (*al-dahr*), for *I am Time*,'" *etc.* (see W.A. Graham, tr., *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* [inc. Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Mishkāh*], pp. 112–14, for a listing of ss; *cf.* also Lane, *s.v. dahr*, for another version of this trad. On this subj. in general, see Böwering, "Ibn al-ʿArabī's Concept of Time," in *Gott ist schön*, esp. p. 72, n. 3.

[22] *Fa-ṭuhirat qulūb*^{un} *wa-uẓhirat ghuyūb*^{un} *wa-rufiʿat astār*^{un} *wa-ṭuliʿat anwār*^{un}. Instead of the first, Q2 has *taṭahharat* (become pure).

[23] As voc. in W. Kazimirski and Blachère mention this reflexive connotation of *tajliyah*, which primarily denotes "the unveiling of s.th. or s.o." (*e.g.*, a bride by her husband).

[24] *Fa-min shāhid*^{in} *quds*^{an}, *wa-min shāhid*^{in} *uns*^{an}; *wa-min shāhid*^{in} *ʿaẓamat*^{an} *wa-jamāl*^{an}, *wa-min shāhid*^{in} *mulāṭafat*^{an} *wa-jalāl*^{an}, as voc. in B, C, E and W. In E a later hand has reversed the two terms, *jamāl* and *jalāl*, which, indeed, would appear to yield a better reading, since "beauty" naturally would be paired with "kindness" (*mulāṭafah*), while "majesty" is naturally coupled with "magnificence" (*ʿaẓamah*). On *jalāl* and *jamāl*, see *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 59; and the treatise of that name in *Rasāʾil* (*r.* 2).

[25] *Wa-min bahtat*^{in} *fī anīyat*^{in}, *wa-min khaṭfat*^{in} *fī huwīyat*^{in}. E and both printed edns. have garbled this clause. Instead of *anīyah*, W reads *annīyah*, "that-ness" (the pure existence of s.th., as opposed to its "what-ness", or *māhīyah*). As Soheil Afnan points out (*Philosophical Terminology in Arabic and Persian*, pp. 93–97), these two words were frequently confounded (Affifi does so in *The Mystical Philosophy*, p. 189, n. 2), but *he* also failed to note the difference in mystical jargon between Divine "I-ness" and creaturely "egoism" as distinguished, for instance, by al-Qāshānī in his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah* (pp. 32–33), where the former is def. as "the self-realization of essential being respecting its class of quiddity" (*taḥaqququ l-wujūdi l-ʿaynī min ḥaythu rutbati-hi l-dhātīyati*). The latter reflects Ibn al-ʿArabī's def. of "I-ness": *Al-ḥaqīqatu bi-ṭarīqi l-iḍāfati* (*Iṣṭilāḥāt*), 70; the ms. evidence is contradictory, but I think that the *Rasāʾil* edn. (*r.* 29, p. 14)

apprised secretly of [these Divine Manifestations][26] you would surely flee from Them, filled with fear for your annihilation and chastisement in that Vision (*al-mushāhadah*), and the collapse of your faculties (*quwā-ka*) and the dissolution of your constitution (*tartību-ka*). But if you enter by the Gate of sincere Counsel (*bāb al-munāṣaḥah*), you will see the Real, Face to face (*mukāfaḥat*^{an}),[27] and then you will recite what delights the [Mystic] Traveller (*al-sālik*):[28]

[*The Mighty Mosaic Way*][29]

The Real came to me by night, speaking Face to face,[30]
  humility revealing Him to my inner Essence;[31]
And I was nursed in certitude at the breast of existence[32]
  (But I am neither weaned nor yet a suckling);[33]
And I slayed not the "Copt", but rebuked him with my knowledge;[34]
  while the "wet-nurses" never forced themselves upon me;[35]
And the "sons" were not slain for the sake of my chastisement,[36]

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gives the better reading for *anīyah* and *anānīyah*. "He-ness" is "the [Divine] reality in the world of transcendence [= absence]" (see *ibid.; cf.* also S. al-Ḥakīm, *Ibn ʿArabī wa-Mawlid Lughah Jadīdah*, p. 193; and Chittick, *Path*, 394, n. 15). Thus, God's "I-ness" is His immanence, and "He-ness", His transcendence.

[26] *Fa-lawi ṭṭalaʿta ʿalay-him ghayb*^{an}. Note that here and in what follows the prons. are animate plurals.

[27] See n. 30, below.

[28] *Mā yashūqu l-sālika.* Q2 has *yasūqu* (urges on) for the verb.

[29] The metre of this poem (in D2, 32) is *al-ṭawīl.*

[30] *Wa-lammā atā-nī l-Ḥaqqu layl*^{an} *mukallim*^{an}*/ kifāḥ*^{an}. Moses is known as the prophet who spoke directly with God (*kalīm Allāh*). As becomes clearer below, the purport of this poem is actually to highlight the *walī*'s dissimilarity to Moses as representative of the lawgiving prophet (*nabī bi-l-tashrīʿ*). Acc. to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (*Khatm al-Awliyāʾ*, p. 367), the Seal of the saints alone speaks to God "face to Face in the sessions of the kingdom (*wa-qad infarada fī . . . munājāti-hi kifāḥ*^{an} *fī majlisi l-mulki*)."

[31] *Wa-abdā-hū li-ʿayn-ī l-tawāḍuʿū.* Q has *ʿayn*, w/o the pron.

[32] *Thadá l-wujūdi.* Q has this verse foll. the next.

[33] *Fa-mā anā mafṭūm*^{un} *wa-lā anā rāḍiʿū. Cf.* below, nn. 35 and 40.

[34] *Wa-lam aqtali l-Qibṭīya, lākin zajartu-hū/ bi-ʿilm-ī.* The background for this verse is the story (*qaṣaṣ*) of Moses in *Qur.* 28: 7–21. Regarding the slaying of a "Copt" (*Qibṭī*, "Egyptian"), in v. 15 Moses is said to have killed an enemy of his people (*shīʿatu-hu*), specified, of course, as an Egyptian (*Miṣrī*) in *Exo.* 2: 11–12 (while Moses himself is so called in v. 19). The saint's enlightened pacifism is contrasted with the prophet's belligerent insistence on conformity. Instead of *bi-ʿilm-ī*, Q has *li-ʿilm-ī*; and Q2, *bi-ʿilm*^{in}. For M's comm., see App. I.

[35] *Fa-lam taʿsur ʿalayya l-marāḍiʿū.* In *Qur.* 28: 12 it is stated that God had forbidden Gentile wet-nurses for Moses (*wa-ḥarramnā ʿalay-hi l-marāḍiʿa*), and, so, it came to pass that Moses's own mother was allowed to nurse him for Pharaoh's wife.

[36] *Wa-mā dhubiḥa l-abnāʾu min ajli saṭwat-ī. Saṭwah*: "an assault, attack; punishment,

nor did an Evil One enhance my strength.[37]
—Thus, *I am as Moses*,[38] save that I am a Mercy
to my people,[39] and "wet-nurses" were not forbidden me.[40]
I speak in riddles of things which, should you learn their Secret,
salutary Knowledge with your Lord would come to you![41]

Now, if this is the Mighty Affair (*al-amr al-ʿaẓīm*) which prevails in the Mosaic Way (*al-maslak al-Mūsawī*), then what do you think will be the case with the Straight Path and the *Muḥammadan* Way (*al-ṣirāṭ al-sawī wa-l-maslak al-Muḥammadī*)?[42] Concerning "the Straight Path," [here is] an intimation (*ishārah*): Ponder the expression (*al-ʿibārah*), and view it as a Sign and Indication (*āyah wa-amārah*); and

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chastisement; violence, impetuosity". There are various possible interpretations (and trns.) of this hemistich, and M's is plausible: "The sons were not sacrificed for fear (*makhāfah*) of my [foretold] attack (*saṭwat-ī*), as in the case of the Pharaoh of the earth, who ordered the slaying of the children when he was told in a dream that his own destruction would come about at the hands of a new-born child (*mawlūd*)"—a detail derived from the Abraham-Nimrod legend. Although this is not the reason given for Pharaoh's command to kill the sons of the Hebrews in either the Bible (*Exo.* 1: 8–22) or the Qur'ān (28: 4), it may be regarded as implicit in the well-known archetype represented also in Herod's "slaying of the innocents" (see *Matt.* 2: 16–18) to forfend the Messiah's accession. The ref. could also possibly be to Moses's anger with and severe punishment of his own people in the affair of the golden calf (see *Qur.* 7: 148–52; and *Exo.* 32: 26–29; *cf.* n. 39, below).

[37] *Wa-lā jā'a shirrīr^{un} bi-baṭsh-īya rāfiʿū.* W and both printed edns. have garbled this hemistich. Q attempts to amend it to read: *Wa-lā jā['a] shadīdu yad^{in} li-baṭsh-ī dāfiʿū* (? nor did one strong-fisted come to compel my strength). As a matter of fact, an orig. Islamic element in the story of Moses is the ascription of his impetuous slaying of the Egyptian (with a blow of the fist, *wakaza-hu*) explicitly to Satan's influence (see *Qur.* 28: 15). *Al-shirrīr*: "the evil one, the Devil".

[38] "I am with the 'Pharaoh of my lower-soul' (*Firʿawnu nafs-ī*) as was Moses with the Pharaoh of the children of Israel regarding the spiritual struggle and suffering (*al-mujāhadah wa-l-mukābadah*), signs and miracles (*al-āyāt wa-l-karāmāt*)" (M).

[39] *Qawm-ī.* The copyist of M has highlighted al-Maqābirī's comm. on this phrase with bold letters: "Except that I am merciful toward my people (*qawm-ī*)—that is, my lower-soul and its attributes (*nafs-ī wa-ṣifātu-hā*). For I will not cease trying to win it over until such time as it is saved and delivered up [to God] (*aminat wa-aslamat*) with my help!"

[40] See *Qur.* 28: 12. Note that above (v. 3) it was simply stated that the "wet-nurses" did not force themselves on him. Ibn al-ʿArabī is free to absorb his knowledge from many extra-curricular sources, as, indeed, he has done.

[41] B2 and M have *bi-dhālika* (in that manner) instead of *badā la-ka.* "Salutary knowledge with your Lord": *ʿilm^{un} ʿinda Rabbi-ka nāfiʿū.*

[42] *Cf. 2 Cor.* 3: 7–8: "If the [Mosaic] ministration of death . . . was glorious, . . . how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious?" Regarding "the straight path" (*al-ṣirāṭ al-sawī*), see *Qur.* 20: 135 and 19: 43. Q treats this line as a subject-heading, and Q2 has badly garbled it.

make of it a fire-starter (*zand*)[43] [from which] to ignite its fire. For the *Markh* and the *ʿAfār*-sticks,[44] by mixing and friction,[45] will kindle you a flame—and *here am I*,[46] if God wills, divulging to you the Secrets of the Creator and the Universe (*sarāʾir al-Mukawwin wa-l-kawn*)[47] as to what the Station (*al-maqām*) and the "Eye [of Certainty]" (*al-ʿayn*) witness;[48] and the Reason of the Genesis (*sabab al-badʾ*) [of the Universe][49] and Who was the First-Arising (*awwal al-nashʾ*)[50] **26**
[therein]; and how that First[-created Being] is the Orient of the Lights (*mashriq al-anwār*) and Wellspring of the Rivers (*yanbūʿ al-anhār*)[51]—from which proceed the [Divine] Throne (*al-ʿarsh*)[52] and the

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[43] Foll. W and Lane in voc. thus, while B reads *zind*. Instead of this, V has *zabad* (sea-foam); and Q2, *zafar* (? grease). On the meaning of *zand*, see next note. The complementary images and comprehensive significations of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical language (= *ʿibārāt*), interacting like the sticks of a fire-starter, ignite the fire of spiritual meaning.

[44] Foll. B, R and M. Instead of *al-markh*, C, E, D, W and Q have *al-mazj* (the mixture); and V, B2 and Q2 read *al-maraḥ* (joy); and rather than *al-ʿafār*, C has *al-ghaffār* (the much-forgiving); D, W and Q2, *al-ʿaqār* (property); and V, B2 and Q, *al-ʿaqārib* (the scorpions). The two "fire-sticks" (*zandān*) were a piece of *markh*-wood with a pit or notch in its center, into which another stick, of the *ʿafār* tree, was placed and then twirled between the palms to strike a spark. Lane quotes several proverbs employing this imagery (*s.v. zand*).

[45] *Bi-l-imtizāji wa-l-ḥakki yurī-ka l-nāra.*

[46] *Wa-hā-anā-dhā* in the earliest ss.

[47] As voc. in B, R and W. Q has the same, but with *al-kawn* before *al-Mukawwin*. Instead of the latter, V, M and Q2 read *al-maknūn* (the hidden). These and the foll. expressions refer to the subj.-matter of Pt. II of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (beginning at p. 328), which consists of a comprehensive Ṣūfī-philosophic cosmogony.

[48] *Mā shāhada-hu l-maqāmu wa-l-ʿaynu* [*l-yaqīnu*]. *Al-maqām* could possibly be read *al-muqām* (the one raised up, or established), referring either to the Seal/Mahdī, (= *al-qāʾim*), or else, more likely, to the One brought up from the depths of the ocean of being (*viz.*, the "Light of Muḥammad"; see next note) in the opening lines of Pt. II.

[49] Al-Maqābirī, who takes this to signify the *raison d'être* of creation, glosses it as gnosis (*al-maʿrifah*), "as it is said in the Divine saying: 'I was a hidden Treasure . . ., and I created the world that they might know Me (*li-yaʿrifū-nī*)'" (M; see below, pp. 361–62, n. 86). Rather, the *sabab al-badʾ* is, I think, substantially the same as the *awwal al-nashʾ* (first arising) mentioned in the next clause. These are none other than the quasi-Divine *Logos*-figure known under dozens of names in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings (*e.g.*, the "Reality, or Light of Muḥammad," *etc.*). Pt. II of the *ʿAnqāʾ* treats largely of this subj. (see esp. pp. 372–73, *et seq.*).

[50] "That is, the Light of the Prophet (*nūr al-nabī*) . . ., in accordance with the *ḥadīth*: 'The first thing God created was the Light of the Prophet'" (M; *cf.* Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr* [on *Qur. 68*]; and see below, n. 52).

[51] M glosses this as the "wellspring of [the rivers of] sainthood."

[52] Acknowledging that variants of the trad. quoted in n. 50 specify the Divine throne, the pen (*al-qalam*), or the intellect, *etc.*, as "the first thing God created," M explains that "all of these entities were formed when the Light of the Prophet was partitioned (*juzziʾa*)."

Intermediate World and the Earth (*al-ʿālam al-awsaṭ wa-l-farsh*),[53] as B,16 well as [all] things inanimate and animate[54]—being the Origin of all entities (*aṣl al-akwān*).[55]

All of that I will show to you,[56] which the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān*) has deposited [also] in your Essence (*dhātu-ka*) and placed among the sum of your attributes (*jumlat ṣifāti-ka*). For *you* are the "Anthropomorphic Image" [of God] (*al-mithl al-mushabbah*)[57] and *That* is the [Divine] "Transcendent Image" (*al-mithl al-munazzah*).[58] If you ask, "But what do *I* have to do with 'Transcendentism' (*al-tanzīh*), and what does *He* have to do with 'Anthropomorphism' (*al-tashbīh*)?"[59] [—I tell you that] with the "Bringing face-to-Face" and the "Raising to Preeminence" (*al-muwājahah wa-l-tawjīh*),[60] both of You [*viz.*, both God and you] oscillate between Transcendence and Anthropomorphism.[61]

Take care, then, not to neglect the opening of this locked gate[62]—May God perfect your support (*ʿawnu-ka*) and, granting you victory, perpetuate your safeguarding (*ṣawnu-ka*)![63] Let us begin, God willing, in [Part Two of] this book with[64] the "Gnosis of the Worshipped One" (*maʿrifat al-Maʿbūd*),[65] Who is not known in Himself but only that *He exists.*[66] Then, after that, [in Part Three] I shall discourse on him whom I have spoken of [*viz.*, the Seal/Madhī],[67] propounding [his doctrine] in accordance with what I have already laid down [in Part One]—as *from* him I dictate, and *to* him I have recourse; and *upon* him I depend, and *by* [his assistance] I make manifest.[68] I am from him to *you*, and from you to *him*, without the "to" and the "from";[69] and I am the Trustworthy, the faithful Guardian (*al-amīn, al-ḥāfiẓ al-muʾtamin*).[70]

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[53] The intermediate world consists of "the heavens and the celestial spheres and all of the secrets that they contain" (M). *Al-farsh*: "the earth as a carpet, or spread" (*cf. Qur.* 2: 22, where the earth is called a *firāsh*). Note the saying: *Min al-ʿarsh ilá l-farsh*, meaning "all things, from the highest sphere to the earth."

[54] *Al-jamād wa-l-ḥayawān.*

[55] *I.e.*, the *summum genus.* "For we are an energy (*nashāṭ*) [emanating] from him. . . ." (M).

[56] *Wa-urī-ka.* This is a pun on *arī-ka* (I kindle, ignite you), as the writer is likened to a "fire-starter" (*zand*). Instead of the verbal, Q2 has *wa-raʾyu-ka* (and your view).

[57] That is, the "Divine image" as the apotheosis of man. *Mithl*: "s.th. similar, a likeness, image, equivalent", *etc.* On the *imago Dei* motif, see the refs., below, on pp. 447 (n. 12) and 468 (n. 57). Q2 has garbled this clause.

[58] The "Divine image" as it is in itself, not as assimilated to man. The referent of "that" here could be either the "first-arising" (*sci.*, the Light of Muḥammad) or else the Divine-human "essence" mentioned in the preceding sentence.

[59] *Tanzīh* and *tashbīh* (incomparability and similarity) denote complementary theological positions in Islam, the first negating human attributes in God, the other affirming them. Regarding the wider significance of these two key concepts, see T. Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 48–66; and Chittick, *Path*, 68–76. *Cf.* also nn. 60 and 62, below.

[60] The Form III *maṣdar*, *muwājahah*, signifies "standing face to face", as before a mirror, which, in this context, implies *tashbīh* (comparison); while the Form II is causative of the primary meaning of the verb, *wajuha*, "to be pre-eminent". *Tawjīh*, then, has much the same purport as *tawḥīd* and *tanzīh* (incomparability). This clause and the foll. are omitted in M, perhaps not inadvertently.

[61] *Yataraddadu kullu wāḥidⁱⁿ min-kumā bayna l-tanzīhi wa-l-tashbīhi.* This clause is garbled in Q.

[62] *Fatḥu hādhā l-bābi l-muqfali.* This can also be rendered: "[Do not neglect] the introduction of this cryptic chapter"—*sci.*, Pt. I of the present work, treating of the Seal/Mahdī. Thus, it seems to me, Ibn al-ʿArabī is associating the radical immanentism of his revolutionary doctrine of the Seal of sainthood (as developed in the foregoing, introductory Pt. I of the *ʿAnqāʾ*) with the old theological notion of *tashbīh*,

"Our Sufficiency is God; a Most-excellent Guardian is He!"[71] And "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!"[72] and Blessings upon the Seal of the Prophets (*khātam al-nabīyīn* [= the Prophet Muḥammad])![73]

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rethought to accomodate the related, equally revolutionary tenet of the "perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*), foreshadowed but not actually promulgated in this early work.

[63] Instead *ʿawnu-ka*, Q has *ʿazmu-ka* (your resolve); and, in place of *sawnu-ka*, one printing of Q2 has *sawtu-ka* (your voice). Q also omits "God willing" in the next line.

[64] Note that the actual wording of the text implies that the book itself begins with what I have denominated Pt. II (Pt. I being a long intro.).

[65] That is, the gnosis of the Divine essence (*maʿrifat al-dhāt*), which is the subj. of the first chap. of Pt. II (pp. 328–38).

[66] *Lā yuʿrafu min dhāti-hi siwá l-wujūdi. Cf.* below, pp. 335–36*sq.*

[67] This is the main subj. of the conclusion of the *ʿAnqāʾ* as it is the climactic significance of Pt. I.

[68] *Wa-min-hu umlī wa-bi-hi astaʿīnu, wa-ʿalay-hi atawakkalu wa-ʿan-hu ubīnu.* The last expression might most readily be tr. "and about Him I explain," but *ubīnu* is glossed as *uẓhiru* in the margin of the authoritative source, B.

[69] *Fa-anā min-hu ilay-kum wa-ilay-hi min-kum, min ghayri ilá wa-min* (as voc. in W). Q2 omits *wa-ilay-hi.* As Seal of the saints, Ibn al-ʿArabī is a kind of instantiation of the Light of Muḥammad, which is the veritable *tertium quid* (= *al-shayʾ al-thālith*) mediating between God and the world.

[70] The final adj. is in act. voice to rhyme with *min* (ending the preceding clause). The epithet, *al-amīn*, suggests a ref. to Gabriel (see above, p. 257, n. 1), as well as to the Prophet Muḥammad, who was also so called. *Al-ḥāfiẓ* is wanting in Q.

[71] *Qur.* 3: 173: *Ḥasbu-nā Llāhu wa-niʿama l-wakīlu.*

[72] *Qur.* 1: 2. The last phrase is garbled in C.

[73] *Cf. Qur.* 33: 40. D and both printed edns. add to the final benediction. C omits the entire line. At this point a certification of authenticity appears in the margin of B, which reads: *Balaghtu qirāʾat*^{an} *ʿalay-hi, aḥsana Llāhu ilay-hi.*

THE FABULOUS GRYPHON

PART TWO

[Asked of the Divine Essence, the Diver of the Abyss responded:] "O Man! What do they want? and what are they seeking so far away? By God, surely no one can attain It! No Spirit can comprehend His Gnosis, and no body contain [God's Essence]! He is the Most-Rare-to-be-found, Who cannot be comprehended, and the All-Existent One Who takes possession but is not possessed. Hence, in learning of His Attributes, intellects become confused and hearts perplexed—so how could they ever attain unto His Essence?"

The Real (Praised be He!) manifests Himself to rational animals in the manner of a Mirage (al-sarāb) appearing before the thirsty—there being nothing in the whole Universe which resembles the Self-Manifestation of the Real to the hearts of mankind from the Heaven of Gnosis other than this Description. Do you not see that the [Divine] Self-Manifestation shall not be otherwise than from the Highest unto the Lowest, even as He makes the plains below the mountains the place of the brightest mirage? View it as wisdom—how clear it is! and as a drop of a rain-cloud—how sweet and how refreshing!

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:
May God bless and keep Muḥammad and his Family![1]

THE SURROUNDING SEA
THE ROAR OF WHOSE WAVE GOES UNHEARD[2] C,54b
—*Concerning the Gnosis of the [Divine] Essence, the Attributes and the Acts*
[—of which, firstly:]

I. An Hermaphrodite Pearl in an Obscure Abyss[3]

THIS IS THE GNOSIS OF HIS ESSENCE[4] which reveals Universal B,16b Consciousness (*al-idrāk al-kawnī*) and Comprehensive Knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-iḥāṭī*)—the "Ruby" [of the Essence] in its Pearly-white Shell (*yāqūtu-hā l-aḥmar fī ṣadafi-hi l-azhar*),[5] which the [Angelic] Diver (*al-ghāṭis*) dives to extricate.[6] But he comes forth to us from the depths of that Sea—empty-handed, broken-winged, blind, dumbstruck and unable to articulate, bewildered and not able to ratiocinate![7]

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[1] C, E, D, Z, M, Q and Q2 add "our Lord" (*sayyidu-nā*) before "Muḥammad"; and Z and the printed edns. also insert "and his companions."

[2] *Al-baḥru l-muḥīṭu lladhī lā yusmaʿu li-mawji-hi ghaṭīṭ*^{un}. The "wave" is unheard because there is no one to hear it, even as there is nothing external to the Divine essence which could perceive It. The "surrounding sea," or *ocean*, here is, of course, the same as the "fathomless sea" of Pt. I (see p. 246)—whence the various images of the Seal/Mahdī and the "messenger of inspiration" have arisen. The above is one of the variant titles of the *ʿAnqā'* mentioned by Yahia (p. 157)—indicating, evidently, that those mss. have left off Pt. I of the work.

[3] *Bikr*^{un} *ḍahyā' fī lujjat*^{in} *ʿamyā'*. *Bikr*: "first-born; unprecedented; virgin (masc. or fem.); an unpierced pearl; s.th. needful", *etc.* Here, as earlier (p. 293 at n. 1), I opt for "[unpierced] pearl," but other interpretations are equally plausible. M glosses *bikr ḍahyā'* as "the precious secret (*al-sirr al-ʿazīz*), since "the precious" is [s.th. which is] rarely found, or almost never, because of its rarity/high rank (*ʿizzatu-hu*), nor can anyone learn of it except through self-sacrifice (*badhl al-nufūs*)." As for the peculiar word, *ḍahyā'* (see Gloss.), Lane (*s.v.* [end]) points out that some explain a woman's being called *ḍahyā'* (infertile; flat-breasted) as being on account of her "resembling men" (*ḍahā'ati l-rijāla*). B, C and Z, all superior ss., gloss this with "[a woman] that does not menstruate" [and cannot become pregnant] (a later hand in C also gives the meaning, "white"). Hence, *bikr ḍahyā'*, lit., means "sterile virgin", and my trn., "hermaphrodite" [= *khunthá*], may have only slim lexicological support; for while the androgyny of the Divine/universal intellect—as well as the first human being—was a commonplace in Hellenistic thought (see Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, pp. 453–55, *et al.*), the notion would be difficult to corroborate in the Islamic context. Q2 alone has *ṣahbā'* (reddish golden) instead of *ḍahyā'*. B, R, Z and Q treat this expression as a subj.-heading.

[4] Instead of this, Q has *maʿrifatu dhāt*^{in} (the gnosis of an essence); and V, *maʿrifah dhātīyah* (an essential gnosis).

[5] B glosses *al-azhar* as "white" (this is perhaps the orig. referent of C's erroneous gloss on *ḍahyā'* (see n. 3, above).

[6] *Ghaṭasa l-ghāṭisu li-yukhrija yāqūta-hā*, etc. As the *ghāṭis* is a *pearl*-diver, "the "ruby"

And he was asked when his breath had returned to him, after he
had emerged from the curtain of gloom (*sudfat al-ghalas*:)[8] "What's **27**
wrong?[9] What has happened to you?"—[To which] he responded:
"O Man! *What* do they want? and What are they seeking so far
away?[10] By God, surely no one can attain It![11] No Spirit (*rūḥ*)[12] can
comprehend His Gnosis, and no body (*jasad*) contain It. He is
the Most-Rare-to-be-found (*al-ʿAzīz*), Who cannot be comprehended
(*lā yudraku*), and the All-Existent One (*al-mawjūd*), Who takes possession
but is not [Himself] possessed (*lā yumlaku*).[13] Hence, in learning
of His Attributes, intellects (*al-ʿuqūl*) become confused and hearts
(*al-albāb*) perplexed—so how could they ever attain unto His *Essence*?

"Do you not see the power of His Self-Manifestation (*ḥukm tajallī-hi*) in the Lordship of Eternity (*rubūbīyat al-azal*)—how "he to whom God spoke" (*al-kalīm*)[14] fell prostrate, thunderstruck, when the mountain was leveled?[15]—And how, had He become manifest to His Prophet, Moses, in this Lordship without the mediation of the mountain (*min ghayr wāsiṭat al-jabal*), he [Moses] would have become the Master of his age (*ṣāḥib zamāni-hi*) without having to be "supported"[16]

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in its pearly-white shell" is apparently the same as the "hermaphrodite pearl" (*bikr ḍahyāʾ*) of the heading and not the ruby as such (regarding which, see my note in App. I). Be that as it may, here the ruby, or "red jacynth", is the gnosis of the unknowable Divine essence (see p. 335 at n. 71 below). It is interesting to speculate, however, that the ruby may also allude to the Kaʿbah, orig. made of that material, acc. to trad., when it was the dwelling of Adam (see G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, p. 19). Acc. to another legendary cycle, the Kaʿbah, as navel (= source) of the earth, was the first dry land to appear above the cosmic waters of space, from which the whole earth was evolved (see *ibid.*, p. 20).

[7] The expression, "broken-winged" (*maksūr al-janāḥayn*), indicates that the "diver" is an angel—no doubt, the ubiquitous "messenger of inspiration/revelation."

[8] To rhyme with *al-nafas* (breath) in the preceding clause. Instead of *sudfah*, C and Q have *ṣadafu-hu* (but this is corrected in C); and Q has *al-ʿaṭs* rather than *al-ghalas*, evidently reading: "a spasm [issued from] his flesh" (see Lane, *s.v.* *ṣadaf*), which, at least, has the merit of making a pun on "shell" (*ṣadaf*).

[9] *Mā rāba-ka*, in all ss. exc. for B2 and Q2, which have misread the verb.

[10] *Hayhāta, li-mā yaṭlubūna, wa-buʿd*^{an} *li-mā yarūmūna* (as voc. in B, C and W). B2 and Q have 2nd-pers. plur. verbs here; and Q2 has garbled the second clause.

[11] *Nāla-hu* could also mean "bestow it."

[12] Omitted in one printing of Q2.

[13] While *al-ʿAzīz* is a canonical name of God (in *Qur.* 59: 23–24, *et al.*), *al-mawjūd* is not (but see *infra*). Note that this resembles the stock def. of the *ʿanqāʾ* (see pp. 188–89 of the intro.).

[14] V has *Mūsá* (Moses) instead of *al-kalīm*, and Q has both.

[15] *Cf. Qur.* 7: 143. Note that the angelic "diver" is still the speaker.

[16] *Lā yūsá* (to rhyme with *Musá*) in all ss. exc. for Q, which has "without *our*

after [his] levelling and destruction (*indikāk wa-ḥalāk*) and [his] resurrection (*baʿth*)[17] in a "simulacrum" of himself and of [the] angels (*nashʾat mithlīyati-hi wa-amlāk*^{in})?[18] If the Manifestation of "Lordship" (*tajallī l-rubūbīyah*) is such as this, then where [do you suppose that] you would be after the Manifestation of "Divinity" (*tajallī l-ulūhīyah*)?[19] And if this was the lot of [Moses], the Leader and Interlocutor [with God] (*al-matbūʿ wa-l-kalīm*), then what would be the fate of the Wise Follower (*al-tābiʿ al-ḥakīm*)?[20] We have desired of the Attributes [that which] falls short of Him,[21] while no one arrives [at anything] except that which has been decreed for him."[22]

As for the Gnosis of the [Divine] Essence (*maʿrifat al-dhāt*),[23] it

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having to be supported." Had God revealed Himself to Moses directly rather than through the mediation of the mountain, "he would have become the master of his age absolutely (*muṭlaq*^{an}) instead of having one of the prophets [*sci.*, Aaron?] to support him," acc. to M. For the rest of his comm., see App. I. I think, rather, that the "support" here refers to God's having to "resurrect" Moses after his "destruction."

[17] Voc. thus in B, C, E, D and W. R and Q have *baʿthu-hu.*

[18] M explains that "that Theophany . . . occurs *after* the levelling and destruction of the attributes of your lower-soul [= *fanāʾ*] and their resurrection [= *baqāʾ*] after being rectified in a simulacrum—that is, [a form] resembling the spirit of the angels with respect to its purity and its lacking an animal spirit . . .," though this is quite at variance with the actual Qurʾānic account (7: 143), which Ibn al-ʿArabī ostensibly follows. My trn. of *nashʾatu mithlīyati-hi wa-amlāk*^{in} (as apparently voc. in C, E and R) is highly conjectual, esp. since B, D and W clearly read simply *nashʾah mithlīyah* (a replaceable, equivalent form; simulacrum). The problem is with *amlāk*, commonly the plur. of either *milk* (property) or *malik* (king), but sometimes, evidently, also a plur. of *malak* (angel), as I argue in the Gloss, *s.v. amlāk* (*q.v.* also in Dozy, *s.v. malak*). B2 has *malakīyah* (angelic) instead of *mithlīyah*; and Q2 reads *mithlīyah* (?).

[19] Generally speaking, *ulūhīyah* is represented by the Divine names and attributes, while *rubūbīyah* is expressed in the acts of God (on these categories, see *Path*, 59–62, *et al.*). The "Lordship" of the Mosaic Theophany is based on the occurrence of the word, *Rabb*, three times in *Qur.* 7: 143.

[20] *Cf.* above, p. 281 (at n. 6), where the designation, *tābiʿ*, is applied to the Seal/Mahdī, who is the bona fide "follower" (= *khalīfah*, "successor") of the Prophet. Depending on how one interprets this second clause, the ref. here could either be to the same or else to some *lesser* figure than Moses.

[21] *Fa-qad rumnā fī l-ṣifāti amr*^{an} *yaʿjuzu ʿan-hu* (as voc. in C, E, R, W and M). Both printed edns. misread the verbal.

[22] *Mā qudira la-hu min-hu*, which could possibly be read: "that for which he has the capability." C and W have *quddira*. "One gathers from the words of the master that he who has not been predestined from eternity . . . cannot attain unto this station" (M). I arbitrarily end the discourse of "the diver" at this point, although, as the veritable spirit of inspiration, the entire contents of Pt. II should perhaps be regarded as his teaching (*cf. 1 Cor.* 2: 9–10).

[23] C, P, W and Q highlight this as a subj.-heading, but actually the treatment of the gnosis of the essence (personified in the *bikr ḍahyāʾ*) begins earlier. There have been many able studies of Ibn al-ʿArabī's general ontology (*e.g.*, Nyberg, *Kleinere*

embraces[24] the Most-radiant Light (*al-nūr al-aḍwá*)[25] in an Obscurity (*ʿam*$^{\text{ān}}$),[26] concealed by the Veil of Protecting-Might (*ḥijāb al-ʿizzah al-aḥmá*),[27] preserved in the [Divine] Attributes and Names.[28] For the end (*ghāyah*) of one who vanishes into the Transcendent (*al-ghayb*) is arrival (*al-wuṣūl*) at the Nearest Veil (*aqrab thawb*),[29] and the utmost [Goal] of Seekers (*nihāyat al-ṭullāb*) is to stand (*al-wuqūf*) behind that Veil[30]—*Hic et nunc* and in the Hereafter, in the Worldly state and in the B,17 Pristine condition (*al-nashʾah al-dunyawīyah wa-l-ḥāfirah*).[31] He who desires to raise his Station or undertakes to depart therefrom, however, from that moment ceases to exist:[32] His heaven and his earth are rolled up in [God's] Right Hand,[33] and [his soul] returns [to Him]—lost

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Schriften, pp. 29–56; and Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy*, pp. 1–65). More recently the subj. has been treated in large portions of Izutsu's and, esp., Chittick's works (*e.g.*, on the ontology of the Divine essence, in *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 23–38; and *Path*, 59–96).

[24] As in B, C, D, R, B2 and M, which read *muktanafah* (*bi-*). E has *makshūfah* (uncovered); W, *makfūfah* (restricted); V, *munkashafah* (revealed); and both printed edns. are garbled. The spiritual meaning embraces/contains the obj. described, as indicated in a line quoted in the *Wörterbuch* (*s.v. iktanafa*): *Wa-qad yaktanifu l-shayʾa maʿān*$^{\text{in}}$.

[25] B, E, R, W, Z, M and Q have *al-aḍwá*; the other ss., *al-aḍwā*. It might also be possible to read the first as "the weakest, faintest" (sup. of *ḍāw*$^{\text{in}}$) that is, the least glimmer in the gloom, which cannot be hidden.

[26] *ʿAm*$^{\text{ān}}$: "blindness; height; remoteness; dust (= *ghubār, habāʾ*), such as covers objects, hiding them from view" (see Kazimirski, *s.v.*). Compare this imagery with that of the Johannine "light shining in darkness, which the darkness could not grasp/overcome" (*John* 1: 5).

[27] Q has the masc., *al-ʿizz*. A note in the margin of W asserts that the "veil of might" (*ḥijāb al-ʿizzah*) is an expression Ibn al-ʿArabī uses for "man". Rather, the *ḥijāb al-ʿizzah* is assimilated to "the obscurity and the perplexity (*al-ʿamāʾ wa-l-ḥayrah*, = the 'cloud of unknowing')" in *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 73. M glosses *al-aḥmá* with "protected from being comprehended (*maḥmī ʿan idrāk al-wuṣūl ilay-hi*)."

[28] *Maṣūnah* (referring to the "gnosis") in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has the masc. here.

[29] Instead of *thawb* (missing in Q2), Q has *bawwāb*(?).

[30] *Khalfa dhālika l-ḥijābi*: that is, behind "the nearest veil." *Al-wuqūf* (not in Q) could also be taken to signify "knowledge".

[31] *Ḥāfirah*: "the orig. state or condition of s.th. wherein it was created; and the returning of s.th., so that its end is brought back to its beginning" (see Lane, *s.v.*). Ibn al-ʿArabī understands "the pristine condition" to signify the spiritual existence of the "afterlife" (= "fore-life"), although the word in *Qur.* 79: 10 may simply refer to one's "youth" or else *physical* existence prior to death. Q2 has *al-dunyā* instead of *al-dunyawīyah*.

[32] *ʿAdima min ḥīni-hi*. Instead of the last, Q2 has *jubnu-hu*(?).

[33] *Cf. Qur.* 39: 67. The expression is also reminiscent of a well-known trad. inc. in the *Mishkāh* (see William Graham, tr., p. 131): "God will take hold of the earth on the day of Resurrection and roll up the sky in His right Hand. Then He will say: 'I am the King! Where are the kings of the earth?'"

and baffled, having been unjust—[while his body] is reduced to the very lowest grade, and joined to the clay.

But he who is among the People of Insights and Intuitions (*ahl al-baṣāʾir wa-l-albāb*), educated in the requisite rules of courtesy (*al-ādāb*),[34] if he arrives[35] [only] at the Veil which He (Praised be He!) never lifts from His Face, he [nevertheless] shall be given to understand His Essence (*kunhu-hu*)[36]—even though [actual] Knowledge of [the Divine] Essence is impossible,[37] for there is no way to raise that Veil as such. But if one clever and discerning, sagacious and correct arrives thereat[38] and throws over Him the "Robe of Jealousy" (*ridāʾ al-ghayrah*),[39] however—as [one] has said:

> I am jealous over Him, lest another than He might know Him[40] **28**

—then he shall take his stand behind the Veil, and call Him by His Name, the "Bestower" (*al-Wahhāb*), the "Remote One (*al-Baʿīd*) Nearer to us than the neck-vein (*ḥabl al-warīd*)."[41] And the Real will respond to him[42] in abundance with the Realities of Existence (*ḥaqāʾiq al-wujūd*)[43]—he being sanctified and exalted, made sovereign and assimilated [to Divinity].[44] He will enter wherever he wishes in the Garden of the Attributes (*jannat al-ṣifāt*)[45] and rest in the Meadows of the Words (*riyāḍ al-kalimāt*)[46]—roaming and bounding freely through the Sublime Manifestation (*al-tajallī l-muta'ālī*),[47] no command of his being denied, no secret remaining hidden from him. And the Real proclaims from the Throne of Transcendence (*'arsh al-tanzīh*) behind the Veil of the Might of Intimation (*'izzat al-tanwīh*):[48]

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[34] *Wa-taʾaddaba bi-mā yajibu ʿalay-hi mina l-ʾādābi.* See the poem, *infra.* In the *Futūḥāt* (II, 365 [16]), Ibn al-ʿArabī writes that the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* are "the courteous with God (*udabāʾ Allāh*), the knowers of the rules of courtesy in the Presence [of God] (*ādāb al-ḥaḍrah*) and the reverence which is due to Him."

[35] *In waṣala.* Q2 lacks the part.; and Q prefixes *ilá.*

[36] *Fa-kāna yūqafu,* as voc. in B and W. E has *yuwaqqafu.* Instead of the first, Q has *fa-kayfa*; and Q2, *wa-kāna.*

[37] *Wa-l-wuqūfu ʿalá kunhi-hi muḥāl*^{un}. *Cf.* n. 30, above.

[38] I voc. this line: *Fa-idhā waṣala ilay-hi l-ʿāqilu l-labību wa-l-faṭinu l-muṣību,* though both B and W apparently read *waṣṣala* [*Llāhu*] *ilay-hi* ([God] conveys thereto), with the remainder as dir. obj. Similarly, B2 and Q have *awṣala Llāhu* (God conducts).

[39] This is apparently the human corollary of the "Divine jealousy" (*ghayrah ilāhīyah*) towards the other [than God] (*al-ghayr*), discussed by Ibn al-ʿArabī on many occasions: *e.g.,* in *Fut.* II, 554 (8), 601 (11), and 246 (10; see also l. 9, and ll. 11–12 on the foll. page). *Cf.* also *Iṣṭilāḥāt,* 67; *Taʿrīfāt, s.v.,* where al-Jurjānī def. *ghayrah* as God's "aversion to sharing His reality [or 'right'] with another"; and Chittick's lucid account with further refs. in *Path,* 388, n. 25.

[40] *Aghāra ʿalay-hi an yuʿlima-hu ghayru-hu.* This is perhaps a variant form of the saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī: "I am jealous of myself to know Him, for I desire none but He to know Him." On the Divine *ghayrah,* see the preceding note.

[41] *Cf. Qur.* 50: 16. *Al-Wahhāb* (the Giver) is one of the canonical names of God (on the basis of *Qur.* 3: 8, *et al.*). Q alone adds *al-Qarīb* (the Near) after *al-Wahhāb.*

[42] *Fa-yujību-hu l-Ḥaqqu bi-l-mazīdi.* Q2 has *fa-yuḥabbibu-hu* (will endear him) for the verb. As *mujāb al-daʿwah,* the accomplished saint has his petitions answered by God.

[43] W reads *ḥaqāʾiq al-wujūd* in the nom. case.

[44] *Wa-taqaddasa wa-tanazzaha/wa-tamallaka wa-tashabbaha.* Instead of the last, Q has

> This is My Servant (*'abd-ī*) in reality,[49] My Word (*kalimat-ī*)[50] in truth. He is aware, so he is right; and he is courteous,[51] and, so, delightful. Then let him receive all that this Presence embraces, and may all of that be set before him for him to choose whatsoever he may fancy, and leave for later whatever he may wish.[52]

'For He bestows dominion (*al-mulk*) on whomsoever He will and withdraws it from whomever He will. He honors whom He will and debases whom He will. In His Hand is Benefit (*al-khayr*), and He B,17b
has Power over everything.'[53] "And He is Wise and All-informed."[54]

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tasabbaḥa (he was glorified). M glosses *tamallaka*: "he became 'an angel brought near' (*malak muqarrab*)" (but *cf.* n. 53, below).

[45] "As he becomes one authorized to act with free disposal (*mutaṣarrif ma'dhūn*) therein, having [the power] to assimilate to any attribute that he may wish (*la-hu l-takhalluqu bi-ayyi ṣifat*^{in} *shā'a*), [including] even the raising of the dead (*iḥyā' al-mawtā*) . . ." (M). On the *jannat al-ṣifāt*, which is the heart, see al-Qāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, p. 41.

[46] Instead of the last, Q has *al-kamālāt* (the perfections); and Q2 reads *al-kamāl*. M is wanting this clause.

[47] *Wa-jāla wa-ṣāla bi-l-tajallī l-muta'āli*. Here is an example of how the rhyme sometimes depends on the line's being read in pause-form (*ṣāl/muta'āl*). Q2 garbles this phrase.

[48] Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-tashwīh* (distortion).

[49] *Hādhā 'abd-ī ḥaqq*^{an}. This is part of an *ḥadīth qudsī* recorded by Ibn Mājah (see *Zuhd*, 20).

[50] Q2 has *kalīm-ī* ("My collocutor," = Moses). The "word of God" (*kalimah min Allāh*) proper, however, is Jesus (in *Qur.* 3: 39 & 45), and it would seem that he is, in fact, the subj. of the foll. passage.

[51] *Wa-ta'addaba*. On *adab*, see above, n. 34, and n. 64, below.

[52] *Mā yashā'u ddikhār*^{an}.

[53] The last three sentences are a close paraphrase of *Qur.* 3: 26 (exc. that the address to God in the 2nd-pers. is changed to the 3rd): "Say: "O God! King of kings (*Malik al-mulūk*)! You bestow kingship (*al-mulk*) on whomsoever You will, and You take kingship away from whomever You will. You honor whom You will and debase whom You will. In Your Hand is the good (*al-khayr*). You have power over everything." Now there is no doubt that our passage above can be read to refer to God as "King of kings." Notwithstanding, it seems to me that Ibn al-'Arabī intends the (admittedly rather contrived) sense of a "regent *under* God" that I have tried to convey in my trn. by taking the passage as a continuation of the Divine speech, referring to God's *deified* servant (*'abd Allāh*—as the "one who follows God" perfectly—is an appellation of the Islamic *Logos*).

[54] *Qur.* 6: 18 & 73, *et al.*

This is the Station of those who are well-bred in Courtesy (*maqām al-udabā'*),[55] the Stopping-place of the Trustworthy [ones] (*manzil al-umanā'*)[56] and the Presence of the Encounter (*ḥaḍrat al-liqā'*).[57] Each of those who arrive thereat (*al-wāṣilūn*) has his own degree of knowledge and strength of will [*'azm*],[58] though the Station contains [all of] them in general—for among them are the Perfect and the Most-perfect (*al-tāmm wa-l-atamm*).[59] From that Station the "Master of the Community" (*ṣāḥib al-jamā'ah*) will return,[60] but *in* it shall remain One for whom the Hour (*al-sā'ah*) [will yet] come to pass: For he is the Terminus and the Seal (*al-muntahá wa-l-khitām*),[61] and [his is] the Station of Glory and Honor (*maqām al-jalāl wa-l-ikrām*),[62] concerning which Station I have declared:

[*The Station of the "Courteous"*][63]

The Stations of the Real bred me in *Adab*;[64]
 but, while the [true] *Adīb*[65] remained in state,

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[55] Instead of the last, M has *al-ādāb* (the rules of courtesy).

[56] Instead of this, V has *manzilat al-anbiyā'* (the rank of the prophets); B2 and M have *al-asmā'* (the names) in place of the last.

[57] M glosses this as "the presence of the [Divine-creative command] 'Be!' (*ḥaḍrat Kun*)." I think, rather, the ref. may be to the "encounter" between Gabriel and the Prophet Muḥammad, both called "the trustworthy" (*al-amīn*, sing. of *al-umanā'*, in the preceding clause).

[58] "Every gnostic has his own station determined on the basis of his degree of knowledge and the gnosis of the necessary existence (*wājib al-wujūd*), as well as the strength of his will (*'azm*) in the struggle against his lower-soul (*mujāhadat nafsi-hi*), the refinement of his morals (*tahdhīb akhlāqi-hi*), the purity of his thought (*ikhlāṣ fikri-hi*) and his adherence to discipline (*luzūm ādābi-hi*)" (M).

[59] As I infer below, these are apparently the universal and the Muḥammadan Seals of sainthood (*viz.*, Jesus and Ibn al-'Arabī).

[60] M identifies this as the Seal of the saints, "who is in charge of [the community of the saints] (*al-mutaṣarrif fī-him*)," but it seems to me that, specifically, the *Muḥammadan* Seal (Ibn al-'Arabī himself) is intended here.

[61] *Viz.*, the universal Seal, Jesus (though the same terms could also apply to Muḥammad, of course).

[62] One of the Divine epithets is *Dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām* (see *Qur.* 55: 27: "[Nothing] remains but the Face of your Lord, He of Glory and Honor").

[63] [*Fī maqām al-udabā'* (see at n. 55, above)]. The metre of this poem (inc. in D2, 32) is *al-basīṭ*. I have also seen these verses inscribed on the title-page of Ibn al-'Arabī's *K. al-Bā'* in the elegant *Ms. Yusuf Ağa 4868* (f. 25), copied prior to 602/1205, and in *Ms. Şehid Ali 1341* (f. 56).

[64] *Mawāqifu l-Ḥaqqi addabat-nī.* M has *awqafat-nī* (instructed me) for the verbal; and Q reads: *Mawāqifu l-jūdi qayyadat-nī* (the stations of goodness restricted me). On *adab* (education in Ṣūfī rules of courtesy), see *Fut.* II, 284–86; *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 54–55; *Path*, 174–75*sq.*; and Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 91–92. Acc. to the *Ta'rīfāt* (*s.v.*), *adab* is the knowledge of all the kinds of errors to be avoided by the well-bred.

[65] *Al-adīb*: This, again, is presumably the universal Seal, Jesus.

His Essence caused me to be present [to him]
(For I did not find his "Sun" going down),[66]
And our Essences were joined in union.[67]
Since, as I am the Lover and the Friend,[68]
He sent me with [his ?] attributes,[69] so that
the perspicacious mind might recognize me,
And partake of the Secret of my heart—
for the spirits are nourished in His Name.[70]

Then if you ask: "Where is the Gnosis of the Ruby (*maʿrifat al-yāqūt al-aḥmar*) protected in the pearly-white Shell (*al-maṣūn fī l-ṣadaf al-azhar*)?"[71]—I will answer that the Gnosis of the Ruby is such that it is not discerned, delimited or described.[72] For if you are aware (*ʿalimta*)[73] that there is One Existent Which cannot be known (*mawjūd* **29**

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[66] That is, his abstract "essence" (*al-dhāt*) did not condescend from its high station and take on the attributes of physical existence; hence, it was necessary for the poet to be brought to *him* in spirit. "His sun": *shamsu-hā* (the sun of [the *adīb*'s *dhāt*]) in all ss. exc. for Q, which has *shamsu-hu.*

[67] *Wa-ttaḥadat dhātu-nā* (lit., "and our essence was unified"). Instead of the first, M and Q2 have *wa-ttakhadhat*; and in place of the last, Q has *dhātu-hu.* M is scandalized by our reading and warns: "Be careful not to understand the master to mean "union with the [Divine] essence" (*al-ittiḥād bi-l-dhāt*)." But Ibn al-ʿArabī is simply claiming substantial identity with the universal Seal, his 'father,' Jesus (see *Fut.* I, 3 [2], tr. in App. IV, 591), who may be regarded as a kind of personification of his own higher self.

[68] *Al-ʿāshiq wa-l-ḥabīb.* In *ibid.* Ibn al-ʿArabī is also called the "counterpart" (*ʿadīl*) and "friend" (*khalīl*) of Jesus. The latter also is said to refer to him as "beloved" in *Fut.* II, 49 (33), tr. in App. IV (p. 597).

[69] *Arsala-nī bi-l-ṣifāti.* Apparently, the universal Seal sent forth the poet, his "lover" and counterpart, with his own "attributes" (= qualifications) into the world as the Muḥammadan Seal. Otherwise, in the *miʿrāj* (spiritual ascension) of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, the mystic is described as going forth to creation in the Divine attributes, in God's words: "that I may see My own selfhood (*huwīyah*) in your selfhood," and: "whoso sees you sees Me," *etc.* (see R.C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, p. 206, *nos.* 185–87).

[70] *Fa-taghtadhī bi-smi-hi l-qulūbu*, in B, C, D, W, Z, D2 and Q2, as well as *Yusuf Ağa 4868*, f. 25, and other mss. Q has *fa-tahtadī* (they are rightly-guided). It is interesting to note that in Christian symbolism, bread, or food, symbolizes the word of God (see *Matt.* 4: 4) and, by extension, is typically assimilated to Christ himself (in *John* 6: 33–35 & 51). I have tr. *al-qulūb* here as "the spirits" to distinguish it from *fuʾād-ī* (my heart) in the preceding hemistich.

[71] The ruby is "the greatest secret (*al-sirr al-aʿẓam*), the essence of the gnosis of which (*kunhu maʿrifati-hi*) it is impossible to comprehend" (M). *Cf.* above, n. 6. Q takes this clause to be a section-heading.

[72] *An lā yuʿrafa/ wa-lā yuḥadda wa-lā yūṣafa.* D and Q2 have garbled the second verb.

[73] R has *fa-in ʿarafta* (if you have recognized) instead of *fa-iẓā ʿalimta* (see next note).

lā yuʿrafu), then, verily you *know* (*ʿarafta*);[74] and when you acknowledge the inability to arrive at His true Nature (*kunhu-hu*), then, lo, *you have arrived* (*waṣalta*), for the Truth (*al-ḥaqīqah*) will [thus] have fallen to your lot and the Path (*al-ṭarīqah*) will have become clear before you. But he who does not grasp this Knowledge (*al-ʿilm*), and for whom this Determination [from God] (*al-ḥukm*) does not arise, wishes for that which shall never come to him because of what he has forgotten and ignored.[75] For it suffices you to know that He is not B,19
known. This is the very Truth (*al-ḥaqq*), the Dawn of which (*ṣubḥu-* (*sic*)
hu) has broken—so persevere! And be led by the Prophet and the Faithful One (*al-nabī wa-l-ṣiddīq*)[76]—as [even the Prophet Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep him!) has acknowledged:

> I cannot enumerate Thy praises as Thou hast praised Thyself![77]

This is the utmost degree of "Inability" (*ghāyat al-ʿajz*)[78] and the Gnosis of one who has arrived at the Veil of Might/Glory (*ḥijāb al-ʿizz*),[79] as the Greatest Faithful-One (*al-ṣiddīq al-akbar*)[80] has declared:

> [Acknowledgement of] the inability (*al-ʿajz*) to attain unto Realization (*al-idrāk*) is [itself] a Realization.[81]

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[74] "The difference between *ʿarafa* and *ʿalima* is that the former refers to distinct and specific knowledge [*connaissance*], while the latter is more general [= *savoir*]; hence the opposite to *ʿarafa* is *ankara* (to deny), and to *ʿalima* is *jahila* (to be ignorant)" (J. Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor'ān, s.v. ʿarafa*). W underscores this line as a quotation, but if it is, I do not know the source.

[75] Q2 has *yadūmu* (he continues) instead of *yarūmu*; and *ẓahala* (?) in rather than *dhahala*. At this point in B, f. 18 is bound out of place.

[76] The latter, of course, is Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (see *infra*). V, B2 and M omit the conj., reading "the veracious prophet" (*al-nabī al-ṣiddīq*). Note that the Prophet is implicitly associated with the *walāyah*-degree of *ṣiddīqīyah* here (but *cf.* n. 81 [end], below).

[77] This is a well-known trad. recorded in many collections (*e.g.*, Muslim, *Ṣalāh*, 222; Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt*, 75 & 112; Ibn Mājah, *Duʿā'*, 3, and *Iqāmah*, 177; and al-Dārimī, *Al-Sunan, Ṣalāh*, 148).

[78] Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-fajr* (dawn). Also, Q2 alone has *aw* (or) rather than *wa-* (and), immediately foll.

[79] *Cf.* above, n. 27. *ʿIzz*: "might, power; glory, honor; renown", *etc.*

[80] *Viz.*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.

[81] *Al-ʿajzu ʿan daraki l-idrāki idrāk*^{un}. This maxim was frequently ascribed to Abū Bakr (though the ascription was rejected by Ibn Taymīyah in his critique of *ittiḥādī* Ṣūfism [see *Majmūʿāt al-Rasā'il wa-l-Masā'il*, pt. IV, p. 55]). Al-Junayd said that "the noblest saying on the Divine unity is that of Abū Bakr: 'Glory be to Him Who has not given a way for creatures to know Him save in their inability to know Him'" (written in the margin of al-Sarrāj's *K. al-Lumaʿ fī l-Taṣawwuf* [see Nicholson, ed., p. 124]). While Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to adopt this view in the present early work, it is notable that in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* he clearly allots this agnostic tenet to

Then there is no way for confusion (*al-ishtirāk*),[82] there being nothing besides the Veil of Divine Might/Glory (*ḥijāb al-ʿizzah al-ilāhīyah*) except quality and quiddity (*al-kayfīyah wa-l-māhīyah*).[83]

So, Praised be He Who [both] becomes distant and approaches, Who rises and descends,[84] He Whom the Gnostics know in accordance with what He gives [them to know], the reckoning (*ḥasb*) of each Gnostic therein being [the knowledge] he has been given to acquire[85]—and *that* from the Attributes of Negation (*ṣifāt al-salb*) [only].[86] For the extent of our knowledge (*maʿrifatu-nā*) is that He exists (*mawjūd*), that He is the Creator and the Worshipped One (*al-Khāliq wa-l-Maʿbūd*), and that He is the Only-Everlasting Lord (*al-Sayyid al-Ṣamad*)[87] Who is Free of any consort and offspring (*al-ṣāḥibah wa-l-walad*)[88]—all of which is attributable to [God's] Transcendentism and the negation of Anthropomorphism (*al-tanzīh wa-salb al-tashbīh*). For He is far above your knowing His Attributes of Affirmation (*ṣifāt al-ithbāt*),[89] and far beyond the Essence of His Majesty (*kunh jalāli-hi*)

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a degree of sainthood (viz., *al-ṣiddīqīyah*) that is *infra dignitatem* to that of the Seal (see *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 62, tr. in App. IV, 605). On the philos. usage of *idrāk*, see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 105–06.

[82] "Nothing remains in his being other than his God (*maʿbūdu-hu*), for this is a sign of 'him who knows his Lord'" (M). *Ishtirāk*: "association, partnership; confusion" (= *shirk*, "polytheism").

[83] M comments: "And knowledge of quality and quiddity is impossible" [?]. Even if this were true, Ibn al-ʿArabī could hardly intend such terms to be applied to God (the Divine *māhīyah*, or essence, is not different from God's *annīyah*, "that-ness", or existence). Rather, I think that the ref. is to the evanescence and vacuity of all that is not His self-manifestation. On *māhīyah*, see *ibid.*, pp. 117–20.

[84] *Wa-taʿālá wa-nazala*. He is a God of both transcendent holiness and of revelation.

[85] *Wa-ḥasbu kulli ʿārif*^{in} *bi-hi mā kusiba fa-kasaba* (as voc. in B and W).

[86] That is, the *via negativa*, which posits God's infinity, immutability, immortality, ineffability, *etc.* On the philos. usage of *salb*, see *ibid.*, pp. 106–07.

[87] Or: "the Lord . . . to whom recourse is had . . . or to whom obedience is rendered," *etc.* (Lane, *s.v. ṣamad*). *Al-Ṣamad* (see *Qur.* 112: 2) has been variously tr. as "the Alone" (Blachère), "the Sovereign" (Paret), "the Everlasting Refuge" (Arberry), "the eternally Besought of all" (Pickthall), *etc.*—all of which convey s.th. of the semantic range of this peculiar term (regarding which, see F. Rosenthal, "Some Minor Problems in the Qur'ān," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, pp. 67–84).

[88] M explains this as "a refutation of the Christians, who posit the three hypostases (*al-aqānīm al-thalāthah*)," with ref. to *Qur.* 5: 73. Many Muslims believe the Christian Trinity to consist of God, Jesus and Mary. Compare this and the preceding clause with the *Sūrat al-Tawḥīd* (*112*): "Say: "He is God, the One (*al-Aḥad*); God, the Only-Everlasting Lord (*al-Ṣamad*)! He has not begotten nor been begotten; and like unto Him there is no one.'"

[89] "Because the attributes of affirmation require knowledge of the essence, and knowledge of the essence is impossible" (M). These are the positive attributes (such

being realized by created beings (*al-muḥdathāt*).[90] And if the *Attributes* of Majesty cannot be comprehended, then how could One upon Whom they are based and Who is described by them [be known]? For the Eminent, Exalted [and] Almighty (*al-Kabīr al-Mutaʿāli l-ʿAzīz*)[91] Who is not attained unto is far above [all of that], and the Ocean of the Ruby (*baḥr al-yāqūt al-aḥmar*) is He of Whom it is said: "There is nothing like unto Him."[92] And "Praised be your Lord, the Lord of [Inaccessible] Glory/Might (*Rabb al-ʿizzah*), far beyond that which they describe!"[93] Now this refers to the Veil of Glory (*ḥijāb al-ʿizzah*) of which we have spoken,[94] and the Secret which we have described.

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as reality, knowledge, power, life, *etc.*), which, in an infinite degree, constitute the Divine nature.

[90] *Muḥdathah*: "a thing created (out of s.th. that preceded it)" (see Blachère, *s.v. muḥdath*).

[91] These are all canonical Divine names, the first two appearing together, *e.g.*, in *Qur.* 13: 9.

[92] *Qur.* 42: 11. This Qur'ānic expression is associated by Ibn al-ʿArabī with the notion of *tanzīh* in *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 70. See also Morris, "The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ʿArabī and the *Miʿrāj*," in *J.A.O.S.*, 107 (1987), p. 634; and Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, p. 37 (nn. 6–7).

[93] *Qur.* 37: 180.

[94] See p. 331 (at n. 27), *et seq.*

II. The [Divine] Attributes:[1] B,19b
A Flash of Lightning and a Nocturnal Apparition[2]

Ask the seeker for That which cannot be reached and the claimant to What is beyond his requirements if he knows anything of the Real other than what He has created in him; and, if he does not, [then ask him]: Have you established anything concerning Him by which [*Man*] is not described?[3] Have you gone beyond knowledge [of God] in terms of the dubious analogy [to creatures] (*al-amr al-mushtabih*)[4] except by way of the *Via Negativa* and Transcendentism (*ṭarīq al-salb wa-l-tanzīh*) and Sanctification and the repudiation of Anthropomorphism (*al-taqdīs wa-nafy al-tashbīh*)?[5] If you say that He is the Living, the Speaking, the Powerful, the Purposing, the Knowing, Hearing, Seeing One[6]—*you* are [all of] that! And if you say that He is the Compassionate and the Vanquishing,[7] [*et cetera*] until you have **30** exhausted [all of] His Names—you are still there! For you have not attributed to [God] (Be He Praised!) any description (*waṣf*) that does not apply to your *own* Essence (*dhātu-ku*), nor have you distinguished

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[1] On the doctrine of the attributes (*al-ṣifāt*), see Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften*, pp. 56–57*sq*. On the related subj. of the Divine names in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, pp. 99–140; and Chittick, *Path*, 33–56, *et al.* In his later writings Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to have preferred the term, *nisab* (relations), or else the "excellent Names" (see *Qur.* 7: 180), to the theologians' *ṣifāt*. For M's classification of the latter, see App. I.

[2] *Lamḥat*^{un} *bāriq*^{un} *wa-khayāl*^{un} *ṭāriq*^{un}. The Divine attributes are an ontic flash of light in the epistemic night of the Divine essence.

[3] The "perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*) is meant. All that we can divine of God we know from what is in ourselves, and all that God has said of Himself in Revelation can be said of the perfect man. The key to this paradox is the centrality of the Divine names as the basis of man's knowledge of God and his realization/perfection of himself.

[4] Some of the later ss. have other forms of the same verb, presumably with the same meaning.

[5] Q is wanting the last two clauses.

[6] *Al-Ḥayy al-Mutakallim al-Qadīr/ al-Murīd al-ʿAlīm al-Samīʿ al-Baṣīr.* These are the so-called seven "essential attributes" (*ṣifāt al-maʿānī*) of Ashʿarite theology. Ibn al-ʿArabī classifies them simply as "names of the attributes" proper (*asmāʾ al-ṣifāt*) in *Inshāʾ*, 28–29*sq.*; and in *Fut.* I, 100 (7–10), he denominates certain of them the "seven mothers, or matrices" (*al-ummahāt al-sabʿah*; but *cf. Seal*, 85, n. 26). *Cf.* also al-Qāshānī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, pp. 33–34 (*s.v. aʾimmat al-asmāʾ*). M comments: "These are the seven "attributes of the essence" (*ṣifāt al-dhāt*), which [however] do not in reality define God (Be He exalted!), but rather the perfect servant (*al-ʿabd al-kāmil*), metaphorically."

[7] *Al-Raḥīm al-Qāhir.* Respectively, these are representative of God's names of beauty and of majesty.

Him[8] with any Name that your Stations and your attributes (*maqāmātu-ka wa-ṣifātu-ka*) have not previously been derived from, [both] by [your] assimilation to the Divine Nature (*takhalluq*^{an}) and by [God's] Self-Realization (*taḥaqquq*^{an}) [in your human attributes].[9] Wherever you affirm in [God that which] has to do with the Essence (*al-ʿayn*) apart from yourself, the extent of your knowledge of it is that the defects of engendered existence (*naqāʾiṣ al-kawn*) are to be negated of Him—the Servant rightfully negating of his Lord[10] (Exalted be He!) that which it is not allowed to attribute to Him!

[Truly] in this Station was he who proclaimed: "Glory be to Me (*Subḥān-ī*)! [How great is My standing (*shaʾn-ī*)]" without any doubt![11] And why *not*? Is anyone stripped[12] of anything unless he had [previously] put it on? Or is anything taken away from one which he did not [formerly] hold?[13] [Thus] when the Real puts on the Attributes of Deficiency (*ṣifāt al-naqṣ*) until we [presume to] deprive Him of them or strip Him bare[14]—by God, this is not the state of [true]

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[8] *Wa-lā wassamta-hu.* Instead of this, C and D have *sammayta-hu* (you do [not] name Him); and Q2, *tusammī-hi* (you will [not] name Him). In one printing Q2 also omits *illā* in the foll. phrase.

[9] That is, actively and passively, so to speak. Dr. Chodkiewicz has pointed out to me that Ibn al-ʿArabī distinguishes between *takhalluq* (theomimesis, = *al-tashabbuh bi-Llāh*, in *Fut.* II, 126 [8–9]) and *taḥaqquq* (theosis) in *ibid.*, 243 (9–11); see also *Fut.* I, 363 (7); and Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy*, p. 46, n. 1. Instead of *maqāmātu-ka*, Q has *maqāmu-ka.*

[10] *Wa-salbu l-ʿabdi ʿan Rabbi-hi*, etc. (as voc. in B and W). M reads the first as a pass. verb, *wa-suliba* (is stripped away), and omits *al-ʿabd.* This verb is used for describing the plundering a fallen enemy of his arms (see n. 14, below); *cf.* also above, p. 337, n. 86.

[11] *Subḥān-ī/*[*mā aʿẓama shaʾn-ī*] *dūna tawānī.* Minus the last phrase, this is the celebrated dictum of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, recorded by al-Sahlajī in his collection of the former's *shaṭaḥāt*, the *K. al-Nūr* (see Badawī, ed., *Al-Shaṭaḥāt*, pp. 22 and 78; *cf.* also Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, p. 98; and Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*, pp. 249*sq.*). The words in brackets, which are part of the orig. saying, do not appear in the earliest known text of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, B (though they may be written in the margin, by a later hand), nor in R or W (but they are interpolated in the former). The last three words were added by Ibn al-ʿArabī for the sake of the rhyme.

[12] Instead of *yuʿarrá* (as voc. in B and W), V reads the 2nd pers.; and B2 and Q have garbled the phrase.

[13] In place of this verb (*ḥabasa-hu*), B2 and Q have *jannasa-hu* (? he did [not] assimilate it). M reads: "Does one take from anything (*yaʾkhudhu min shay*^{ʾin}) unless he has confined it (*ḥabasa-hu*)?" But Ibn al-ʿArabī's point is more subtle and ingenious: How can man be *deprived* of the quality of Divinity if he is not, firstly, Divine?

[14] *Ḥattá nasluba-hu ʿan-hā aw nuʿarrī-hi.* The Muʿtazilites (rationalizing theologians), as well as the philosophers, were accused of *taʿṭīl*, "depriving (God of essential attributes)", by both orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and heterodox Ṣūfīs.

Transcendentism (*ḥālat al-tanzīh*)! On the contrary, the unbelieving infidel (*al-mulḥid al-jāḥid*) judges the unmanifest Absent (*al-ghā'ib*) by the evidentiary Present (*al-shāhid*), supposing that to be [a matter of] explicit text (*naṣṣ*),[15] thus ascribing deficiency to it![16]

I, however, I keep my Soul (*nafs-ī*) far from putting on that which this [type of] heretic clothes himself with,[17] stripping it of [that], so that I might become the truly Unitarian Verifier of Reality (*al-muḥaqqiq al-muwaḥḥid*). Thus, my Soul is freed [of evil] (*nuzzihat*) and B,20 my Essence (*dhāt-ī*) sanctified (*quddisat*),[18] while the Creator (*al-Bārī'*)—Praised be He!—transcends [even] "Transcendentism" (*munazzah 'an al-tanzīh*), so how much more, "Anthropomorphism" (*al-tashbīh*)! For Transcendentism has nothing to do with His Essence (*dhātu-hu*), but rather with the purging of your own locus (*taṭhīr maḥalli-ka*),[19] it being one of His Conferments upon you and one of His Gifts.[20] So praise God[21] Who purified you, and [praise, also] the Garment of Transcendentism (*thawb al-tanzīh*) which attires you!

Were it not for a flash of lightning (*lamḥah bāriq*) therefrom [*sci.*, from the "Veil of Transcendentism"] appearing to your eye, and the spectre of an apparition (*khayāl ṭāriq*)[22] coming to you thence by night in your sleep,[23] this Divine Providence (*al-ʿināyah*) would not have come about for you, and the Veil of the Caliphate and of Sainthood (*thawb al-khilāfah wa-l-wilāyah*) would not have attired you.[24] You discover [these latter] in your own being (*wujūdu-ka*) such as you are with regard to the attribute of Knowledge (*al-ṣifah al-ʿilmīyah*)[25] and Free-Will (*al-mashīʾah al-ikhtiyārīyah*) [established] in Pre-eternity (*sābiqat qidam*) before the writing-down of the [Cosmic] Pen (*khaṭṭ al-qalam*).[26] For know that you are connected to [God] (*muttaṣil bi-hi*) in the Essential Attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-maʿnawīyah*),[27] without any *direct* connection (*min ghayr ittiṣāl*),[28] in the sense of being "Semblances" (*al-ẓilāl*);[29] [while you are, at the same time], separated from Him (*munfaṣil ʿan-hu*) without any *real* separation (*min ghayr infiṣāl*) as regards the Attributes of Identity (*al-ṣifāt al-nafsīyah*), which are [in the case of God, necessarily] unknowable.[30]

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[15] *Naṣṣ*: "a clear scriptural expression; an ordinance; a prooftext; manifestation" (see Gloss., *s.v.*). B glosses *naṣṣ* as s.th. that "does not allow of further extension [in meaning] (*lā mazīd 'alay-hi*)"—text as the sum of its parts. V and Q have *naqṣ* (a defect) instead.

[16] That is, by limiting reality to the explicit and manifest, the unmanifest (*al-ghayb*) is reduced to a mere privation.

[17] *Fa-anā unazzihu nafs-ī an albisa*, etc. Q2 has *fa-idhā* in place of *fa-anā*.

[18] B, E, D and W all have *tashdīd* on these verbs, but the latter two read them in the act. voice. "If I strip my soul of the filth of defectiveness (*shawā'ib al-naqṣ*), then it 'becomes free' of that . . ., and my essence is 'sanctified' beyond that which casts suspicion upon it. This, [despite the fact that] I am [merely] a despicable servant (*'abd ḥaqīr*) to whom this exculpation (*al-tanzīh*) has been granted in [God's] pre-eternal Providence (*bi-sābiqīyat al-'ināyah*)" (M).

[19] "That is, transcendentism relates to the purification of your essence, not His" (M). Rather, *maḥallu-ka i.e.*, the "locus which is you," is the human "vessel", so to speak, of the Divine essence. Spirit is to matter/form what clear water is to its colored glass container. The above could also be voc. as *maḥlu-ka* (your cunning, deceitfulness).

[20] *Minaḥu-hu la-ka wa-hibātu-hu*. By the grace of God, it is man who is transcendent, not God.

[21] In all ss. exc. for Q2, which has "Praise be to God!"

[22] These expressions signify the Divine attributes, the primeval manifestation of God (see the subj.-heading, above, at n. 2). On *ṭāriq*, see the opening verses of *Sūrat al-Ṭāriq* (*86*), where this is sometimes applied esoterically to the Prophet as the "night-journeyer."

Were it not for [God's] having characterized you with His Qualities (*awṣāfu-hu*) and for His Solicitude toward you in the Station of His

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[23] *Ṭaraqa-ka ʿinda hajʿati-ka.*

[24] "That is, were it not for that flash (*lamḥah*) and that radiance (*lamʿah*) you would not have become purified, purged, and pre-eminent, when this providential endowment of the 'veil of transcendentism' (*thawb al-tanzīh*) and the 'vestments of the caliphate' (*ḥullat al-khilāfah*) and the 'crown of sainthood' (*tāj al-wilāyah*) were bestowed upon you . . ." (M). *Wilāyah*: "the office of sainthood", voc. thus (in W) to rhyme with *ʿināyah*.

[25] In place of the last, Q2 has *al-ʿamalīyah* (practical).

[26] The cosmic "pen" is the first, or universal, intellect. For M's comm. regarding "free-will," see App. I.

[27] The Ashʿarites subsumed the seven cardinal attributes/names listed in n. 6, above, under this general rubric, [see also App. I, 550, comm. on p. 399, n. 1], but, in fact, as Ibn al-ʿArabī has been explaining, all of the Divine attributes are ultimately participated in by man. Normative theology sometimes regarded the *ṣifāt al-maʿnawīyah* as Divine attributes having no relation with creatures (*e.g.*, everlastingness, self-subsistence, holiness, *etc.*), but this is quite contrary to the Shaykh's view.

[28] Instead of the last, M and Q have *infiṣāl* (disjunction). Moreover, both of these ss. omit the foll. clause (evidently by a copyist's lapse, suggesting that they are somehow related, albeit indirectly).

[29] This is the plur. of *ẓill* (shadow; semblance; protection; power). Instead, V, B2 and M have *al-ḍalāl* (error). On the basis of its erroneous reading, M comments: "For He is the Creator of going astray (*khāliq al-ḍalāl*) and of guidance (*al-ihtidāʾ*), and that by means of the immediacy of the secondary causes (*mubāsharat al-asbāb*)" (*cf. Qur.* 13: 27 & 33, *et al.*).

[30] *Al-majhūlah.* B2 and Q2 have *al-nafīsīyah* rather than *al-nafsīyah*. The "attributes of identity, or self", are those properties which make a thing what it is as opposed to s. th. else. Referring to Ashʿarite theologians, Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote: "Whoever claims that he has knowledge of any positive attribute of [God's] self, his claim is false. For [such an attribute] would delimit Him; but His essence cannot be delimited" (*Fut.* II, 619 [16]).

"Heights" (*sūrat aʿrāfi-hi*),[31] causing you therein to share [Adam's? Jesus, the Seal's?] Station (*manzilatu-hu*)[32] at the time of the "Two Handfuls" and the Rising-up (*waqt al-qabḍatayn wa-l-taʿālī*)[33] and of His saying:[34]

> These here are for Paradise, and I don't mind;
> and these are for Hell-fire, and I don't care![35]

—when [both] the profit and the harm (*al-nafʿ wa-l-ḍarar*) [of the blessed and the damned] pass away from him,[36] as he transcends the attributes of Humanity (*ṣifāt al-bashar*)[37]—[were it not for all of that, God] (Be He Exalted!) [would *not* have][38] declared:

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[31] *Al-Aʿrāf* is the seventh chap. (*sūrah*) of the Qurʾān, and M suggests that the distinction bestowed upon Adam in v. 11 is the "solicitude" of God therein evinced. This is a likely interpretation, as it is, after all, man who is being qualified as the veritable *imago Dei.* Another possibility, however, is that *sūrah* here is to be glossed as *manzilah* ("an astronomic station"; see Jeffery, *s.v.*), since that word occurs in the foll. clause. Muslim authorities also frequently associated the technical term, *sūrah*, with *sūr* (a town wall), which would seem apposite, since the *Aʿrāf* were conceived to be the wall separating Heaven and Hell, from the "heights" of which the specially favored could look down on the denizens of both places (see *Qur.* 7: 46, quoted below).

[32] The referent of the pron. is uncertain. It could be Adam, with ref. to the first reading of *sūrah* in the preceding note, or Jesus (who was commonly believed to have been raised up to a "height" at the time of his apparent death), in accordance with the second option. Note also that Jesus was often said to have more than just human attributes (see *infra*).

[33] That is, on the day of Resurrection (*al-qiyāmah*), when the entire earth shall be in one of God's Hands and the heavens in the other (see *Qur.* 39: 67). On the "two Handfuls," see the trad. cited in n. 35, below.

[34] *Qawlu-hu.* It is difficult to determine the referent of the pron. here also, since no benediction is given (which would indicate whether it is God or the Prophet). Whereas Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to intend the foll. trad. as an *ḥadīth qudsī*, Imām Aḥmad reports it as a *tafsīr* of the Prophet (see next note).

[35] *Hāʾulāʾi li-l-jannati wa-lā ubālī*, etc. (Q2 has garbled this). The *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāf* were thought to be so called because of their beholding both the blessed and the damned from the "heights" separating them (see *infra*; and above, n. 31). For this *ḥadīth* (quoted also below, p. 435 at n. 68), *cf. Musnad*, V, 239 (2–4), where Ibn Ḥanbal apparently presents it as a Prophetary gloss on *Qur.* 56: 27 & 41. Despite its dubious canonicity, this quietistic trad. was frequently quoted in connection with God's foreordaining of punishment and blessing (see, *e.g.*, Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, pp. 44–45).

[36] On the day of Judgment he will realize that no benefit or harm can come to him from any external agency (see *Qur.* 34: 42; *cf.* also 5: 76, *et al.*).

[37] "That is, [when he transcends] the darknesses (*ẓulumāt*) of form and matter (*al-ṣūrah wa-l-hayūlá*), when his spirit becomes angelic (*malakī*) and his sphere celestial (*falakī*)" (M).

[38] I have amended *fa-qāla* to read the neg., *fa-mā qala*, in order to provide a suitable apodosis for this very long contrary-to-fact (*law*) construction. The point is that

> And on the "Heights" are Men who know them all by their Mark (*sīmā-hum*),[39] **31**

—as well as why, where and what is [their condition].[40] That is because [God] (Praised be He!) created this Human Figure (*al-shakhṣ al-insānī*) "according to His Image (*ʿalá ṣūrati-hi*)"[41] and specially endowed him with His Secret-Mystery (*sarīratu-hu*),[42] the Attributes of the Real being those of the Servant (*al-ʿabd* [*sci.*, Man])—but not C,55
vice versa![43]

Observe that which we have hinted at in these scattered sections (*al-shudhūr*),[44] and contemplate what lies behind these veils (*al-sutūr*)! B,20b
Realize the Gnosis of the Attributes which has arisen in you, and take heed: You have never at any time discovered any Attribute [as it is] in accordance with the Reality of your Lord (*ʿalá l-ḥaqīqah min Maʿbūdi-ka*),[45] but, rather, you have come to know the Qualities (*al-*

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had God not vouchsafed man the qualities of Divinity, He would not have said, "And on the Heights are Men who know them all by their mark." But He *did* say that; therefore, He had so qualified man.

[39] *Qur.* 7: 46. On the various Qurʾānic usages of *sīmā* (< Gr., *sēmā*), see Jeffery, *s.v.* For M's comm. on this verse, see App. I.

[40] *Wa-mā kānū la-hu wa-fī-hi wa-mā-hum* [for *mā kāna la-hum*]. Q lacks *wa-* before *fī*. Reading this differently, M comments: "They know the reason (*al-sabab*) for which they are among the people of the 'heights' (*ahl al-aʿrāf*), and the reason why [God] has placed them there, and what they are among created beings" (M). Rather, their knowledge applies to the conditions of the dwellers of Heaven and Hell (see nn. 31 and 35).

[41] The putative trad., "Verily, God created Adam after His image," was well known in Islam (see Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, 1; Muslim, *Al-Birr wa-l-ṣilah*, 115, and *Jannah*, 28; and *Musnad*, II, 244, 251, 315, 323, 434, 462 & 519; and *cf. Gen.* 1: 27 and *Col.* 3: 10, *et al.*), although it was not generally understood in the sense that Ibn al-ʿArabī gives to it here (see also the refs. to other *ʿAnqāʾ* passages, above, p. 447, n. 12). On this subj., also, see Masataka Takeshita, *Ibn ʿArabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, pp. 15–73; and Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, pp. 37–38. For the comm. of M, who strenuously opposes the interpretation I have opted for, see App. I. But not only does this pron. probably refer to God, that of *sarīratu-hu* in the next clause may, also.

[42] *Sarīrah* = *sirr*: "a secret, s.th. concealed in the heart; also, the heart itself, or the mind". As opposed to the foregoing, the form, *sarīratu-hu*, could suggest a discrete act (hence, "[God's] mystery").

[43] *Wa-lā tuʿkasu fa-tunkasu* (as voc. in E): "they are not to be reversed and, so, inverted." God's attributes are reflected in man prescriptively, not man's in God descriptively. Thus, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's "monophysitism", man is Divine but God is not anthropopathic. V and Q2 begin *fa-lā*, perhaps reading the verbs as imp.

[44] It is worth noting that both *Maghribī* mss., B and C, gloss *al-shudhūr* with *al-qiṭaʿ* (fragments; sections, parts).

[45] "Know, O intimate friend, that existence is divided between worshipper and Worshipped (*ʿābid wa-Maʿbūd*). For the worshipper is all that is not God (Exalted

awṣāf) which you infer[46] from the primary elements of your [own] being (*arkān wujūdi-ka*). You have not ceased being yourself, nor have you gone out of yourself,[47] while [God's] Attributes closely adhere to His Essence,[48] transcending any connection with your [discursive] knowledge of their essential quiddity (*ʿilmu-ka bi-māhīyati-hā*)—although, regarding this, they *are* connected to your Gnosis of their Essence (*maʿrifatu-ka bi-dhāti-hā*).[49] But you are quite unable to attain unto them (*al-ʿājiz ʿan-hā*)—standing in the way of them (*al-wāqif dūna-hā*),[50] [as it were]—for in the Way of Realization (*ṭarīq al-taḥqīq*) you do not know your Lord (*Rabbu-ka*) by *every* means (*min kulli ṭarīq^{in}*)—while, at the same time, [it can be said that] you know nothing *except* Him—and deem no Being (*mawjūd*) transcendent besides Him.[51] For if you say that you know Him, you have spoken the actual truth (*al-ḥaqq*), and have "succeeded" (*al-lāḥiq*); and if you say that you have *not* known Him, [again] you have told the sincere truth (*al-ṣidq*), and "preceded" (*al-sābiq*)![52] So choose [either] negation (*al-nafy*) for yourself or affirmation (*al-ithbāt*)—the Attributes [of God] are far beyond connection with accidental knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-ḥādith*) of them, even as [His] Essence is.

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be He!)—that is, the world, which is named and expressed by [the word] 'servant' (*ʿabd*), while the Worshipped is He Who is called 'God' (*Allāh*)" (*Fut.* III, 78 [9–10]). Here, however, *Maʿbūdu-ka* would seem to be roughly syn. with *Rabbu-ka* (your Lord), as in the sentence foll. the next. Thus, the "Worshipped" is dependent on the "worshipper" in a sense more than simply grammatical.

[46] *Tuhaṣṣilu.* W voc. this as *taḥaṣṣala* ([the qualities] result), which is equally plausible.

[47] *Fa-mā zilta ʿan-ka, wa-mā kharajta min-ka.* V and M read *zālat* rather than *zilta* (and *kharajat* in place of *kharajta*), taking the subj. to be the "qualities" (*al-awṣāf*).

[48] *Wa-ltaḥaqat ṣifātu-hu bi-dhāti-hi.* The Divine attributes are neither identical to nor distinct from God's essence.

[49] Instead of the last, V and Q (in *corrigenda*) have *fī dhāti-ka* (in your essence). The Divine attribute cannot be comprehended *in se* by the intellect, but can be known mystically through Divine illumination.

[50] Foll. C, E(?), V, B2, M and both printed edns. B(?), D, R, W and Z have dual prons. in this and the preceding clause, evidently referring to the reader's "knowledge" and "gnosis" (rather than the Divine attributes, as in my trn.). The meaning remains substantially the same, in any case.

[51] *Wa-lā nazzahta mawjūd^{an} illā iyyā-hu.* This last clause is missing in M, and is garbled in Q2. While God is the only wholly intelligible Object, we do not know Him in the way of true realization (*al-taḥqīq*) because of the false subjectivity of our own conditioned perceptions (for God is also the only truly knowing Subject).

[52] *Sābiq^{an} . . . lāḥiq^{an}* (added to the margin of B by the orig. copyist) as an adverbial phrase means "previously . . . subsequently." With its comparatively complex rhyme-scheme of A-B/A-B, and employing, also, alliteration and a clever menopoeia, this line is a good example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's skill as a stylist of late-classical Arabic. Q has *al-ṣādiq* (the truthful) in place of *al-sābiq*; and Q2 has garbled this entire sentence.

III. The [Divine] Acts:[1]
A Wave Striking the Shore and Withdrawing,
Depositing Thereupon the Pearl and Sea-Shell,[2]
—for among Men are those who abstain (*zahada*)
[*from drink*] *and those who gulp* [*it*] *down* (*ightarafa*)[3]

Inasmuch as the itinerant Luminaries of Heaven (*nujūm al-samāʾ al-*
sayyārah)[4] correspond to some of the [Divine] Names[5] by way of inti-
mation (*al-ishārah*)[6]—they being of the nature of judicial predications
(*al-aḥkām*)[7] according to types and divisions (*ḍurūb wa-aqsām*)[8]—among
them are those[9] [Names/Luminaries] related to the negation of the B,21
defects [of engendered existence] and of Anthropomorphism (*salb al-*
naqāʾiṣ wa-l-tashbīh) and the refutation of Analogy for the sake of
Transcendentism (*nafy al-mumāthalah li-l-tanzīh*), that being in this com-

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[1] The Divine acts (*al-afʿāl*) are the created beings (*makhālīq, khalq*). The Ṣūfīs (like all normative Muslims) extended God's creation to include man's actions (see Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, p. 28), adopting the Ashʿarite position as opposed to the Muʿtazilite doctrine of man's free will. For a discussion of this subj. based on passages from the *Futūḥāt*, see *Path*, 205–11.

[2] *Mawj*^{un} *ḍaraba fī l-sāḥili wa-nṣarafa, wa-taraka bi-hi l-luʾluʾa wa-l-ṣadafa.* W reads "the pearl and the shell" as the subj. of *taraka bi-hi*, but this accords with neither rhyme nor reason. M interprets the "pearl" as "the attributes of the people of perfection (*ahl al-kamāl*)," and the "sea-shell" as those of "the people of deficiency (*al-naqṣ*)," likening the former to one who partakes of (*ightarafa*) the pearl and leaves behind (*taraka*) the shell. Rather, I would suggest that the pearl symbolizes the Divine essence, and the shell the attributes, cast upon the "shore" of manifestation by the "wave" of the Divine acts. (For a microcosmic foreshadowing of this motif, *cf.* above, pp. 307*sq.*).

[3] B, R, M and Q mark this as part of the heading. W glosses *ightarafa* with *raghiba* (he desired). Q2 has *min-hum* in place of *min al-nās*. The ebb and flow of the cosmic wave of action may be reflected in this quaint figure.

[4] I take this to refer to all of the "fixed stars" of the eighth sphere, not just the seven "planets" of the seven lower spheres, on the basis of what follows.

[5] *Tuḍāhī baʿda l-asmāʾi,* in all ss. exc. Q, which repeats *nujūm al-samāʾ* for the dir. obj.

[6] V, B2 and M have the pl., *al-ishārāt.*

[7] *Fī bābi l-aḥkāmi* (garbled in Q2). In the present context the *aḥkām* are the astrological effects of the stars conceived as particular "judgments" of God upon His creatures. These are the special subj.-matter of "judicial astrology" (*ʿilm al-aḥkām*). More generally, the *aḥkām* are the "properties" or "effects" (*āthār*) of the Divine names (corresponding to the Divine acts) which constitute the phenomenal universe.

[8] M regards these astral *aḥkām* as agents of creation: "They are in correspondence with the Divine acts as to creation and invention (*al-ījād wa-l-ikhtirāʿ*) according to various kinds." This, however, is crossed out by the copyist, who opines in the margin: "The itinerant luminaries are a metonym for the mystic traveller (*al-sālik*) in the spheres of the way-stations (*aflāk al-manāzil*). . . ." Q2 alone has *ṣūrah* (form) in place of *ḍurūb.*

[9] *Fa-min-hā mā huwa*: lit., "And among them is that which," *etc.* That this refers to a plurality of the names is made clear in the next paragraph, where these correspond to the "attributes of glory."

posite [body] (*al-tarkīb*)[10] our share of the Knowledge of the [Divine] Essence (*ʿilm al-dhāt*). Among them [also] are those which are of the condition of Divinity (*sharṭ al-ulūhīyah*)[11] and of That which would not be impaired[12] [even] by Its non-existence (*ʿadamu-hu*) were quiddity (*al-māhīyah*) to be allowed [to define] It [in the first place][13]—and this is the Knowledge of the [Divine] Attributes (*ʿilm al-ṣifāt*). And among them [finally] are those connected with the Creation of essential Identity (*ījād al-ʿayn*) and Effectuation in the World of engendered existence (*al-taʾthīr fī ʿālam al-kawn*)—this being the Knowledge of the Attributes of the [Divine] Acts (*ʿilm ṣifāt al-afʿāl*).[14]

Then on this Straight Path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-sawī*)[15] we utter in His Name, the Independent, Almighty Holy-One (*al-Quddūs al-ʿAzīz al-Ghanī*),[16] Attributes of Glory (*ṣifāt jalāl*); and in His Name, the All-Seeing, All-Hearing All-Knowing One (*al-ʿAlīm al-Samīʿ al-Baṣīr*)—Attributes of Perfection (*ṣifāt kamāl*);[17] and in His Name, the Form-fashioning, Originating Creator (*al-Khāliq al-Bāriʾ*[18] *al-Muṣawwir*), we utter Attributes of [Divine] Acts (*ṣifāt afʿāl*). Praise be to God, there is no Attribute thereamong in which we do not participate,[19] and to which we do not have a direct Path (*ṭarīq amam*)![20] **32**

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[10] *Tarkīb*: "constitution, physical form".

[11] As voc. in B (rather than *sharaṭ*, "sign; beginning").

[12] *Wa-mim-mā lā tantaqiṣu*, in B, B2, and the margin of W. Instead of the first, M and Q2 have *wa-min-hā*; and V, *wa-mā*.

[13] Were God's essence to be arbitrarily deprived of His attributes by def., the latter would still remain inherent in the reality of His essence. This class of names corresponds to the "attributes of perfection" in the foll. paragraph.

[14] B2 has *ʿilm al-ṣifāt wa-l-afʿāl*; and Q2 omits *ʿilm*. "The attributes of the [Divine] acts produce their effects in the world of engendered existence by means of the manifestation of their influence (*atharu-hā*) therein upon inanimate things, animals and plants" (M). These are the "attributes of the Divine acts" in the next paragraph.

[15] *Cf. Qur.* 19: 43 and 20: 135. M glosses the "straight path" as the correspondence between the stars and certain of the Divine names.

[16] These epithets and those that follow are all canonical 'names of God' (see, *e.g.*, *Qur.* 62: 1, 3: 6, and 10: 68). Ibn al-ʿArabī classified these three names among those of the Divine essence (*asmāʾ al-dhāt*) in *Inshāʾ*, 28.

[17] These are typical "names of Divine attributes" (*asmāʾ al-ṣifāt*) proper (see *ibid.*; and also above, p. 339, n. 6). M is lacking this clause.

[18] M glosses *al-Khāliq* as the "manifestation of [God's] justice (*maẓhar ʿadli-hi*)," while *al-Bāriʾ* manifests His grace (*faḍlu-hu*).

[19] *Illā la-nā fī-hā qadam.* W and M read the last as *qidam* (eternity), the latter explaining it as relating to "our assimilation to the [Divine attributes] (*takhalluqu-nā la-hā*) through the purification of our hearts and the rectification of our knowledge and our works," and, more to the point, to the fact of "our being endowed with [the Divine attributes] analogically" from eternity. As proof of this, M cites the miraculous ability of certain of the saints to raise the dead.

[20] Both W and M misread the last as *umam* (nations). On the meanings of *amam*

This [latter] category, then, is concerned with the Attributes of [Divine] Activity (*al-fiʿl*), the doorway of Power and Grace (*bāb al-ṭawl wa-l-faḍl*), Favor and Giving (*al-inʿām wa-l-badhl*). [God] was Gracious (Praised be He!), in the first place, in Creation (*al-īјād*)—[undertaken] without that being incumbent upon Him, or any Command (*amr*) compelling Him thereto. Rather, He was Free to choose (*mukhtār*) between Nothingness and Being (*al-ʿadam wa-l-wujūd*) [for creatures],[21] and He opted for one of the two possibilities (*al-jāʾizān*), granting preponderance and prosperity to [His] Servants (*al-ʿabīd*).[22] For He joined Potentiality (*al-qudrah*)[23] to us [as a liaison] between Nothingness and Being, with no separateness (*lā baynīyah*);[24] then we came into existence[25] by virtue of [Potentiality's] connection[26]—without modality (*dūna kayfīyah*),[27] since [properly speaking] it is neither connected with any existent (*mawjūd*) nor anything non-existent (*mafqūd*), this [Potentiality] being an Ocean that is without any bottom.[28]

We have traced it [*viz.*, the depth of this Sea, the root of the

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(direct; near; manifest), see Blachère, *s.v.* It is glossed as *qāṣid* (direct) in the margins of B and C. The "direct path" here is analogous to the "straight path" (*al-ṣirāṭ al-sawī*), above.

[21] C adds *wa-lā baynīyah* ("and that without separateness"; *cf.* at n. 24, below). *ʿAdam*: "nothingness, non-being, privation". "To be or not to be, that is the question"—for God only.

[22] *Tarjīḥ*^{an} *wa-saʿādat*^{an} *li-l-ʿabīdi.* Q has the sing., *al-ʿabd* (the servant). *Tarjīḥ* is the "preponderance" which God grants to a latent possibility, or contingent being, making it an actual entity. This rationalistic doctrine of creation is linked in Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings with the notion of Divine-creative Mercy and the free-granting of existence and felicity to dependent creatures as manifestations of the Divine potencies (on this, see Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī*, pp. 200–15; *cf.* also *Qur.* 11: 108; and Austin, tr., *The Bezels of Wisdom*, pp. 187*sq.*).

[23] *Fa-ʿallaqa bi-nā l-qudrata.* Here we should understand the philos. sense of "potency" (= *qūwah*) rather than the theological "power".

[24] Although the lexicons do not list this term, it could be formed on an imperfect analogy with *kayfīyah* (with which it is rhymed below). V, B2, M and Q2 have garbled this.

[25] *Fa-baraznā li-l-ʿayni* (garbled in both printed edns.).

[26] *ʿAn taʿalluqi-hā.* Creation (*al-khalq*)—which, as "other than the Real," is non-being—achieves a certain relative existence (= becoming) by virtue of its connection (*taʿalluq*) with the pure being of God (*al-Ḥaqq*). "*Taʿalluq* signifies the relation between an attribute and its object or a [Divine] name and its effect" (Chittick, *Path*, 48).

[27] *Kayfīyah*: "modality; quality; nature; condition", *etc.* Potentiality (*qudrah*) synthesizes the antitheses of existence and non-existence in an inexplicable way (*bi-lā kayf*). Q2 has *kayfīyatu-hu.*

[28] *Baḥr*^{un} *laysa la-hu qaʿr*^{un}. The Divine potency, or power (*al-qudrah*), is non-different from the Divine creative action (*al-fiʿl*) in its absolute infinity.

Divine Potency] to the foregoing section [on the Attributes][29]—wherein I did not play the arbitrary interloper (*al-jāʾir al-mutaḥakkim*)[30]—and that was [to show that] were we [able] to learn (*law ʿalimnā*)[31] the truth of the Eternal Potentiality (*ḥaqīqat al-qudrah al-azalīyah*) and its essential nature (*māhīyatu-hā*) [as expounded] in learned scholarship (*al-ʿālimīyah*),[32] so would we [be able to] recognize (*la-ʿarafnā*) how it becomes realized (*taḥaqqaqat*) [in the Divine Essence] and when it makes contact (*taʿallaqat*) [with us][33]—while in *this* section[34] we cannot [establish] an analogy of the unmanifest Absent with the man- B,21b
ifest Present (*qiyās al-ghāʾib ʿalá l-shāhid*) since [at this level of phenomenal existence] we cannot concur on one signification (*maʿn*^{ān} *wāḥid*^{un}) [for that relation].[35] For the accidental Potency/Power (*al-qudrah al-ḥādithah*) has no [real] connection with the production of an existence (*īјādu kawn*^{in})[36]—that [connection] being, rather,[37] a [merely] abstract Cause (*sabab ʿār*^{in})[38] of the manifestation of an Essence (*ibrāzu ʿayn*^{in})[39] and a Veil (*ḥijāb*) which the Real set up at the beginning of Creation (*awwal al-inshāʾ*)[40] to lead astray by its means whomever He wills, and guide aright thereby whom He wills.[41]

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[29] Instead of *al-faṣl*, Q2 has *al-faḍl*.

[30] That is, in the preceding section on the Divine attributes Ibn al-ʿArabī did not go beyond the proper bounds in predicating of the Divine essence temporal or conditioned qualities relating to creation. The expression could also refer to his care not to ascribe to God qualities not mentioned in the *Sunnah*. Instead of the first, C, D and Q2 have *al-jāʾiz* (s.th. permissible; conceivable); and R and V read *al-ḥāʾir* (perplexed).

[31] Q has *law ʿarafnā* (were we to know).

[32] In all ss. exc. for M and Q, which have *al-ʿāmilīyah* (?).

[33] *Cf.* n. 26, above.

[34] That is, in this section treating of phenomenal existence as represented by the Divine acts. B2 and Q2 have *al-kitāb* (book), instead of *al-bāb*.

[35] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's rejection of *qiyās* (analogical reasoning) in theology, see his *Mulakhkhaṣ Ibṭāl al-Qiyās*, pp. 23*sq.*

[36] "[God's] creation of us does not occur all at once (*dufʿat*^{an} *wāḥidat*^{an}), but rather by degrees and phases in accordance with different times, with [God] (Exalted be He!) observing His action Himself, contrary to what the philosophers (*al-ḥukamāʾ*) say" (M). Rather, the point is that the real Creator *ex nihilo* has no relation to the secondary power of a mere demiurge. Compare this usage of *qudrah* with that at n. 28, above.

[37] *Wa-inna-mā huwa.* The masc. pron. ("that") refers to *taʿalluq*.

[38] Q has *ʿāriḍ* (accidental) for the adj. and Q2, *ʿādī* (common). *ʿĀr*^{in}: 'bare, devoid (of real being)'.

[39] C, D, V, B2 and Q2 have the def., *al-ʿayn*.

[40] Instead of the last, Q has *al-ashyāʾ* (the things). The Divine connection with imperfect creation is an illusory symbol to guide the blessed and a concrete veil to ward off the damned.

[41] *Cf. Qur.* 35: 8 and 2: 26, *et passim.*

[For] the Action (*al-fiʿl*) may be [viewed as] the Object acted upon (*nafs al-mafʿūl*), by virtue of causation and assimilation (*al-sababīyah wa-l-ishtibāh*),[42] as [we see] in His saying (Exalted be He!):

> This is the Creation of God (*khalq Allāh*),[43]

—that is to say, 'That which is created by God' (*makhlūq Allāh*)—[that] being [simply] an expression for a condition (*ʿibārah li-ḥālah*)[44] at the time of contact between the subject of the action (*al-fāʿil*) and the object (*al-mafʿūl*), and [for] the manner of connection of the Eternal Power with the production [of engendered existents] (*kayfīyat taʿalluq al-qudrah al-azalīyah bi-l-ījād*), by which the senses and the intellects are so bewildered. For everyone who covets knowledge (*al-wuqūf*) falls back and reverts to his own wonted way [of thinking] (*madhhabu-hu*)[45]—that being as [in God's] saying (Be He Exalted!): "I made them not to witness the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, nor their own creation (*khalq anfusi-him*),"[46] as He spoke concerning [even] the Most-precious and Holiest of them (*anfasu-hum wa-aqdasu-hum* [*viz.*, Abraham]) when [the latter] implored Him,[47] "My Lord, show me how you bring the dead to life?"[48]

But [God] showed [Abraham only] the outward effects of [His] Power (*āthār al-qudrah*), not its connection [with the Divine Essence] (*taʿalluqu-hā*), and he became acquainted with the circumstantial particulars of Creation (*kayfīyat al-inshāʾ*) and the joining-together of parts (*iltiḥām al-ajzāʾ*)[49] so that he became a "Well-proportioned Figure"

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[42] That is, the activity of creation can be regarded either from the standpoint of the creature, with emphasis on its being caused (= *makhlūq*), or else from that of the Creator (*al-Khāliq*), to Whom it is assimilated (= *khalq*). Q2 has *al-tashbīh* (comparison) instead of *al-sababīyah.*

[43] *Qur.* 31: 11.

[44] Q2 has *ʿan* (from) instead of *li-* (for). M glosses *ḥālah* with *hayʾah* (situation, condition, state).

[45] *Wa-kullu man rāma l-wuqūfa nakaṣa ʿalá ʿaqibi-hi, wa-rajaʿa ʿalá madhhabi-hi.* Most of the later ss. (inc. both printed edns.) offer slightly variant readings of this line.

[46] *Qur.* 18: 51. In the Qur'ānic context, however, the ref. is to the angels and the *jinn.* "They witness only the effect of the power (*athar al-qudrah*), not its essence" (M).

[47] B2 and both printed edns. omit *la-hu*, so that the subj. must be understood as God, though the words are actually Abraham's in the Scripture. Since passages from the Qur'ān are always introduced by the phrase, "God has said," irrespective of internal sense, either reading would be acceptable.

[48] *Qur.* 2: 260. For M's comm., see App. I.

[49] See *ibid.*, where, as a demonstration of His ability to restore life, God has Abraham divide four birds into parts [*ajzāʾ*], then call them to him. (For al-Maqābirī's remarks on the symbolism of these four birds, see App. I, on the preceding note).

(*shakhṣ sawī*),[50] although he did not behold the connection of Power (*taʿalluqu qudrat*^{in}) [with the Essence], nor did he verify it mystically.[51] For the Knowing, All-Informed One (*al-Khabīr al-ʿAlīm*)[52] said to him, "Know that God is Almighty [and] Wise (*ʿAzīz Ḥakīm*),"[53] by way of controverting what preceded [in the verse] regarding [Abraham's] throttling of the birds (*ṣawru-hu l-aṭyār*) and his distribution of the [different] kinds (*tafrīqu-hu l-aṭwār*) [on the four mountaintops].[54]

Even as the Messiah (*al-Masīḥ* [*sci.*, Jesus])[55] breathed the Spirit upon the form of clay (*ṣūrat al-ṭīn*)[56] so that it sprang up as a bird (*ṭayr*),[57] manifesting in existence something good (*khayr*)[58]—but the

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[50] Evidently this peculiar expression has to do with the "cohesion of parts" (*iltiḥām al-ajzāʾ*) mentioned in the previous clause. *Cf. Qur.* 19: 17, where the angel Gabriel assumes the form of a *bashar sawī* (a well-formed man) for the annunciation to the virgin Mary.

[51] *Wa-lā ḥaqqaqa-hā*, in B, R, Z and M (C is indistinct). All of the other ss. have *taḥaqququ-hā* instead of the last, reading: "he did not behold the connection of power, nor its self-realization." There may be s.th. wrong with the *textus receptus* here since there is no rhyme with *sawīy*^{an} or either of the above variants (see also the foll. notes).

[52] These are both canonical Divine names (see *Qur.* 66: 3, *et al.*). B, V, B2 and M reverse the order of these, probably on the basis of the above-cited verse; and B has, instead of the next clause, "Know that 'God is over everything All-powerful (*Qadīr*)'" (as in *Qur.* 2: 20, *et passim*)—to rhyme with *al-Khabīr*. There are indications on the ms., however, that this reading is to be amended, although no correction can be seen in the margin of my microfilm. Q2 has *al-khayr* (the good) instead of the first.

[53] This is the end of *Qur.* 2: 260, just quoted.

[54] Foll. B, which seems to read: *Nafīy*^{an} *li-mā taqaddama-hu fī ṣawri-hi l-aṭyāra wa-tafrīqi-hi l-aṭwāra.* All of the other ss. have *ṣūrah* (form) in place of *ṣawru-hu* (his twisting [the necks of the birds] towards him, *ilay-hi*); and instead of *tafrīqu-hu*, C and D have *tafrīqah*; and R, *tafrīʿu-hu* (his derivation). Both printed edns. omit *nafīy*^{an} (reading *lammā*, "when", instead of *li-mā*). *Ṣawr* is the *maṣdar* of the verb used in *Qur.* 2: 260, which, however, is problematic for all of the copyists. It is usually tr. "inclining or twisting" (Paret, Blachère, Arberry), although some have preferred "division, dissection" (G. Sale; see Lane, *s.v. ṣāra/yaṣūru*). Kazimirski notes that *ṣāra* can also mean "reuniting, reassembling" (*s.v.*), which would accord with the story here, exc. that it *precedes* mention of the division (*tafrīq*). In support of my own suggestion, in *Gen.* 15: 10–11—possibly the source of *Qur.* 2: 260—it is specified that Abraham did *not* divide the birds. *Aṭwār* in *Qur.* 71: 14 is sometimes glossed as "various sorts and conditions," *etc.* (see Lane, *s.v. ṭawr*).

[55] Q alone adds *ʿĪsá* (Jesus) after *al-Masīḥ*.

[56] See *Qur.* 3: 49 and 5: 110. "Breathed": *nafakha*. It is perhaps worth pointing out in the context of the preceding sentence that the word, *ṣūr* (trumpet), invariably occurs in the Qur'ān in connection with the verb, *nafakha* (*e.g.*, in 6: 73), and, of course, always in ref. to the eschaton (= second creation). Lane notes that some authorities read these expressions to mean "when the souls shall be blown into the forms [*fī l-ṣuwar*] of the dead" (*s.v.*, *ṣūr*).

[57] Q adds *ṭāʾir*^{an} ("flying", acc.).

[58] M suggests that this refers to Jesus's healing of the blind [and the lepers]

breathing (*al-nafkh*) was [just] a veil (*ḥijāb*) to him, no door (*bāb*) upon **33**
the [Divine] connection of the Power (*taʿalluq al-qudrah*) having been opened up for him [either]—similarly, whomever God (Exalted be He!) wills to say to the thing, "Be!" so that it does come to be (*Kun, fa-yakūnu*),[59] *that is at His Command* (*amru-hu*)[60]—the Real alone possessing the secret of its Arising and its Resurrection (*sirr nashʾi-hi wa-nashri-hi*).[61] The disparity among creatures (*al-tafāḍul bayna l-khalq*) [in such matters as this] is due to the True Command (*al-amr al-ḥaqq*), B,22
for the Command of one individual might be Lordly (*rabbānī*) on account of his Self-realization (*taḥaqququ-hu*),[62] so that he can bring about whatsoever he wills,[63] while another who is not so Self-realized does not have that [capability]. If [God] has put [the former individual] on the same level [as He] in the matter of creating (*al-inshāʾ*),[64] then "Praised be He!" Who is [notwithstanding] without parallel in Origination and Creation (*al-ikhtirāʿ wa-l-khalq*), and is properly denominated "the ONE, the Real" (*al-Wāḥid al-Ḥaqq*)!

"There is no God but Him, the Almighty, the Wise!"[65]

(see *Qur.* 3: 49 and 5: 110), but the "good" seems to be, rather, the bird created by Jesus.

[59] *Qur.* 19: 35, *et al.*

[60] *Dhālika ʿinda amri-hi*, in all ss. exc. for Q2 (which has *amr^{an}*). Note that in both verses cited in n. 56, above, Jesus is said to breathe the spirit *by God's leave* (*idhn*).

[61] The verb is *yanfaridu* in all ss. exc. for R and Q, which have *tafarrada.*

[62] Or, perhaps, rather: "by virtue of the *Divine* Self-realization within him" (*cf.* above, p. 340, n. 9, on *taḥaqquq* as "theosis").

[63] *Fa-yakūnu ʿan-hu mā yashāʾu.* Q has *ʿinda* for the prep. "When the saint ascends to the highest degree of sainthood—that being the station of the Seal—his command (or 'affair', *amru-hu*) becomes Lordly (*rabbānī*) on account of his self-realization and the exaltation of his condition; and he comes to exercise 'free disposal' [*taṣarruf*] in whatever he wills in the world, by permission of God, from God, and in God" (M). *Taṣarruf* is tantamount to magical control (see *Fut.* III, 288 [14*sq.*]; and the chap. on Lot in the *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 155*sq.*).

[64] *Wa-in kāna qad sāwā-hu fī l-inshāʾi.* For M's comm., see App. I.

[65] *Qur.* 3: 6 & 18.

IV. An Eternal Conference on an Everlasting Plane[1]

The [Divine] Names assembled in the Presence of the One Named (*ḥaḍrat al-Musammá*)[2] as a Noble, Monistic Assembly (*ijtimāʿ karīm watrī*),[3] Infinite (*munazzah ʿan al-ʿadad*) as to incorporeality (*ghayru māddat^{in}*) and immortality (*lā amad*).[4] When each Name therein[5] assumed Its Rank (*martabatu-hu*), not exceeding Its [proper] Station (*manzilatu-hu*), They discoursed amongst Themselves without any argumentation (*muḥāwarah*),[6] each Name beckoning to the One beside it, without [actual] contact and contiguity (*mulāṣaqah wa-mujāwarah*).[7] They said [to Themselves]:

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[1] *Muḥāḍarat^{un} azalīyat^{un} ʿalá nashʾat^{in} abadīyat^{in}*. See pp. 94–95 of the intro. Ibn al-ʿArabī concludes the *Inshāʾ* (36–38) with a synopsis of this chap. (see the trn. of P. Fenton and M. Gloton in *Com. Vol.*, 40–41). For two other versions of the same motif, see *Fut.-Y.*, II, 119–31, and V, 92–95, the latter tr. by Chittick in *Path*, 53–54; and also in the same author's *Imaginal Worlds*: Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Problem of Religious Diversity (1994), pp. 126–36 (*cf.* also his art., "Ibn al-ʿArabī and the 'Myth of the Names'," cited in Bib. II). *Nashʾah abadīyah* here could conceivably denote the "everlasting form, or figure" of the Muḥammadan Reality (see below, pp. 372*sq.*), but more likely signifies the ontological *level* of the Divine essence (see Gloss., *s.v. nashʾah*). For the sake of consistency I have maintained the practice of capitalizing all words specifying the Deity, although in this section where each name is personified as a separate actor, the device becomes more than a little cloying. On H's comm., see App. II, 573.

[2] The "One named" (*al-Musammá*) is the abstract, unitary Essence (*al-dhāt al-aḥadīyah*) which is the subj. of all predications represented by the names of God. The Divine names actually appear to have two significations, one the universal substratum and the other particular to each name's *ḥaqīqah* (see *Fut.* I, 210 [12–13]). M believes that the "One named" is the name, *Allāh*, "because It is [both] described and not described," but this is not clearly the case in what follows.

[3] *Watrī*: "odd (uneven); singular" (= "unparalleled; homogeneous"?). The term here is probably meant simply to connote non-multiplicity. Q2 omits "noble." This "assembly" (*ijtimāʿ*), or "conference; debate" (*muḥāḍarah*) of the Divine names is further described as a "*muḥāwarah* (discussion, debate) and a *mujārāh* (concurrence) in the arena of debate/supervision (*ḥalbat al-munāẓarah*) over the creation of this world" in *ibid.*, ll. 3–4. M is not far from the mark in characterizing the "conference" as a kind of spiritual "boasting-match" (*mufākharah*) between the personified Divine attributes (*cf.* below, n. 84).

[4] *Amad*: "limit, term; time with regard to its end; hence, the term, or end of life" (see Lane, *s.v.*). We might understand this clause to mean, simply, "infinite as to space and time."

[5] That is, in the *ḥaḍrat al-Musammá*.

[6] *Fa-tanāzaʿū l-ḥadītha dūna muḥāwarat^{in}*. This could also be tr.: "They debated amongst Themselves spiritually [without talking]" (*cf. Path*, 54–56). "[They engage] in spiritual discourse in a silent language (*lisān al-ḥāl*) . . . without argumentation (*mujādalah*)" (M).

[7] The verbal here is *ashāra ilá*, which is used below in the sense of "to beckon to, to indicate [the name next to it]". M understands the ref. to be, rather, a *vertical* one to the Divine essence, the "One named" by the names, but it seems to me

Would that We knew if Existence includes other than Us!

For none of the Names know what is [other than Themselves] except for Two[8]—One of Which is [the personification of] the Concealed Knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-maknūn*),[9] since They [all] derive from the Eminent, *Knowing* Name (*al-ism al-ʿalīm al-fāḍil*)[10]—as They acknowledge:

> "You are the Just Arbiter (*al-Ḥakam al-ʿĀdil*)[11] for Us!"—To which [the Knowing Name] answered: "Yes, in the Name of God (*naʿam, bi-smi Llāh*)!"[12]

And [the Knowing Name][13] beckoned to the "Comprehensive Name" (*al-ism al-jāmiʿ*), the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān*);[14] and to the "Following Name" (*al-ism al-tābiʿ*),[15] the Compassionate (*al-Raḥīm*); and to the "Great Name" (*al-ism al-ʿaẓīm*)[16]—as God (*Allāh*) blesses the Prophet

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that the phrase, "beside it" (*bi-jānibi-hi*), clearly suggests *adjacency* in the systematic hierarchy (*tartīb*) of the names, which is the proper subj.-matter of this section.

[8] I take these to be the two names, *Allāh* and *al-ʿAlīm* (see *infra*), in the present context, although this is hardly certain. In *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 79, for instance, Ibn al-ʿArabī equates the names, *Allāh* and *al-ʿAlī* (the Most-High): "The Most-High in Himself is He Who possesses the perfection (*al-kamāl*) comprising all existent things and non-existent relations . . . and that [is actually descriptive of] none other than He Who is specially named *Allāh* (Be He exalted!)"—and other examples could easily be adduced.

[9] That is, God's knowledge of all things in potency, concealed in the unmanifest Essence.

[10] This is presumably the name, *al-ʿAlīm* (the Knower), although, in light of what follows, it could just as reasonably be *al-Ḥakam* (the Judge) or *al-ʿAdl* (the Just), both canonical names of God. Q2 adds *wa-ashāra* after "they . . . derive."

[11] Instead of the first, C and D have *al-Ḥakīm* (the Wise). *Al-Ḥakam* is a name of God on the basis of *Qur.* 6: 114. Though *al-ʿĀdil* is not a canonical name, God is denominated "the Just" in the cognate form, *al-ʿAdl*, by the theologians.

[12] This is the beginning of the *basmalah*, the liturgic formula recited at the beginning of every ritual act: "In the name of God (*Allāh*), the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān*), the Compassionate (*al-Raḥīm*)." The author here imagines each of the Divine names as called upon in the order of the *basmalah* in a kind of cosmogonic benediction culminating in the name of Muḥammad as "perfect man" (though that expression is not used).

[13] I assume that the subj. is the "eminent, Knowing name" (*al-ism al-ʿalīm al-fāḍil*) of the preceding paragraph.

[14] Both *Allāh* and *al-Raḥmān* are considered to be "comprehensive" (*jāmiʿ*) names, and the "greatest" (*aʿẓam*), on the basis of *Qur.* 17: 110. *Al-Jāmiʿ* is also a canonical epithet of God, but explicitly in the sense of the eschatological "Gatherer [of men]" (in *Qur.* 3: 9 and 4: 140).

[15] M supposes that the name, *al-Raḥīm*, is called "following" here because it is less inclusive and more qualified than *al-Raḥmān*, relating to God's mercy only in *this* world; but the immediate signification, I would suggest, is simply the order of the *basmalah*.

[16] Instead of *ilá* (to), Q has *illā* (except); and Q2 adds *al-ʾaʿẓam* (the greatest) before *al-ʿaẓīm*. The "great name" could be either *Allāh* or *al-Raḥmān* (*cf.* n. 14, above); but here it is probably the former, as the allusion now is to the formulary

(*al-nabī*) [in the *Basmalah*] with recourse to the Comprehensive [Name, *al-Raḥmān*] as to Mercy (*al-raḥmah*), beckoning to the "Wise and Exalted Name" (*al-ism al-khabīr wa-l-ʿalī*),[17] the [Name of] the Noble Muḥammad (*Muḥammad al-karīm*),[18] indicating the "Praiseworthy Name" (*al-ism al-ḥamīd* [*sci.,* Muḥammad]),[19] the Seal of the Prophets (*khātam al-anbiyāʾ*),[20] the First of the Community (*awwal al-ummah*) and Wielder of the Banner of Praise and Favor (*ṣāḥib liwāʾ al-ḥamd wa-l-niʿmah*).[21] B,22b

Then One of the Names looked on[22]—[One of Them] Who has no share (*ḥaẓẓ*) in what the Knowing One (*al-ʿAlīm*)[23] related [concerning the Prophet Muḥammad], no word (*lafẓ*) from [God's] Speaking Name (*ismu-hu l-kalīm*)[24] having come to Him—and He made inquiry:[25]

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blessing of Muḥammad which follows the *basmalah*: "May God bless and keep the Prophet," *etc.*, which first invokes "God" (*Allāh*), but, as Ibn al-ʿArabī points out, has ref. also to the "Merciful". If the "great name" were understood to be the same as the "greatest name" (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*)—as, wrongly, in Q2—then the ref. could also be taken to be either to the putative "one-hundreth name of God" (see G.-C. Anawati, "Le Nom supreme de Dieu," in *Atti del terzo congresso di studi arabi e islamici*, pp. 7–58) or else to the name of [the Reality of] Muḥammad, as in the anon. *Mirʾāt al-ʿArifīn* (attr. to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī in S.H. Askari's trn. and edn.), pp. 20 and 4 (Arabic text).

[17] That is, the name of Muḥammad, mentioned at the end of the ritual benediction. B2 and M lack the conj. between the two adjs. While both of these names are epithets of God, here the ref. is to the Prophet, as M notes: "For the 'wise,' or informed one (*al-khabīr*) is the knower of the truth of things (*al-ʿālim bi-ḥaqīqat al-ashyāʾ*), and the 'exalted' (*al-ʿalī*) is the most excellent of all of mankind/creation (*al-ʿālī fawqa l-khalq*) in rank . . . and Muḥammad is [pre-eminently] the one indicated thereby."

[18] Instead of the last, P has *al-kabīr* (the great).

[19] The name, Muḥammad, means "highly praised".

[20] B2 and M have *khātam al-nabīyīn* (as in *Qur.* 33: 40) instead of *al-anbiyāʾ* (to form an interior rhyme with *liwāʾ*). The rhyme-scheme in this entire paragraph is unusually complex and irregular, showing signs of reworking.

[21] On this general subj. in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see the special issue of *J.M.I.A.S.* (= vol. 21, 1997), entitled *Praise* (S. Hirtenstein, ed.).

[22] *Fa-naẓara mina l-asmāʾi.* D, V, B2 and Q have *fī* instead of *min*, perhaps reading: "he who speculates concerning the names."

[23] D has *al-ʿAẓīm* (the Mighty) instead.

[24] In place of the last, B2, Q and Q2 have *al-Karīm* (the Bountiful). God is frequently called *al-Mutakallim* (the Speaker) on the basis of *Qur.* 2: 253, 9: 6, *etc.*, and Ibn al-ʿArabī sometimes denominates Him *al-Qāʾil*, meaning the same. (This, along with *al-ʿĀlim*, are among the four cardinal epithets featured in the diagram from the *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir*, Plate X, below, on p. 369).

[25] M understands the querist to be Adam, explaining: "When [God] breathed into Adam the spirit, he gazed upon the base of the [Divine] throne, upon which he found written: 'There is no god but God; Muḥammad is [His] Prophet.' So he said, 'My Lord, who is this whom You bless and indicate in Your speech?'" (M). (On God's teaching Adam the [Divine] names, see *Qur.* 2: 31). But in the question and the response, the 1st-pers. poss. pron. is plur., so that, if the referent is taken to be Adam, then the multiplicity, "mankind" (contained in the loins of Adam, as in *Qur.* 7: 172), would presumably be intended—or, perhaps, as M supposes,

"O Knowing One![26] *Who* is that whom You bless[27] and to whom You refer in Your Speech, joining him to our All-Comprehensive Presence (*ḥaḍrat jamʿi-nā*)[28] and, by means of [his Name], knocking upon the door of Our hearing (*bāb samʿi-nā*)[29]—after which You designate some of Us by [subtle] intimation and [explicit] specification (*bi-l-ishārah wa-l-taqyīd*) [as being associated] with his Merciful and Praiseworthy Name (*ismu-hu l-raḥīm wa-l-ḥamīd*)?"[30]

And [the Knowing One] gave answer to [the other Divine Names]:[31] "How strange! This One concerning whom You ask Me to explain to You exactly and elucidate for You a way to his Gnosis[32] is an **34** existent Entity (*mawjūd*) corresponding to You in Your own Sphere of influence (*fī ḥaḍrati-kum*)[33]—the traces of Your own fragrance (*āthār nafḥati-kum*) manifesting him.[34] For there is not a thing in this Sphere that is not also in him, summed up and consummated by him,[35] as

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Adam and the angels. At the beginning of the paragraph it is clearly stated that it is one of the [Divine] names that is making the inquiry, however.

[26] *Wa-qāla li-l-ʿAlīmi*, in B(?), E and R. D, P, M and both printed edns. have garbled this clause.

[27] *Man dhā[lika] lladhī ṣallayta ʿalay-hi.* One printing of Q2 omits *dhā*.

[28] The "presence of all-comprehensiveness" (*ḥaḍrat al-jamʿ*) is the supreme sphere of Divinity related to the name, *Allāh*, which synthesizes all of the names (see *Fut.* I, 323 [20]). The ref., then, is to the association of the Prophet with *Allāh* in the *basmalah*.

[29] "For the first thing to enter the hearing and to occur to the sight of Adam was the attribute of the Prophet (*ṣifat al-nabī*)" (M; see n. 25, above).

[30] The last clause refers to the usual addition of such phrases as ". . . and his family and his companions (*wa-ālu-hu wa-ṣaḥbu-hu*)" at the close of the benediction.

[31] P and W alone have the sing., *la-hu* (to Him) instead of *la-hum* (to Them).

[32] That is, the gnosis of the Light, or Reality, of Muḥammad (= *al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*), corresponding to the Neoplatonic hypostasis of the first intellect, and, otherwise, the apotheosis of man (= *al-insān al-kāmil*). M describes this figure as "the Lord of the offspring of Adam (*sayyid wuld Ādam*) and the Lord of those in the heavens and those in the earth. Were it not for him, O Adam, you would not have been created, nor would have the heavens and their denizens, nor the earth and its people, nor Paradise, nor Hell. All of the prophets under his banner are in need of him, and he is the wellspring and source of wisdom (*yanbūʿ al-ḥikmah wa-aṣlu-hā*)."

[33] On the meaning of the term, *ḥaḍrah*, normally tr. as "presence", see *Path*, 5; *Muʿjam, no.* 168, *et seq.*; and the Gloss., *s.v.* The Muḥammadan Reality, properly speaking, is a fully manifest existent (*mawjūd*)—this being part of its unique perfection. But at the level of the unmanifest, its root is non-different from that of all the Divine names. The verbs in this and the foll. clauses are imperf., suggesting an ongoing process of becoming.

[34] *Wa-tuẓhiru ʿalay-hi āthāru nafḥati-kum* (W reads *taẓharu*). Q2 has the perf., *ẓahara*; and Q lacks *ʿalay-hi*. *Nafḥah*: "odour, scent (less subtle than *nafkhah*); blast of wind; gift". Man's attributes suggest the general nature of the Muḥammadan Reality (= perfect man).

[35] *Wa-yuḥṣilu-hu wa-yastawfī-hi.* M has garbled this line and is wanting the next two sentences.

he shares with You in Your Names,[36] giving instruction of Me to the realities of the [spiritual] Tidings [You receive] (*ḥaqāʾiq anbāʾi-kum*).[37] And this above-mentioned Being (*al-mawjūd*) which originates in Your Sphere took form[38] and beckoned to certain of the [Divine] Names—among Them, the "Magnanimous" (*al-Jūd*)[39] and the "Light" (*al-Nūr*)[40]—[that engendered] existence (*al-kawn*),[41] state (*al-kayf*) and space (*al-ayn*) should come into being, and *in* [that Light-Existence], by the Externally-Manifest Name (*al-ism al-ẓāhir*), Your Realities (*ḥaqāʾiqu-kum*) become manifest,[42] while *to* [the Magnanimous (*al-Jūd*)],[43] by means of the Sustaining Name (*al-ism al-maʾʾān*)[44] and Its Associates (*aṣḥābu-hu*),[45] Your "Subtle Rays" (*raqāʾiqu-kum*) extend."[46]

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[36] *Yushāriku-kum fī asmāʾi-kum.* He shares in the same Divine attributes that characterize mankind.

[37] *Wa-yuʿallimu bī ḥaqāʾiqa anbāʾi-kum.* Instead of *bī*, D and W have *fī* (but the latter gives the correct reading in the margin); P has *bi-hi*; V, *mā*; and B2 and Q prefix *bi-* to *ḥaqāʾiq*. The *anbāʾ* (tidings, news) are the revealed truths bestowed upon man (*cf.* Blachère's trn. of *Qur.* 28: 66).

[38] *Wa-ʿanna hādhā l-mawjūdu l-madhkūru l-ṣādiru min ḥaḍrati-kum.* D, Q and the margin of W have *al-wujūd* (being) instead of *al-mawjūd* (the being).

[39] Instead of this, Q2 has *al-mawjūd* (the being). As signifying, also, "plenteous rain", *jawd* could be conceived as a natural, "watery" complement to fiery "light." I read *jūd* (as voc. in W) in the sense of *jawād* (which latter is actually used in *Inshāʾ*, 37–38, interchangeably with *jūd*). For the position of this epithet in Ibn al-ʿArabī's hierarchy of the cardinal names, see Plate X and the key thereto on p. 370 (sphere *no.* 6).

[40] "Light" is counted as a Divine name on the basis of *Qur.* 24: 35.

[41] P reverses the order of *al-kawn* and *al-kayf*; and Q2 has *al-kunh* (essence) instead of the former.

[42] *Wa-fī-hi taẓharu bi-l-ismi l-ẓāhiri ḥaqāʾiqu-kum. Al-Ẓāhir* is a canonical name of God (in *Qur.* 57: 3; *cf.* also v. 13, which associates the external [*ẓāhir*] aspect with Divine retribution, and, hence, with the left-hand side of the diagram on pp. 369–70. Thus, the "Light-existence" alluded to above becomes at the lowest level of the left-hand column the fire of Hell. C, D, V and B2 read: *Wa-fī-hi yaẓharu l-Ẓāhiru bi-l-ismi l-bāṭini* (and therein the Manifest becomes manifest by means of the Hidden name). Q2 also has *yaẓharu* instead of the plur. form of the verb. It is possible that B has a marginal interpolation (not visible in my microfilm) which has given rise to variants.

[43] Or *al-Jawād* (see Plate X, p. 369, sphere *no.* 6) on the right-hand "pillar of mercy" (= Heb., *ḥesed*), as the same is styled in the Jewish Qabalah.

[44] In place of the last, B2 and both printed edns. have *al-Mannān* ("the Munificent"; *cf. Qur.* 3: 164), meaning much the same. M comments: "By His name, the Sustainer (*al-Maʾʾān*). . . . He lavishes manna (*al-mann*) upon His servants" (see *Qur.* 2: 57 and 7: 160).

[45] These are probably the other beneficent epithets, some of which are listed within sphere *no.* 9 in the diagram on pp. 369*sq.* (but *cf.* below, at n. 47). M thinks that the companions of the Prophet (*sci.*, the "saints") are intended: "Any evidentiary miracle (*muʿjizah*) of a prophet might possibly become a miracle (*karāmah*) of a saint."

[46] *Raqīqah*: "rapport, lien spirituel entre Dieu et l'homme" (Kazimirski, *s.v.*; *cf. Path*, 406, n. 6, for further refs.). On this word, which was a technical term of Ibn

But [the Divine Names] exclaimed [to the Knowing Name]: "You have called Our attention to a Thing (*amr*) about which We knew nothing[47]—that is, this Name [of the Praiseworthy Muḥammadan Reality]"—and They pointed to the One Pre-eminent among us (*al-mifḍal ʿalay-nā*) for greatness,[48] [and They continued]: "When will this Thing transpire, and [when] shall this Secret appear?"[49]

[The Knowing One] declared: "[In what You ask] You question the Informed One (*al-Khabīr*) and seek the guidance of the One-Who-Sees (*al-Baṣīr*),[50] while We [*viz.*, the Divine Names] *are not in Time* (*fī zamān*)[51]—for between Us and the existence of this World (*wujūd hādhā l-kawn*) is an 'interval' and an 'epoch' (*muddah wa-awān*). But the delimitation of Time (*ghāyat al-zamān*) as regards Us is [under] the jurisdiction of the [Divine] Will (*mulāḥaẓat al-mashīʾah*)[52] [as to] the Presence of the Bringing-forth and the Arising (*ḥaḍrat al-taqdīm wa-l-nashīʾah*).[53] So come, let us question this Name which is Compre- B,23 hensive in Its Genus (*al-iḥāṭī fī jinsi-hi*) and Transcendent in Itself

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Qasī, see also below, pp. 423–27; *Inshāʾ*, 4–5; *Fut.-Y.*, II, 386 (tr. in App. I, 551–52); and the Gloss., *s.v.* In the passage from the *Futūḥāt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī likens the *raqāʾiq* to "rays of light" (*ashiʿʿah*). These subtle "threads", or spiritual "relations", are indicated by the various lines connecting the spheres in the diagram from the *Inshāʾ*, reproduced on p. 369, below (Plate X). Q2 has garbled this line.

[47] *Fa-qālat: Nabbahta-nā ʿalá amr*^{un} *lam nakun bi-hi ʿalīm*^{an}. M paraphrases this line in accordance with his interpretation that the querist of the Knowing name is Adam (see above, n. 25): "The names and the realities declared before [the existence of] the world of 'Am I not [your Lord]?' (*qabla ʿālami a-lastu*): 'You have apprised us,'" *etc.*

[48] I take "us" here to be the author's parenthetic aside, referring to all creatures in the universe (and not the Divine names as such), over whom the Muḥammadan Reality is the *summum genus.*

[49] The question could be taken as referring either to the Muḥammadan Reality or to creation in general, the microcosm or the macrocosm.

[50] "The 'Informed One' is Knower of the reality of things (*ʿālim bi-ḥaqīqat al-ashyāʾ*), while the 'One-Who-Sees' is Knower of the hidden contents of things (*ʿālim bi-khafīyāt al-umūr*)" (M). Both of these names are canonical epithets (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 6: 18 and 17: 1). They are mentioned here because Their knowledge (of reality and tangible actuality) is invoked in the question ending the preceding paragraph.

[51] M reasons that this *muḥāḍarah al-āzalīyah* must "take 'place' in a 'time' before the creation of time and space (*al-zamān wa-l-makān*)."

[52] On the theological distinction between *mashīʾah* and *irādah*, see Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*, p. 269, *no.* 15 (*cf. Path*, 291–94, and 389, n. 8).

[53] As in B and the margin of W (?). All of the other ss. have garbled the last. The entire sentence is problematic and may be corrupt. M paraphrases: "The limit of time ordained for us [is such] that we must observe the eternal will [of God] in our creation (*fī ījādi nashʾati-nā*)"—but this is nonsense. From the meanings listed by Lane for *nashīʾah* and *nāshiʾ* (*s.v.*), one can detect the sense of *muqaddam* (s.th. put forward, presented, = produced), which may be a clue to the idea intended here. In any event, it is to be understood that the Knowing name is directing the other names' inquiries to a Source beyond any immediate connection with creation.

(*al-munazzah fī nafsi-hi*),"[54] [He concluded] and beckoned to [the Divine Name] the Purposer (*al-Murīd*).[55]

For it was asked of [the Purposer]: "When will the World of Qualification (*ʿālam al-taqyīd*),[56] in which We shall have authority and power (*al-ḥukm wa-l-ṣawlah*), come to be in existence, when We will 'trail [behind Us]' the manifestation of Our Effects (*ẓuhūr āthāri-nā*) thereupon[57] in the engendered Universe (*al-kawn*) in accordance with what the Wise Name (*al-ism al-ḥakīm*)[58] designates as its round (*jawlu-hu*)?"[59]

The Purposer then spoke: "It is as it was and will be in the [eternal] Prototypes (*al-aʿyān*)!"[60]—to which the Knowing Name (*al-ism al-ʿalīm*) [then added]: ". . . And It is called 'Man' (*al-insān*);"[61]—while the Name, the Merciful (*al-ism, al-Raḥmān*) *chose* him,[62] and the

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[54] It is difficult to be sure of the referent here. The obvious choice is the name associated with the Divine will (*al-irādah; al-mashīʾah*), the "Purposer" (*al-Murīd*), but it seems that the speaker is the Knowing One (*al-ʿAlīm*), which ranks *above* the Purposer. Could the ref. be to the "comprehensive name" (*al-ism al-jāmiʿ* = the "Merciful"?) mentioned toward the beginning of this chap.?—or to *Allāh*, since, indeed, it is that name which calls forth the Purposer in the synopsis of this section in *Inshāʾ*, 37? *Iḥāṭī* could also signify "cognitive", but, again, I take the Knowing name to be the speaker here.

[55] *Cf. Qur.* 36: 82, *et al.*, where the Divine will is associated with the creative *fiat. Al-Murīd* constitutes the 3rd sphere in Plate X (pp. 369–70).

[56] *Taqyīd*: "limitation, restriction, qualification".

[57] *ʿAlay-hi.* V omits this. In one printing Q2 lacks the foll. *fī*. The verb here is *najūlu bi-* (garbled in V, B2 and both printed edns.), which M understands as "restless wandering, migration" (*jawalān*), but with this prep. it means, rather: "to lead, drag, or trail", as a horse would a cart.

[58] Instead of this, D(?) and Q2 have *al-ʿAlīm* (the Knowing [name]); and V has only *al-ism*. Wisdom (*ḥikmah*) is precisely "the practical knowledge of the proper place for all things". M stresses the tolerance or naturalness of wisdom: "The Wise One is He Who does not rush to the punishment of sinners but delays it, so that, perchance, they might turn towards Him in repentance."

[59] In place of this, V, B2 and both printed edns. read *ḥawla-hu* (about it).

[60] B, W and Q read: *Wa-ka-an*[*na*] *bi-hi qad kāna wa-yūjadu fī l-aʿyāni.* All of the other ss. have *wa-kāna* rather than the first (which B reads as *ka-an*, and W as *ka-anna* [see Lane, *s.v.*, I, 106a]); and V and B2 have *mā* instead of *bi-hi.* M paraphrases: "Everything which has its existence and its engendering (*wujūdu-hu wa-ījādu-hu*) in the [eternal] Knowledge of God (*ʿilm Allāh*) . . . is as it has [always] been [therein]"; after which he quotes *Qur.* 16: 1: "The Command of God will come; so do not seek to hasten it." The *aʿyān thābitah* are the "fixed hexeities, or immutable prototypes" (= *ḥaqāʾiq*, Neoplatonic "ideas") from which all entities arise *in actu* (concerning which, see Egbert Meyer, "Ein Kurzer Traktat Ibn ʿArabī's über die *Aʿyān aṯ-ṯābita*," *Oriens*, 27–28, 1981).

[61] The universe, or macrocosm, is "man writ large," even as man is the microcosm, or "small world." M thinks that it is the "Knowing name" which is denominated "man"(!).

[62] The "selection" (*iṣṭifāʾ*) of the Merciful refers to the Creator's granting of preponderance (*tarjīḥ*) to existence over non-existence in the matter of contingent beings, an act which is conceived by the Akbarian school as essentially *merciful* (on the

Beneficent Name (*al-ism al-muḥsin*) and Its Associates[63] poured forth[64] over him the flowing abundances of Beneficence (*sawābigh al-iḥsān*).[65] For the Merciful Name made his face (*muḥayyā-hu*) to be glad,[66] and the Beneficent granted [him] long life and an eternal Abode (*ḥayyā* [*-hu*] . . . *wa-bayyā-hu*);[67] while the Brother[-Name] (*al-akh*) said "Yes!" and the Associate (*al-ṣāḥib*) was delighted,[68] as, likewise, was the Giving Name (*al-ism al-wāhib*).[69]

For the Most-Giving Name (*al-ism al-wahhāb*) rose up[70] and said: "I am the Bestower (*al-Muʿṭī*) [both] according to measure and without measure (*bi-ḥisāb*^{in} *wa-ghayri ḥisāb*^{in})."[71] Then the Reckoning Name (*al-ism al-ḥasīb*)[72] declared: "I shall charge to You [*sci.*, the sundry Beneficent Names][73] what You give and debit You what You bestow, by the testimony of the Witnessing Name (*bi-shahādat al-ism al-shahīd*),[74] for I am the One in charge of the registration and the recording

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theme of the *nafas al-raḥmānī*, or "breath of compassion," see Corbin, *Creative Imagination*, p. 115, *et al.*). Interestingly, *iṣṭifāʾ* is the Modern Arabic term for "natural selection." *Muṣṭafā* (the one chosen [of God]) is an epithet of the Prophet.

[63] That is, the other beneficent "Custodians of [Divine] favor" (*sadanat al-riḍā*) listed in sphere *no.* 9 of Plate X (pp. 369*sq.*; *cf.* also above, n. 45). Acc. to M, the Beneficent name is "the one which bestows gnosis without any search/'request' (*ṭalab*) [being made]."

[64] M has *wa-yaqbiḍu* (He grasped [him]) instead of *wa-yafīḍu*. *Fayḍ* is the Divine "emanation, or superabundance".

[65] *Sābigh* (pl., *sawābigh*): "full, ample, long and trailing (adj.)". In medicine it denotes "abundant perspiration".

[66] *Fa-aṭlaqa l-ismu l-Raḥmānu muḥayyā-hu* (as voc. in B and W).

[67] On the saying, *Ḥayyā-ka Llāhu wa-bayyā-ka*, see Lane, *s.v. bayyaya*, where he lists the sense of "*bawwā-ka* (*manzil*^{an})" as a possible connotation of *bayyā-ka* (which properly signifies: "he manifested you").

[68] *Wa-qāla naʿam*^{un} *il-akhu, wa-naʿima l-ṣāḥibu* (as voc. in W). This presumably signifies the assent or accord of such other beneficent Divine names as *al-Razzāq* (the Provider), *al-Wāsiʿ* (the Ample), *al-Mughnī* (the Enricher), *etc.*, besides those mentioned in what follows.

[69] V, B2 and M have *al-wahhāb*, meaning the same (see next note).

[70] *Fa-qāma l-ismu l-wahhābu*, in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has *fa-qāla smu l-Wahhābi*. *Cf. Qur.* 3: 8 and 38: 9 & 35.

[71] M glosses this as *bi-miqdār*^{in} *wa-ghayri miqdār*^{in}. Q has: *al-muʿṭī l-ḥisāba wa-bi-ghayri ḥisāb*^{in}. *Al-muʿṭī* could be regarded as a name of God on the basis of *Qur.* 20: 50, *et al.*

[72] Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-Ḥabīb* (the Beloved). *Al-Ḥasīb* is mentioned among the "Custodians of [Divine] wrath" (*sadanat al-ghaḍab*) in the 10th sphere in Plate X (see pp. 369*sq.*).

[73] *Uqayyidu ʿalay-kum*. The verb means "to charge against, to debit". In a broader sense, *taqyīd* signifies "binding; qualification; recording" (as below).

[74] The Reckoner (*al-Ḥasīb*) and the Witness (*al-Shahīd*) are names relating to the notion of God's omniscience (see, *e.g.*, *Qur.* 4: 6, 79 & 86).

(*ṣāḥib al-ḍabṭ wa-l-taqyīd*)."[75] However, the Knowing Name might
sometimes apprise the One bestowed-upon (*al-muʿṭá la-hu* [*viz.*, Man])[76]
as to what he receives,[77] while at [other] times the Willing Name
(*al-ism al-murīd*)[78] renders [the affair] utterly obscure,[79] [so that] he
knows it but cannot accomplish [what he knows], desiring the thing
and desiring [also] its opposite (*ḍiddu-hu*), unable to satisfy [his desire,[80]
declaring]: "I will not withdraw from [either of] You two, nor take
my leave; but I cleave unto [all of] You, for 'the neighbor and close **35**
friend are most pleasant'."[81]

[Thus] all of the Names apportion among Themselves[82] the
Kingdom of the Human Servant (*mamlakat al-ʿabd al-insānī*) in this
Lordly manner (*al-ḥadd al-rabbānī*),[83] while in the Essential Divine C,55b
Presence (*al-ḥaḍrah al-ilāhīyah al-dhātīyah*) They glory[84] in Their Realities
(*ḥaqāʾiqu-hā*) and clarify the determination of Their ways and means
(*ḥukm masāliki-hā wa-ṭarāʾiqi-hā*), anticipating[85] the existence of this B,23b
World (*wujūd hādhā l-kawn*) in the desire (*raghbat*^{an}) that a [Fixed]
Essence (*ʿayn*) might be manifested unto Them.[86] Hence, They have

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[75] The connotations of *ḍabṭ* are "apprehension; precision; correction", *etc.* (see M's comm. in App. I).

[76] *Qad yuʿrifu l-muʿṭá la-hu* (as voc. in B and C). That is, man as the microcosm, though the same would also apply to the world as a whole.

[77] *Mā taḥaṣṣala la-hu*. V omits this; and W and both printed edns. read *mā yaḥṣulu* (what occurs [to him]) instead of the first.

[78] Instead of this, Q2 has *al-mazīd* (the utmost, maximum); and Q reads *al-ʿAlīm*.

[79] *Wa-yubhimu ʿalay-hi . . . ibhām*^{an}. Q2 garbles the last.

[80] It is interesting to compare this statement of man's moral dilemma with that of St. Paul in *Rom.* 7: 15–25 (esp. v. 18).

[81] *Fa-anā la-kum lazīm*^{un} *wa-naʿima l-jāru wa-l-ḥamīmu* (as voc. in W). Note that (in the plur. pron.) all of the Divine names are addressed here, not just the Knowing and the Willing names, as in the preceding clause.

[82] *Fa-tawazzaʿat*, in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has the trans., *fa-wazzaʿat*.

[83] "As regards the specialness (*khuṣūṣīyah*) of each [Divine] attribute and its inherent meaning" (M).

[84] *Tafākharat*: "They contended for superiority amongst Themselves in the matter of *fakhr* (glorying, boasting)".

[85] *Wa-taʿajjalū*: "They precede". C, D, V and Q2 have *taʿajjalū fī* (They hasten in); and Q, *wa-yaʿlamūna* (They know). It is worth noting that the verb here (as in what follows) is masc. plur., indicating personification, whereas previously the "names" had been described with the collective (3rd.-pers. fem. sing.) plur. As for the "anticipated being" (*al-wujūd al-muntaẓar*, below) or "world" (*kawn*), it may be regarded as either the microcosm or the macrocosm, the perfect man or the Muḥammadan Reality.

[86] In pre-eternity the Divine names desire the manifestation of Their distinguishing qualities, in a variation on the well-known *ḥadīth qudsī*: "I was a hidden Treasure and I desired to be known" (see *Muʿjam*, 1266–67 [*no.* 34]). From another perspective, each individual essence (*ʿayn*) "cherishes latently a desire (*raghbah*) for actual

recourse to the Willing Name (*al-ism al-murīd*) in Whom [the role of] the Specification of being (*takhṣīṣ al-wujūd*)[87] rests, declaring: "We asked You concerning this Presence (*al-ḥaḍrah*) which unites Us (*jamaʿat-nā*)[88] and this Essence (*al-dhāt*) which contains Us (*shamalat-nā*).[89] Truly,[90] Your fancy (*nafsu-ka*) became attached to this anticipated Being (*al-wujūd al-muntaẓar*),[91] so You willed him (*fa-aradta-hu*). And then *You*, O Powerful One (*yā Qādir*), We questioned You[92] [also] about that [expected Being], 'Surely, You created him (*awjadta-hu*)?'[93] And You, O Knowing One (*yā ʿĀlim*),[94] We asked You about [the same], 'Did You not perfect him (*aḥkamta-hu*)?'[95] And You, O Merciful One (*yā Raḥmān*), We asked: 'Were You not merciful towards him (*raḥimta-hu*)?'"[96]

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existence" (Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 118), which is responded to by the Divine "ontological Mercy" (see *ibid.*, pp. 116–40).

[87] "Were it not for the [Divine] will that existents be manifested in the world (*al-irādah bi-ẓuhūr al-mawjūdāt fī l-kawn*), they would not exist, since existence is the prerogative (*al-makhṣūṣ*) of the name, the Purposer (*ism al-Murīd*); the special characteristic of existence (*khāṣṣīyat al-wujūd*) is not found in any other Divine name," avers al-Maqābirī, but this overstates the case. Rather, the Divine will has to do, as here, with the simple "*specification* (*takhṣīṣ, ikhtiṣāṣ*) of existence"—the "granting of preponderance (*tarjīḥ*)" to contingent being over non-being (*cf.* above, n. 62). These functions, in turn, are said to be dependent on the Divine foreknowledge in *Fut.* I, 323 (18), tr. in *Path*, 54. The *raqīqat al-takhṣīṣ* (ray *no.* 11) connects the Purposer (sphere *no.* 3) with the created world (*al-ʿālam al-khalq*, sphere *no.* 11) in the diagram on pp. 369*sq.*

[88] The *ḥaḍrat al-jamʿ* (presence of all-comprehensiveness) is the level of Divinity related to the name, *Allāh*, which synthesizes all of the names and contains all entities. Here, however, the ref. must be to the Muḥammadan Reality/perfect man (*cf.* above, p. 356, at n. 28).

[89] Q2 has badly garbled this clause.

[90] *A-lā mā* (rather than *illā mā*, as in both printed edns.).

[91] This is the "world of qualification" (*ʿālam al-taqyīd*) mentioned above; but also in microcosm, man (see n. 61, above).

[92] Q2 alone has "*I* asked You" rather than the plur. here and in the next sentence. "After questioning the Willing name, they turned to the Powerful name, for the power to do the possible (*al-qudrah al-mumkinah*) is dependent upon the [Divine] will" (M). Note, however, that the next name questioned, the Knower, is hierarchically superior to both will and power, and the Merciful ranks above even the Knower.

[93] The *raqīqah* of creation (*al-ījād*), ray *no.* 17, connects the Powerful with the created world in Plate X (pp. 369*sq.*).

[94] Q2 has *yā Ḥakīm* (O Wise one), anticipating the verb.

[95] See Plate X, the eighth *raqīqah*. On the sense of *iḥkām* as "making perfect" (said to be the meaning in *Qur.* 11: 1), see Lane, *s.v.* *ḥakama* and *aḥkama*.

[96] "[God's mercy] is the support and the effect (? *al-ʿumdah wa-l-natījah*) in existence; for, were it not for His mercy upon us . . . we would surely perish, our nullity being fundamental (*wa-kāna ʿadamu-nā awwalī*)" (M). Note that in the diagram in Plate X none of the *raqāʾiq* (connecting lines) extending from the 1st sphere, denominated *al-Ḥaqq*, are labeled.

And [the Names][97] continued to question each of Their number, one after another, in a state of great activity.[98] Thus, the Powerful One declared: "Our Brothers (*yā ikhwata-nā*),[99] 'Connection' (*al-taʿalluq*) [with the objects of Divine Will is] for the Purposer; Creation (*al-ījād*) for Me!"[100] And the Knowing One[101] said: "To the Powerful One, Existence (*al-wujūd*); to Myself, the Predications (*al-aḥkām*)!"[102] Then the Merciful rose and concluded: "Unto Me, the bond of relationships (*ṣilat al-arḥām*)![103] For, truly, [Man] is a close Relation (*shijnah*)[104] to Me, and He cannot bear to be apart from Me."[105]

But the Powerful One said to [the Merciful]: "All of that is under My Control and subject to Me (*ḥukm-ī wa-qahr-ī*)!"[106]—At which the All-Vanquisher (*al-Qāhir*) exclaimed to [the Powerful]: "No way! That is *My* prerogative, and *You* are My Servant (*khadīm-ī*), even though You are also My Companion and close Associate (*ṣāḥib-ī wa-ḥamīm-ī*)!" But then the Knowing One[107] interjected: "As for the One Who said, 'Under My Control'—that is by virtue of *My* Knowledge!"[108]

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[97] Q alone has *al-asmāʾ* here, all of the other ss. leaving the subj. implicit. Moreover, it should be noted that from this point on the verbs revert to the collective (= 3rd-pers. fem. sing.) plur. form, as previously (*cf.* n. 85), thus indicating that the names, and not their discrete "personifications", are again the subj. One printing of Q2 omits *tasʾalu* in what follows.

[98] *Qāʾim*^{an} *wa-qāʿid*^{an}: "standing and sitting" (Q2 omits the conj.).

[99] V, B2 and M(?) read *ikhwāna-nā*, meaning the same. Q2 is wanting the expression.

[100] See n. 93. On *taʿalluq* in general, see above, p. 348, n. 26.

[101] Instead of *al-ʿAlīm*, Q has *al-ʿĀlim*; and Q2, *al-Ḥakīm*, both consistent with the preceding (see n. 94, above). As before, it would appear that *practical* knowledge (*ḥikmah*) is, indeed, intended.

[102] The *aḥkām* are the manifested properties, or "effects" (*āthār*) of the Divine names (see *Path*, 39*sq*.). Here they are as the qualities predicated of the essential substrate (= *al-wujūd*).

[103] The latter is the plur. of *raḥim*: "[maternal] kinship, relation; womb". See next note.

[104] In place of this, P and W have *shiḥnah* (? a troop); and Q2 reads *sijnah* (?). *Shijnah* is syn. with *raḥim* (relationship). Lane quotes a trad. based on the relation of *raḥim* to the name, *al-Raḥmān*: *Al-raḥimu shijnat*^{un} *mina Llāhi* (*s.v. shijnah*; *cf.* also *raḥim*). The referent may be understood either as the world or man (= the Muḥammadan Reality).

[105] *Fa-lā ṣabra la-hu ʿan-nī.*

[106] Here the "muscle-end of the family" begins to assert itself, only to be put in its place *infra* by the Knowing one. It is quite easy to see how "orthodox" (= less imaginative) Muslim theologians would have been scandalized by this ludicrous dramatization (see pp. 94–95 of the intro.).

[107] R alone has *al-Qāhir* (the All-vanquisher) instead.

[108] *Fa-li-taqaddumi ʿilm-ī* (as voc. in B and W). V, B2, M and both edns. read *fa-l-yuqaddim* (may [my knowledge] be given priority). The very idea of subordination is dependent upon knowledge.

For the Matter (*al-amr*) is dependent upon all of the [Divine] Names, and, indeed, the bearing [*ḥamlah*] of the existence of the [whole] World (*wujūd al-ʿālam*)—of Earth and Heaven and all that is between them—is made good by means of Them,[109] as far as the Station of [God's] Mounting [the Throne] (*maqām al-istiwāʾ*).[110]

Were we to "open" for you the door of [the Names'] dependence [upon each other] (*bāb tawaqqufi-hā*) and of Their taking refuge (*iltijāʾ*),[111] some of Them to others, you would surely behold a Matter the sight of which (*manẓaru-hu*) would shock you, the news of it (*khabaru-hu*) delighting you! But in what we did relate is an indication (*tanbīh*)[112] concerning that about which we were silent and which we passed over.[113] So let us return and say:

God speaks the Truth and shows the Way![114] B,24

With the occurrence of this Most-precious Speech (*al-kalām al-anfas*) in this Holiest, Noble Gathering (*al-jamʿ al-karīm al-aqdas*),[115] the Divine Names yearned for the manifestation of Their Effects (*āthāru-hā*) in existence,[116] especially the Worshipped Name (*al-ism al-maʿbūd*).[117] Therefore [God] (Be He Praised!) created them [*viz.*, the *Jinn* and Mankind][118] so that they might come to know Him by means of that which He gave them to know, and that they might attribute to Him that which He had attributed to them.[119] For He has declared:

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[109] *Wa-in bi-ḥamlati-hā yaṣiḥḥu.* Instead of the second, V, W, B2 and both edns. have *bi-jumlati-hā* (in their entirety); C, E and D are unclear, and could be read either way. Q2 lacks the verb. On the shortened form of *inna* (verily), see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (3rd edn.), vol. I, p. 284, D.

[110] "Namely, the station of the [Divine] throne (*maqām al-ʿarsh*). The Merciful mounts upon (*istawá ʿalá*)—that is, He takes possession of (*istawlá ʿalá*)—the throne" (M). On *istiwāʾ*, see *Muʿjam, no.* 360, *et seq.*

[111] To rhyme with *al-istiwāʾ*. *Cf.* below, n. 124.

[112] *Tanbīh*: "awakening, alerting; exhortation; instruction", *etc.*

[113] C, P and W mark the foll. sentence as a subj.-heading. I would emphasize this statement to remind the reader that Ibn al-ʿArabī's main concern in Pt. II of the *ʿAnqāʾ* is the orientation of the cosmic Muḥammadan Reality (= the perfect man), even as the book as a whole is devoted to the Seal/Mahdī, which can be conceived as the historico-mystical instantiation of the former. The ref. is to the beginning of this chap., where the Divine names question the Knowing One concerning the name, Muḥammad, in the canonical benediction of the Prophet. Note that although the subj. is dealt with at length, no explicit mention of any such quasi-human apotheosis is ever made, since that would be too provocative in a text treating of the theology of the Divine attributes in a manner which was already suspiciously anthropocentric.

[114] *Qur.* 33: 4. *Inter alia*, this verse has to do specifically with truth in the ascription of parentage to sons, a context which may not be insignificant here. M comments on this quotation: "For the Speaker (*al-Qāʾil*) in reality is God (Be He exalted!), sometimes through the mouthpiece of His prophet and sometimes through His saint." Ibn al-ʿArabī frequently concludes chaps. of the *Futūḥāt* with this verse.

[115] The ref. is to the entire "conference" of the Divine names in the "presence of the all-comprehensive" (*ḥaḍrat al-jamʿ*), which is the highest level of the Divine unity.

> I created the *Jinn* and Humankind only that they might worship Me (*li-yaʿbudū-nī*). I desire no livelihood from them, nor that they should feed Me (*an yuṭʿimū-nī*).[120]

Now, all of the Names take refuge in the Name, God (*Allāh*),[121]
the Greatest [Name] (*al-Aʿẓam*), and the Most-excellent, Mighty First- **36**
Principle (*al-rukn al-qawī al-aʿṣam*).[122] Then He [*viz.*, God (*Allāh*)?—or
else the "Knowing One" (*al-ʿAlīm*)?][123] inquired: "What is this 'Taking
of refuge' (*al-lajā*),[124] and to what Object (*li-ayy al-shayʾ*)[125] this 'Making

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[116] *Taʿaṭṭashati l-asmāʾu ilá ẓuhūri āthāri-hā*. The verb means "to thirst, to languish for". M explains that the names yearned for that "to be bestowed upon Them which They witnessed in that station."

[117] This name does not occur in the Qurʾān, and it should perhaps be taken here to denote any of the many Divine epithets which are logically dependent upon creation, or the "worshipper" (*ʿābid*)—such as the Creator (*al-Khāliq*), the Grateful (*al-Shakūr*), the Life-giver (*al-Muḥyī*), the Death-giver (*al-Mumīt*), the Lord (*al-Rabb*), *etc.* M glosses *al-Maʿbūd* as the "essence" (*al-dhāt*) as distinct from the "attributes" (*al-aʿrāḍ*)—which may be thought to be supported by the foll. quotation from the Qurʾān.

[118] Here the pron. is the regular animate plur., indicating rational creatures *in concreto* (see below, where the ref. is specified as "the *jinn* and humankind").

[119] *Li-yaʿrifū-hu bi-mā ʿarrafa-hum* [as voc. in B, C and E], *wa-yaṣifū-hu bi-mā waṣafa-hum* (Q2 has *li-mā* in place of the second *bi-mā*). *Waṣafa*: "to describe; praise, extol". Man knows the Divine by means of his own God-given attributes, which God has also applied to Himself in scripture.

[120] *Qur.* 51: 56–57.

[121] *Al-ism, Allāh, al-aʿẓam*, in all of the best ss. B2, M and both printed edns. have the more grammatical *ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*. P has *ism al-ism*; and W, *Allāh, al-ism al-aʿẓam*.

[122] *Rukn*: "the strongest side or aspect of s.th."; hence, the "corner; support". The word also connotes the "basis, or first principle". Instead of the last, Q2 repeats *al-aʿẓam*.

[123] While the referent here would seem to be the Most-holy name, *Allāh*, for the reason which I give in n. 130, below, I prefer to understand the Addressee of the next paragraph as being the "Knowing one" (*al-ʿAlīm*) of the beginning of this chap.

[124] Some ss. have, instead, *al-lajaʾ*, meaning the same (see *Wörterbuch*, *s.v. lajaʾ* and *laj*$^{\text{ān}}$/*laj*$^{\text{an}}$). In Muʿtazilite ethics, *iljāʾ* is an "irresistible impulse" (see *ibid.*, *s.v.*).

[125] Ibn al-ʿArabī def. *shayʾ* (thing) as: "one of the most indefinite of indefinite things (*min ankar nakirāt*)" in *Fut.* III, 295 (18). One of the acceptations of the term relates it to *mashīʾah* (will), thus connoting "s.th. willed, or intended" (*cf.* ʿAfīfī's comm. on the *Fuṣūṣ* in II, 277–78; and Lane, *s.v. shayʾ*). See also nn. 133 and 135, below.

for safety' (*al-najā*)?"[126] [—To which the Names] responded: "O Comprehensive Leader (*al-imām al-jāmiʿ*)![127] [It is] for the sake of Our Realities and Our Benefits (*al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-l-manāfiʿ*)[128] [that We desire the manifestation of the World]![129]

[The Names continued:] "Do You not know [O Knowing One][130] that each One of Us in Himself possesses a Truth (*ḥaqīqah*) and a Law (*sunnah*) and a Path (*ṭarīqah*)?[131] But You know very well[132] that the obstacle (*al-māniʿ*) to the realization of the 'Object' (*idrāk al-shayʾ*)[133] in the presence of rational speculation (*maʿa wujūd al-naẓar*)[134] is Your [own] Existence (*kawnu-ka*) therein, and nothing more! For were it [that is, Your existence] to become isolated from You in retreat [as it were] (*tajarrada ʿan-ka bi-maʿzil*^{in}), then You would surely behold it [*viz*., the Object of Your 'seeking refuge'],[135] refreshing Yourself in Its manifestation (*tanazzahta bi-ẓuhūri-hi*), and You would come to know it.[136]

"[For] We are [all] united in Our Essences (*bi-ḥaqāʾiqi-nā muttaḥidūna*), [although] We hear no news (*khabar*) of them nor see a trace (*athar*) of them. But were this Cosmic Being (*al-wujūd al-kawnī*) to become manifest, and this World styled [both] 'Celestial and Elemental' (*al-*

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[126] In place of this, P, V, W, B2, M and both edns. have *al-iltijāʾ* (seeking refuge).

[127] Again, I take this to be the Knowing name, *al-ʿAlīm*, but the referent is by no means certain.

[128] *Manāfiʿ*: "good uses, benefits, profits". Here the meaning is perhaps the ontological bases of the Divine effects (= attributes and acts) in the manifested world.

[129] See above, at n. 86.

[130] *A-lasta l-ʿālima . . .?* This would hardly seem appropriately addressed to God (*Allāh*), but the referent is, perhaps, the name, *al-ʿAlīm*, so that the expression may be intended as humorous irony.

[131] *Al-sunnah* (custom, way) corresponds to *al-sharīʿah* (law), the second term of the well-known triad, with *al-ḥaqīqah* (truth/reality) and *al-ṭarīqah* (the path). Dr. Chodkiewicz points out the similarity of this passage to *Qur*. 5: 48: "For each We have appointed a law (*shirʿah*) and a path (*minhāj*)."

[132] *Wa-qad ʿalimta yaqīn*^{an}. Q lacks the part.

[133] Or: "[your] attainment of the object" (*cf.* n. 125, above). Recall that the "thing" (*al-shayʾ*) here is apparently the "object," or goal, of the taking refuge (*al-lajā*) in the Divine unity.

[134] That is, the object can certainly be realized (as we learn below), but not *rationally*, in terms of the ordinary constructs of thought.

[135] I understand the ref. to be the object (*shayʾ*) of the "taking refuge" (*al-lajā*) or "seeking safety" (*al-najā*) mentioned earlier (see at nn. 124 and 126), but this entire passage is particularly abstruse and could well be interpreted differently. In the foll. paragraph this "object" is treated hypothetically as a manifested "cosmic being" (*wujūd kawnī*), the world/man.

[136] I am not sure what this means; nor am I confident of my trn. here.

ʿulwī wa-l-suflī)[137] to appear, Our Subtle-Rays (*raqāʾiqu-nā*)[138] would extend thereto and Our Essences (*ḥaqāʾiqu-nā*) would become manifest therein. Then We would see [this Being] by direct perception (*mushāhadata ʿaynⁱⁿ*) since it would be [distinct] from Us in space (*fī aynⁱⁿ*), in a condition of detachment and separation (*fī ḥāli faṣlⁱⁿ wa-baynⁱⁿ*),[139] while We remain in the state of Our being Above all 'place' (*ʿalá taqdīsi-nā min al-aynīyah*)[140] and Our transcendence (*tanzīhu-nā*) beyond [Man's] comprehension (*iḥāṭatu-hum*) of Us as to quiddity and quality (*al-māhīyah wa-l-kayfīyah*). For the limit of their [knowledge] (*ghāyatu-hum*) is to gather information on Our Essences from B,24b Our Subtle-Rays [*sci.*, relations] by the inference of a metaphor (*istidlālu majālⁱⁿ*) and the 'nocturnal appearance of an Apparition' (*ṭurūqu khayālⁱⁿ*),[141] [so to speak]—whereas We [on the other hand] had recourse to You [*viz.*, the 'Comprehensive Leader,' the Name, *Allāh* ?] in Our need (*muḍṭarrīna*), and We came to You directly (*qāṣidīna*)."[142]

Then the Greatest Name (*al-ism al-aʿẓam* [= *Allāh*])[143] resorted to the [Divine] Essence (*al-Dhāt*), even as the Names and Attributes resort to [the Name, *Allāh*], and He gave the Command (*al-amr*) and informed the Secret-Essence (*al-sirr*).[144] For His Speaking-Nature (*nafsu-hu l-mutakallim*) echoes His Knowing-Nature (*nafsu-hu l-ʿalīm*)—in that acceding [in turn] to the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān*):[145] "Say to the Purposing

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[137] That is, "supra-lunar" and "sub-lunar" in the Ptolemaic system.

[138] On the *raqāʾiq* (s., *raqīqah*), see above, n. 46, and App. I, 551–52.

[139] Spatial separateness is a *sine qua non* of perception.

[140] M glosses *aynīyah* with *makān* (place; philos. space).

[141] Lit., "the nocturnal visitation of a ghost, or spectre." Ibn al-ʿArabī described the Divine attributes as "a nocturnal apparition" (*khayāl ṭāriq*) above (pp. 339 at n. 2, and 341–42, nn. 22 & 23).

[142] The names of God are the intermediaries between benighted mankind and the light of Divinity: As men have recourse to the multiplicity of the names, the latter turn to their "comprehensive Leader" (*al-imām al-jāmiʿ*), the name of *Allāh*, which alone denotes (in the metaphor, "has direct access to") the supreme Essence. Obviously, in this last sentence my understanding the Addressee as the "Knowing one" (*al-ʿAlīm*) appears to break down. I do not know whether my reading is at fault here or the Arabic text, but I think that it would be a mistake to place too high of a premium on fine distinctions between the names.

[143] On the "Greatest name," see above, n. 16.

[144] *Wa-akhbara l-sirra.* Q has *wa-ajrá l-sirra* (He put the secret into effect). Note that the left-hand column of the diagram in Plate X (see pp. 369*sq.*), headed by "the Speaker" (*al-Qāʾil*), is styled "the commanding Imām" (*al-imām al-āmir*). On the right, above "the Purposer," is written "the specifying (*al-mukhaṣṣiṣ*) Imām."

[145] R has omitted an entire line beginning here. For Ibn al-ʿArabī's treatment of this part of the theme in *Fut.* I, 322, see Chittick's trn. in *Path*, 546.

Name (*al-ism al-murīd*) that He should tell the Speaker (*al-Qāʾil*)[146] to command [engendered Creation] to '*Be!*'"[147]—while the Powerful One (*al-Qādir*) is connected to the [actual] creation of the [Fixed] Essences (*ījād al-aʿyān*),[148] as He reveals that which You desire and brings to Your view[149] that which You crave. For Will (*al-irādah*), Knowledge (*al-ʿilm*), Speech (*al-qawl*),[150] and Power (*al-qudrah*)[151] are connected [with this created World],[152] and, thus, emerges the Source of [all] and multiplicity (*aṣl al-ʿadad wa-l-kathrah*)[153]—that being from the Presence of Mercy (*ḥaḍrat al-raḥmah*) and the Emanation of Grace (*fayḍ al-niʿmah*).[154]

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[146] Note that the Divine "Speaker" here is distinguished from the Divine Essence's own "speaking nature" (*nafsu-hu l-mutakallim*), above.

[147] An illusion to the doctrine of the Divine *fiat* of *Qur.* 6: 73, *et al.*, *Kun fa-yakūnu* (see above, p. 272, n. 79).

[148] See the diagram in Plate X (*raqīqah no.* 17), on the foll. pages.

[149] *Li-ʿiyāni-kum.* Q has *li-ṣāḥibi-kum* (for Your associate).

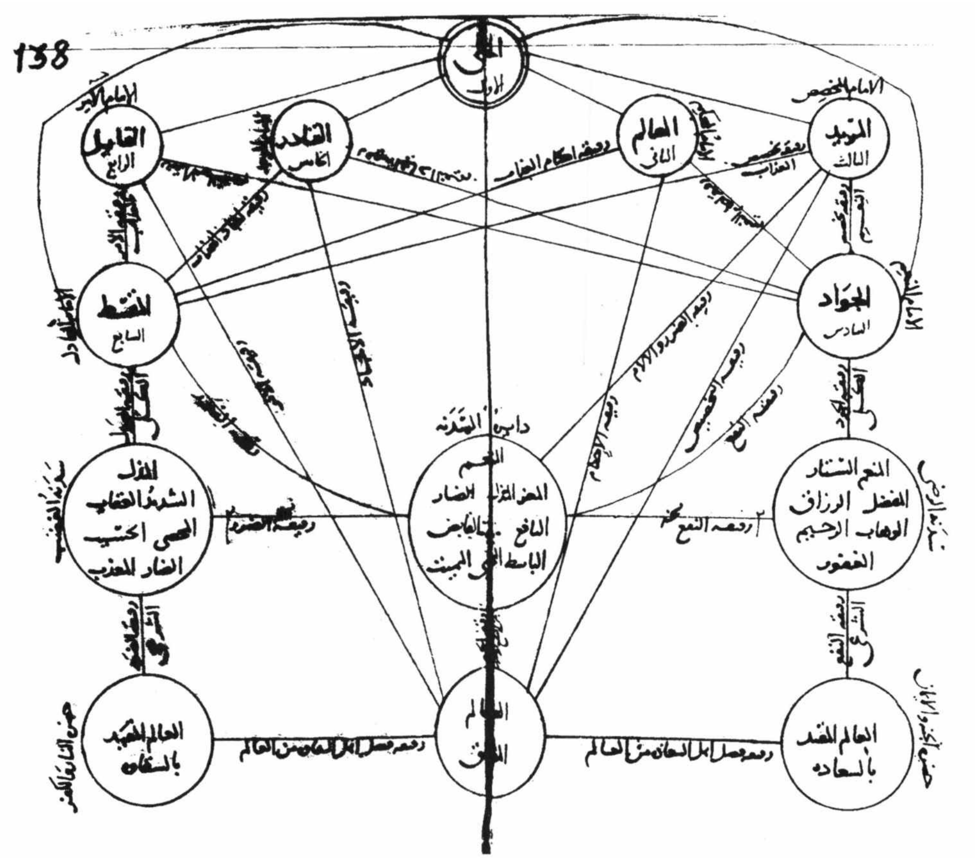
[150] Q2 has *al-qabūl* (approval) instead.

[151] *Fa-taʿallaqati l-irādatu*, etc., in all ss. exc. Q2, which has *bi-l-irādati.* These four Divine attributes are personified in the names just dealt with. In the diagram on the foll. pages they are represented in the four spheres at the penultimate level, with the highest sphere corresponding to the Merciful (*al-Raḥman*)—otherwise, the "Greatest Name" (= *Allāh*).

[152] In the diagram on the foll. pages, note that lines, or "threads" (*raqāʾiq*), connect the spheres of the four cardinal attributes directly to the "created world" (*al-ʿālam al-khalq*) at the bottom-center of the figure.

[153] This is the "Source of cosmic genesis" (*aṣl al-badʾ*) which forms the principal subj.-matter of the next section. As we shall see, this "sphere" is the Muḥammadan Reality (corresponding to the Johannine *Logos*, which was "in the beginning with God," and by whom "all things were made").

[154] These are perhaps represented by the first sphere, that of *al-Ḥayy*, in Plate X. I would suggest, further, that the "Source of number and multiplicity" is none other than the Muḥammadan Reality (see next note), which, were it to appear on the diagram here, would be situated at the point of intersection between the first seven spheres, precisely in the location of the *absent* sphere, *Daʿat* (Heb., "knowledge"), in the well-known figure of the Qabalistic *Arbor vitae.*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الحق
الاول
القابل
الرابع
القادر
الخامس
العالم
الثاني
المريد
الثالث
المقسط
السابع
الجواد
السادس

Plate X. The conference of the Divine names, showing the "subtle-rays" (*raqā'iq*). Two pages (ff. 137b–138) from *Ms. Manisa 1183*/11, a 7th/13th-cent. codex (not inc. by Yahia in his *Histoire et classification*) of works by Ibn al-ʿArabī, containing this diagram in the last section of the *K. Inshā' al-Dawā'ir*—which is itself a synopsis, or revision, of the "Eternal Conference" theme in the *ʿAnqā' Mughrib*. This copy of the *Inshā'* was based on the *riwāyah* of ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Ḥabashī, Ibn al-ʿArabī's long-time companion and disciple, and was copied in 655/1257. *Cf. Fut.* III, 427, for a similar figure, but which illustrates the more developed form of this theme found in *Fut.-Y.*, V, 92–95. Courtesy of Manisa Kütüphane.

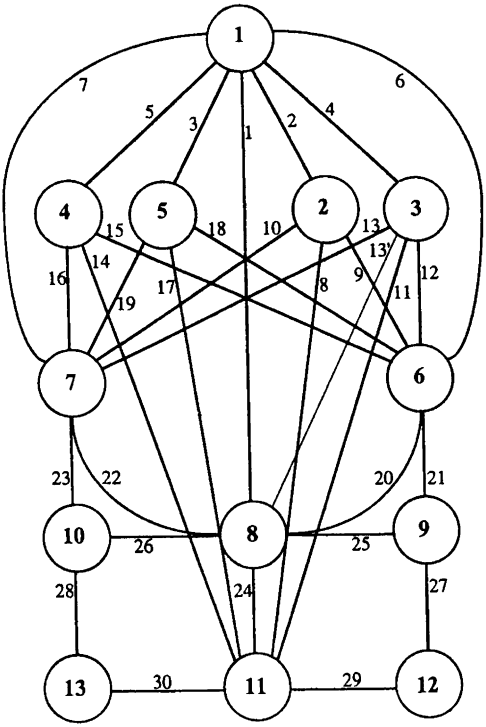

Figure IV. Key to Plate X.

THE SPHERES (*dawāʾir*)

The Seven Imāms:

1. The Living (*al-Ḥayy*), the First [Imām].
2. The Knowing (*al-ʿĀlim*), the 2nd, or "Wise Imām" (*al-imām al-ḥakīm*).
3. The Purposer (*al-Murīd*), the 3rd, or "Specifying Imām" (*al-mukhaṣṣiṣ*).
4. The Speaker (*al-Qāʾil*), the 4th, or "Commanding Imām" (*al-āmir*).
5. The Powerful (*al-Qādir*), the 5th, "Creator-Imām" (*al-mūjid*).
6. The Magnanimous (*al-Jawād*), the 6th, "Benefactor-Imām" (*al-munʿim*).
7. The Equitable (*al-Muqsiṭ*), the 7th, or "Just Imām" (*al-ʿādil*).

The Guardians, or Keepers:

8. The Sphere of the Guardians (*dāʾirat al-sadanah*): the Benefactor, the Honourer, the Debaser, the Harmer, the Profiter, the Restrictor, the Expander, the Giver of life, the Giver of death.
9. The Keepers of the [Divine] Pleasure (*sadanat al-riḍā*): the Benefactor, the Veiler, the Preferrer, the Provider, the Giver, the Compassionate, the Forgiving.
10. The Keepers of the [Divine] Wrath (*sadanat al-ghaḍab*): the Debaser, the Severe in punishment, the Calculator, the Reckoner, the Harmer, the Castigator.

The Three Worlds:

11. The Created World (*al-ʿālam al-khalq*).
12. The “Presence of Paradise and Faith” (*ḥaḍrat al-jannah wa-l-īmān*): the world bound for happiness (*al-saʿādah*).
13. The “Presence of Hell and Infidelity” (*ḥaḍrat al-nār wa-l-kufr*): the world bound for misery (*al-shaqāwah*).

THE SUBTLE RAYS (*raqāʾiq*):

1–7. Rays extended from sphere *no.* 1 unlabeled.
8. The ray of perfection (*al-iḥkām*).
9. “ “ “ the perfection of grace (*iḥkām al-naʿīm*).
10. “ “ “ the perfection of punishment (*iḥkām al-ʿidhāb*).
11. The ray of specification (*al-takhṣīṣ*).
12. “ “ “ the specification of grace.
13. “ “ “ the specification of punishment.
13.' “ “ “ detriment and sufferings (*al-ḍarar wa-l-ālām*).
14. The ray of command (*al-amr*).
15. “ “ “ the command to grace.
16. “ “ “ the command to punishment.
17. The ray of creation (*al-ījād*).
18. “ “ “ the creation of grace.
19. “ “ “ the creation of punishment.
20. The ray of benefit (*al-nafʿ*).
21. “ “ “ universal bounty (*al-jūd al-kullī*).
22. The ray of detriment (*al-ḍarar*).
23. “ “ “ universal justice (*al-ʿadl al-kullī*).
24. The ray combining benefit and detriment (*al-jamʿ bayna l-nafʿ wa-l-ḍarar*).
25. The ray of benefit (*al-nafʿ*).*
26. “ “ “ legal benefit (*al-nafʿ al-sharʿī*).
27. The ray of detriment (*al-ḍarar*).*
28. “ “ “ legal detriment (*al-ḍarar al-sharʿī*).
29. The ray separating the people of happiness from [this] world (*faṣl ahl al-saʿādah fī l-ʿālam*).
30. “ “ “ “ “ “ misery from [this] world (*faṣl ahl al-shaqāwah fī l-ʿālam*).

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* Acc. to notations on the diagram, this designation does not occur in all ms. copies (*cf.* rays *nos.* 20 and 22).

V. The Source of Genesis and the First-Arising,[1]
—*the Arising of Our Lord, Muḥammad*[2]
(*Upon whom be Peace*!)[3]
in the Most-Perfect Semblance and Original Form:[4]

The Sea of Large and Small Pearls Deposited in the Macrocosm and in Man[5]

When the Will of the Real (*irādat al-Ḥaqq*) (Praised be He!) became
attached to the production of His Creation (*ījād khalqi-hi*) and the
determination of His Blessings (*taqdīr rizqi-hi*), the *MUḤAMMADAN REALITY* B,25
(*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*) emerged out of the Everlasting Lights
(*al-anwār al-ṣamadīyah*)[6] and the Unitary Presence (*al-ḥaḍrah al-aḥadīyah*)—
that being when He manifested Himself to Himself through Himself
(*tajallá li-nafsi-hi bi-nafsi-hi*) in the Heaven of the Qualities (*samā' al-awṣāf*), and His Transcendence requested of His Transcendence
(*sa'ala ghaybu-hu ghayba-hu*)[7] the Springs of the Graces (*mawārid al-altāf*)[8] in the creation of the "provinces" and the "districts" (*ījād al-jihāt wa-l-aknāf*).[9] And He [*viz*., God, the Real] received that request **37**

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[1] *Aṣlu l-bad'i wa-awwalu l-nash'i.* Q2 has *al-naba'* (tidings) instead of *al-bad'*. P reads "*in* the first arising." On *nash'*, *cf.* Gloss., *s.v. nash'ah.* Both "the source of genesis" and "the first-arising" designate the Muḥammadan Reality, or Light of the Prophet, the Ṣūfī *logos*-idea, which becomes the *leitmotif* of Pt. II of the *'Anqā'*.

[2] "[This is] in accordance with the *ḥadīth*: "The first thing which God (Be He exalted!) created was the Light of the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) [*cf.* above, p. 324, n. 50]. For [the prophetic Light] was the first [manifestation] of the cosmic dust (*al-habā'* [= prime matter]), and out of it existence became manifold (*min-hu tanawwa'a l-wujūdu*), as it became [both] the cause of the world and its manifestation (*sabab al-'ālam wa-ẓuhūru-hu*) . . ." (M; for the rest of this comm., see App. I).

[3] *'Alay-hi l-salāmu.* Z, M, Q and the margin of W insert *al-ṣalāh* (blessings). V uses the standard formula, "May God bless and keep him!"; and B2 omits the entire phrase.

[4] *'Alá akmali wajh*^{in} *wa-abda'i niẓām*^{in}. The latter term denotes "arrangement, organization, order, system", *etc.*

[5] *Baḥru l-lu'lu'i wa-l-marjāni l-mūda'i fī l-'ālami l-akbari wa-l-insāni.* The "sea of large and small pearls," or "of pearls and coral," is the organizing format-theme of the remainder of Pt. II of the *'Anqā'* (see intro., pp. 83*sq.*). For the probable origin of the expression, *cf. Qur.* 55: 22, where the *lu'lu' wa-l-marjān* are described as "blessings" (*ālā'*) of God taken from the "two seas" (see below, p. 388, n. 3).

[6] On the meaning of the adj., see above, p. 337, n. 87.

[7] As voc. in B, and E, C and R may also be read thus. D, however, inserts *dhātu-hu bi-dhāti-hi* after the verb, and all of my later ss. (as well as Z) follow in this, going on to omit *ghaybu-hu ghayba-hu.*

[8] *Cf. John* 14: 10 & 16, and Chap. 17.

[9] Q reads *al-akyāf*(?) instead of the last (see *Wörterbuch, s.v. kanaf*). Presumably "the provinces and the districts" signifies the subordinate levels of the cosmic

from Him [*viz.*, the Reality of Muḥammad][10] in all receptiveness and support (*al-qabūl wa-l-isʿāf*)—for He is [both] the One Petitioned (*al-Masʾūl*) and the One Petitioning (*al-Sāʾil*), the Suppliant (*al-Dāʿī*) and the Responder (*al-Mujīb*),[11] the One-Who-Causes-to-obtain (*al-Munīl*) and the One Obtaining (*al-Nāʾil*).

Now, hidden within [the Real] is the Concealment of a Transcendence (*kumūnu tanzīh*^{in})[12] [which] penetrated His Bounty (*jūdu-hu*)[13] in the Presence of His Omniscience (*fī ḥaḍrati ʿilmi-hi*), as the Muḥammadan Reality exists in the Image of [God's] Provision (*ʿalá ṣūrati ḥukmi-hi*). For [God] "stripped It off" (*salakha-hā*) from the Night of His Transcendence (*layl ghaybi-hī*)[14]—[that] being a "Day" (*nahār*) dawning forth into springs and streams (*ʿuyūn wa-anhār*). Then He stripped the World (*al-ʿālam*) off from [that "Day", *sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality],[15] which is a Firmament (*samāʾ*) pouring "rain" abundantly (*midrār*) upon [the World].[16]

That is because [God] (Be He Praised!) detached (*iqtaṭaʿa*) from the Light of His ineffable Transcendence (*ghaybu-hu*)[17] a "Portion" (*qiṭʿah*)[18] which is not in direct contact (*muttaṣilah*) with Him, but—with [its] separation-off (*al-qaṭʿ*)—is detached (*munfaṣilah*) from Him.[19] And when [God] (Praised be He!) created [the Light-Portion of

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hierarchy. M glosses this expression with *fī ījādi l-jihāti, A-lastu, wa-l-ajrāmi*, but it is not clear to me what he intends.

[10] The referents which I have suggested could just as easily be inverted.

[11] This is a canonical epithet (in *Qur.* 11: 61; see also 2: 186).

[12] As voc. in B and C (whereas R reads the verb as trans.).

[13] *Wa-dakhala jūda-hu*, in all ss. exc. for Q, which has simply *wa-ḥaḍara* (and it was present).

[14] *Fa-salakha-hā min layli ghaybi-hi.* Instead of the last, V, W, B2, Z, M, Q and the margin of C have *dhātu-hu* ("His essence"; *cf.* n. 7, above). On the verb, *cf.* Gloss., *s.v. salkh.* In *Qur.* 36: 37, God is said to strip the day from the night. "The 'night of His essence' is a metonym for nothingness (*al-ʿadam*), for the 'stripping-off of [the Muḥammadan Reality]' (*salkhu-hu*) was before the existence of the engendered beings" (M).

[15] M understands the obj. of the prep. to be "the springs and streams." Rather, the Muḥammadan Reality is the "firmament," and the springs and streams are the bounteous "rain" (*midrār*) therefrom.

[16] This is "the rain of mercy, knowledge, gnosis and happiness" bestowed by means of the Reality of Muḥammad, "producing flowers, plants and fruits in the contingents receptive to it (*al-aʿrāḍ al-qābilah li-dhālika*)," acc. to M.

[17] W, Z and Q have *dhātu-hu*, as earlier.

[18] One printing of Q2 has *al-taqāṭuʿ* (the breaking off of relations).

[19] This "portion," like a "pinch" of clay, is the Muḥammadan Reality, or Light, as a kind of *materia prima* (or *secunda*) out of which the remainder of engendered existence is fashioned. For a similar notion in Sahl al-Tustarī's doctrine of the Divine Light-substance, see Böwering, *The Mystical Vision*, pp. 149–50*sq.*

Muḥammad][20] after the Image (*ʿalá l-ṣūrah*),[21] It became there, as it were, a [*Summum*] *Genus* (*jins*) containing [the Image] by necessity.[22] For the separation-off of this Assimilated, Revealed Light (*al-nūr al-munazzal al-mumaththal*) is from that "Genus" as imaged forth [to the mind] (*al-jins al-mutakhayyal*)[23]—while the Creator (*al-Bārī*) in Himself is quite beyond (*munazzah*) establishing by means of [the "Genus" either His own] detachment [*from*] and connection [*to* Creation] (*al-faṣl bi-hi wa-l-waṣl*) [on the one hand] or the connection of Man (*al-iḍāfah bi-l-insān*) with His "Genus"[24] [on the other].

[This *Summum Genus*] is an "Eternal, Representational Portion" (*qaṭʿ mithlī abadī*) measured off[25] in accordance with a pre-eternal Ideal (*maʿn*^{an} *azalī*), It being a Door unto the Presence of that Ideal and a Veil over Its Face [as it were].[26] For the Real (Praised be He!) made It to be a Veil which cannot be lifted and a Door which cannot be knocked upon—behind which Veil will be the Theophany

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[20] One printing of Q2 has *naẓara-hu* (He regarded him) in place of *faṭara-hu*. Note that here the pron. is masc. (= *al-qaṭʿ*? the *nūr Muḥammad?*), so that the actual referent cannot be either the *qiṭʿah* or the *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*, as one would expect. The verb also means "to cleave, split", as does *fajara* (*cf.* above, *fajru-hā ʿuyūn*^{an} *wa-anhār*^{an}).

[21] That is, the image of [God's] provision (*ʿalá ṣūrati ḥukmi-hi*), as earlier. The question of the referent of the pron. in the popular *ḥadīth*, "God created man *ʿalá ṣūrati-hi* (in [whose?] image)," was ever a point of contention among Muslim scholars, for whom the Christian *imago Dei* was a scandalous notion. On p. 468 (at n. 57), below, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī identifies the referent as God, *al-Raḥmān* (for a further examination of this and other issues, see the refs. cited earlier, on p. 344, n. 41).

[22] *Fa-ṣāra kaʾanna thamma jins*^{an} *yajmaʿu-hā ḍarūrat*^{an}, in the best ss. V, W, B2 and Q have garbled this rather elliptic line. Note that here the pron. again becomes fem. (which I have understood to refer to the *ṣūrah*, although one could also take the referent to be the *qiṭʿah*, as concrete entity).

[23] As in all mss. Q2 has *al-takhayyul* instead of the part., and Q lacks this qualifier altogether. *Mutakhayyal*, meaning "imaged forth in the mind", may have much the same sense as *mutashabbah* (see Lane, *s.v. khayyala*).

[24] *Aw* [*ʿan qiyāmi*] *l-iḍāfati bi-l-insāni ilá jinsi-hi*. Instead of the first, V, B2, M and one printing of Q2 have *wa-*. I interpret this very turgid sentence to mean that the transcendent Deity is not directly causative of either His own putative relation to the intermediate "genus" (= the Muḥammadan Light as *tertium quid*) or, from the inverse perspective, man's relation thereto. Rather, the intermediary Light is itself the cause and substance of creation.

[25] *Ḥudhiya* in B, D, R and Z. This verb denotes the cutting out of a sandal sole to match another, and, hence, is used to suggest the following of a model or template (Ibn al-ʿArabī employs it in this sense in his *Fihrist*, p. 198).

[26] "—Sheltering [the Presence] from the symptoms of phenomenal incidence and the blemishes of imperfection (*amārāt al-ḥudūth wa-shawāyib al-naqṣ*)," explains M. Inasmuch as it is a conjunction (*waṣl*) between God and the world, the Muḥammadan Reality is a "door"; while, in its capacity as disjunction (*faṣl*), "exonerating" the Transcendent from any relation with imperfection, it is a "veil."

(*al-tajallī*), and beyond which Door, the [Divine] "Coming-down" (*al-tadallī*),[27] even as the "Coming-nigh" (*al-tadānī*)[28] and the "Turning [-toward]" (*al-tawallī*)[29] lead unto It. On the underside of that Veil B,25b (*ʿalá bāṭin dhālika l-ḥijāb*) shall be the Theophany for the Gnostics in this World, even were they to arrive at the very highest Stations of Empowerment (*maqāmāt al-tamkīn*). [For] as far as the Gnostic in the [Divine] Self-Manifestation is concerned, there is no [real cognizance of] a distinction (*farq*) between This World and the Hereafter, other than the comprehension of the Universal Veil (*al-iḥāṭah bi-l-ḥijāb al-kullī*).[30] This is, for us [the Ṣūfīs], the Veil of [Inaccessible] Glory (*ḥijāb al-ʿizzah*)[31]—or, if you prefer, the Robe of Magnificence (*ridāʾ al-kibriyāʾ*), inasmuch as that Veil is the Self-Manifestation of the Real behind the Veil of Splendor (*ḥijāb al-bahāʾ*)—or, again, the Robe of Radiance (*ridāʾ al-sanāʾ*),[32] and what we have designated the "Cream of Certain Truth" (*zubdat al-ḥaqq al-yaqīn*)[33] and the "Gift of those who have arrived" (*tuḥfat al-wāṣilīn*).

Now, then, let us return to that Most-excellent Arising (*ḥusn al-nashʾ*) [*sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality] for the sake of which we *are*, and other such things.[34] In accordance with what we presented earlier concerning what is proper to the Real (*fī ḥaqq al-Ḥaqq*) as to Transcendence (*al-tanzīh*) and the negation of Correspondence and Anthropomorphism (*nafy al-mumāthalah wa-l-tashbīh*),[35] we say that when [God] (Be He Praised!) separated-off the above-mentioned "Portion"

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[27] See *Qur.* 53: 8 (referring to Gabriel's descent to Muḥammad). *Cf.* also Yahia, *no.* 714; and *Seal*, 170 & 181 (n. 85), for further refs.

[28] *Cf.* the verse cited in the preceding note, where the first verb is *danā*. In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 69, Ibn al-ʿArabī glosses *al-tadānī* as "the ascent of those-brought-near (*miʿrāj al-muqarrabūn*)," who are met by "the descent of the Real to them in His 'Coming-nigh'." See also below, p. 394 (n. 64).

[29] M and both edns. have *al-tawālī* (following in succession). The verb, *tawallá*, almost invariably carries a negative connotation (turning *away* from God, taking His enemies as allies, *awliyāʾ*) in the Qurʾān (*e.g.*, in 75: 32 and 88: 23), but this is not necessarily the case (see 5: 56). Here the *maṣdar* could even suggest the sense of "becoming a saint (*walī*)". *Waliya* is a syn. of *danā* (to be near).

[30] See App. I for M's comm.

[31] On the term, *ʿizzah*, etc., in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *Path*, 392, n. 31.

[32] In place of this, Q2 has *al-thanāʾ* (praise).

[33] *Cf.* above, pp. 308–09, at nn. 12, 15 & 20, where, however, this precise expression was not employed, but, rather, *zabad* (sea-foam), *zabd*, and *zubdat makhḍ* (churned cream). Note that in what follows, *tuḥfah* = *zabd* (gift).

[34] *Fa-l-narjiʿu ilá mā kunnā fī sabīli-hi min ḥusni l-nashʾi wa-qabīli-hi.* D and Q have *jins al-shayʾ* (the type of the thing) in place of *ḥusn al-nashʾ*.

[35] Q2 reads: *nafy al-mumāthil min al-tashbīh.*

(*al-qiṭʿah*) as a likeness to the Image (*muḍāhiyat*^{an} *li-l-ṣūrah*), He caused to arise out of [the Portion]—*Muḥammad*[36] (Peace be upon Him!), in the manner of the [previously-mentioned] "Arising" (*al-nashʾah*), the distinguishing characteristics of which (*aʿlāmu-hā*) are not unveiled, nor are His attributes (*ṣifātu-hu*)[37] revealed except in the existential predications [of the "Arising"] (*aḥkāmu-hā*).

Then [God] detached the World (*al-ʿālam*) in its entirety as a particularized exposition (*tafṣīl*) in accordance with that Image, establishing **38** it as something separated (*mutafarriq*) apart from that afore-mentioned Arising, [comprising everything] except for the Human, Adamite Form (*al-ṣūrah al-Ādamīyah al-insānīyah*).[38] For, verily, [the manifest World] is a Garment (*thawb*) on the luminous Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah al-nūrānīyah*), a Garment like [the elements of] Water and Air as to subtlety and purity (*al-riqqah wa-l-ṣafāʾ*),[39] and, hence, [by its fineness and pure receptivity, the "Garment"] formed itself in the shape of [the Muḥammadan Reality] (*tashakkala bi-shakli-hi*).[40] It is for that reason that none other than [the Adamite Form, which corresponds to the Reality of Muḥammad] has arisen in the World in the likeness of [the latter] (*ʿalá mithli-hi*).[41] Hence, [the Form of Adam] has become the [comprehensive] Presence of the genera (*ḥaḍrat al-ajnās*),[42] from which [all engendered entities] are derived—inanimate, rational and sensitive (*al-jamād wa-l-nāṭiq wa-l-ḥassās*).[43]

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[36] The name, Muḥammad, means "the praised one". Here, of course, the essence, or *reality*, of Muḥammad is intended, not the merely *human*, historical figure. Q adds *sayyidu-nā* (our lord) before the name. Each of the later ss. offers a slightly different form of the benediction.

[37] The masc. pron. may be taken to refer either to God or the Muḥammadan Reality. Q alone has the pron. fem. (referring to the *qiṭʿah*).

[38] "[All] that is not man (*mā ʿadā l-insān*)" is one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's working definitions of the macrocosm (see *Fut.-Y.*, II, 220 [12]). M is wanting this phrase. I understand the "human, Adamite form/image," or microcosm, to be a reflection of the above-mentioned [Divine] image (*al-ṣūrah*), which is the reality, or essence, of Muḥammad. In this extremely elliptic passage my bracketed paraphrasis is offered not so much to illuminate as to facilitate a tentative reading.

[39] One printing of Q2 has *al-hawá* (passion), evidently intending *al-hawāʾ* (air); and *al-diqqah* instead of *al-riqqah*, connoting much the same.

[40] Al-Maqābirī reads this differently: "Thus, [man] was formed in the likeness of [the Muḥammadan Reality];" but I would propose a distinction between *shakl* (external form, shape) as applied to mundane "man" here, and *mithl* (internal form, image) in the next sentence, applied to the Reality of Muḥammad (corresponding to perfect, or mystic man).

[41] M understands this as a ref. to the Prophet: "No prophet or apostle like Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) as to priority (*al-afḍalīyah*) has appeared in existence. . . ."

[42] M is unwilling to accept the text at face value: "There is in this something of

For Muḥammad (May God bless and keep Him!) is a Copy of a Real One/Reality (*nuskhatu Ḥaqq^{in}*)[44] with marks of distinction (*bi-l-aʿlām*),[45] and Adam [in turn] is a Copy from Him in entirety (*ʿalá l-tamām*); while we, *we* are a Copy of Them both (Peace be upon Them!),[46] and the World, [both] earthly and heavenly, is a Copy of B,26 us—and [there] the pens run dry.[47] But in our Copy (*nuskhatu-nā*) of the two "Books" [*kitābān*] of Adam and Muḥammad[48] is a sublime Secret (*sirr sharīf*) and a subtle Signification (*maʿn^{an} laṭīf*). As for the Prophets [sent with Scriptures and those not sent with Scriptures

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exaggeration of [the Prophet's? man's?] nobility (*mubālaghah fī sharafīyati-hi*), inasmuch as [God] did *not* make him to be the "source of [all] genera" (*aṣl al-ajnās*) as though he were [himself] outside this category of being (*hādhā l-jins*). . . ."

[43] Instead of this, B2 has: *al-jamād, wa-l-nāṭiq bi-l-iḥsās, wa-l-nāṭiq al-ḥassāss*. For a summary of M's long comm. on this, see App. I. The foregoing series of "hypotases" could be conjecturally schematized, thus:

Outer	*Inner*	
2 **Qiṭʿah/Jins = Ḥijāb** (Divine "matter") [manifest, undifferentiated]	1 **Ṣūrah/Nahār = Maʿná** (Divine "form") [unmanifest, undifferentiated]	*Universal*
محمد		
4 **ʿĀlam = Thawb** (the Macrocosm) [manifest, differentiated]	3 **Nashʾah = Insān** (= the Microcosm) [unmanifest, differentiated]	*Particular*

Figure V. Hypostatic emanations of the Muḥammadan Reality.

[44] Foll. C, E, D, R and M. B seems to have been altered by a later hand to read as in V, W, Z, both printed edns., and the margin of C: *nuskhat^{un} mina l-Ḥaqqi* ([Muḥammad is] a copy of *the* Real). B2 lacks this phrase altogether. As a "copy of God," the Muḥammadan Reality is quasi-Divine (and, hence, prons. referring to it in my trn. here are capitalized).

[45] That is, with a degree of differentiation. W voc. this as *bi-l-iʿlām* (by means of informing), but that would constitute an imperfect rhyme with *al-tamām, al-salām* and *al-aqlām* in what follows.

[46] This line is written in the margin of B by the orig. copyist.

[47] *Intahati l-aqlāmu.* On this expression, see p. 300, n. 21.

[48] C, W, Z and Q have the sing., *kitāb*. Despite the suggestive expression, "our copy of the two books of Adam and Muḥammad" here signifies no more than the human image of the Muḥammadan Reality and the Adamite form just referred to. In terms of the scheme proposed in Fig. V, above, these might be correlated with the *nashʾah*, the *ṣūrah* and the *qiṭʿah*, respectively.

(*al-nabīyūn al-mursalūn wa-ghayr al-mursalīn*),[49] and the Gnostic-Inheritors (*al-ʿārifūn al-wārithūn*)][50] {among us} [—they are all] a Perfect Copy [of the Muḥammadan Reality and the Adamite Image] (*nuskhah min-humā ʿalá l-kamāl*).[51] And as for the Gnostic-Inheritors [among all other nations (*min sāʾir al-umam*],[52] {and the true Believers among us} [—they are] a Copy of Adam and the Heart (*wasaṭ*) of Muḥammad (Peace be upon Them!),[53] in accordance with a Most-exact Image (*ʿalá atqani mithāl*^{in}),[54] while the [mere] Believers [among all of the nations][55] are a Copy of Adam and the Exterior (*ẓāhir*) of Muḥammad (Peace be upon Them!) in the Presence of the [Divine] Majesty (*ḥaḍrat al-jalāl*).[56] As for the people of mischief and the Left-hand (*ahl al-shaqāwah wa-l-shimāl*), [they are] a Copy of the clay (*ṭīnah*)[57] of Adam and nothing else—there being no way for them unto any good.[58] So, verify these [various] Copies,[59] O Seeker [of truth], and you will live happily; and you shall be in your own time (*zamānu-ka*)[60] a truly singular Individual (*fard waḥīd*).[61]

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[49] The former are the "apostles" (*rusul*) proper, and the latter the "prophets" w/o written revelations (*risālāt*) constituting Divine laws (*tashārīʿ*). The "gnostic-inheritors" in the next clause are the *awliyāʾ* (saints).

[50] Our primary source, B, has the passage preceding [in brackets] added in the margin by the orig. copyist, suggesting to me that this and the foll. interpolations were not in the first draft of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see my restoration of the orig. text in App. I, 553). Also, at this point all of the ss. exc. for B and R add *min-nā* {among us [*sci.*, the Muslims? the Ṣūfīs?]}. Finally, Q and one printing of Q2 read *al-ʿārifūn wa-l-wārithūn* (the gnostics *and* the inheritors) here and in the foll. sentence. The second term relates to the so-called "Muḥammadan heritage" (*al-irth al-Muḥammadī*), the esoteric, spiritual influx from the Muḥammadan Reality bestowed upon those who devote themselves exclusively to God through the Islamic *sharīʿah* (see *Fut.* I, 251 [3–5]; and *cf. Seal*, ind., s.v. *wirātha*). Otherwise, it is styled the "heritage of the Hāshimite" (*irth al-Hāshimī*), with ref. to the noble family of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, which Ibn al-ʿArabī lays claims to as the Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood in *ibid.*, 244 [26] (*cf. Fut.-Y.*, IV, 71).

[51] The dual pron. refers to the two kinds of prophets, on the one hand, and the "gnostic-inheritors," on the other. For Q's variant reading of the foll. passage, see App. I.

[52] "Among all [other] nations" (*min sāʾir al-umam*) is inscribed in the margin of B by the orig. copyist. All of the ss. exc. for the seminal B add *wa-l-muʾminūna min-nā* (and the believers among us) at this point.

[53] Q2 omits the foll. line as far as *fī ḥaḍrati l-jalāli*. For M's comm., see App. I.

[54] Note that this origin would appear to be by no means inferior to the one in the preceding clause (though it is supposed to be).

[55] Added in the margin of B by the orig. copyist and incorporated in all of the later ss.

[56] The presence of majesty represents the Divine severity (*qahr*), while the presence of beauty (*ḥaḍrat al-jamāl*) epitomizes God's graciousness (*luṭf*). M correlates the latter with the Muslim community.

[57] Q2 has *ṭīn*, meaning the same.

[58] Q reads *ilá ghayr* (to other [than that]) instead of *ilá khayr*.

[59] One printing of Q2 has the sing.

[Now, then, let us consider] the Muḥammadan Reality[62] Which is indicated in [the Qurʾānic phrase] "Nothing is like unto Him,"[63] and those "Copies" which come down from It.[64] For [there is] a Privation (*ʿadam*) and a Night (*layl*), and a morning shadow (*ẓill*) and an evening shade (*fayʾ*)[65]—four for Four (*arbaʿat*^{un} *li-arbaʿat*^{in})[66]—while the [Muḥammadan] Reality is One Free of imperfection [on] an exalted Height (*munazzahatu murtafaʿat*^{in}).[67] Then He created Creation (*al-khalq*), parted Heaven and Earth,[68] decreed subsistence (*al-rizq*), and prepared the Earth, granting the raising and the lowering [of Stations] (*al-rafʿ wa-l-khafḍ*). And He set up the Adamite Arising (*al-nashʾah al-Ādamīyah*) and fashioned the "Unintelligible Semblance"

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[60] Instead of this, Q has *dhātu-ka* (your essence). Also, V and Q give the juss., *takun*, instead of the fut., *takūnu*.

[61] Instead of the first, D and R have the adj., *farīd*.

[62] Q alone has "the Divine (*al-ilāhīyah*) Muḥammadan Reality."

[63] *Qur.* 42: 11, where, it should be noted, the ref. is clearly to "the Creator of Heaven and Earth." M seeks to lessen the force of this statement, commenting: "['Nothing is like unto Him' refers to] the unitary Essence (*al-dhāt al-aḥadīyah*), for that is the Source (*aṣl*) of the Muḥammadan Reality."

[64] *Wa-mā nazala ʿan-hā mina l-nusakhi.* Q omits *nazala*, and Q2 has *ʿalay-hā* instead of *ʿan-hā*. The obj. of the prep. is the Muḥammadan Reality, which, as grammatically fem., however, does not accord with its logical counterpart in the verse quoted above.

[65] M and Q2 misread *wa-fayʾ* as *wa-fī* (and in). In place of *wa-layl*, the latter reads *dalīl* (sign, proof). These are presumably the successive "copies" (*nusakh*), or veils, of the Muḥammadan Reality as ineffable essence (related to *Qur.* 42: 11, above). See next note.

[66] Foll. C, W, Z, M and Q. Many of the other ss. do not properly mark the final *tāʾ marbūṭah*, but I doubt that that is intentional. Q2 reads *arbaʿatu l-arbaʿati.* The idea is perhaps four *nusakh* for four models (*uṣūl*)—the former comprising the modes of privation or darkness listed in the preceding clause, while the latter may correspond to the quaternary system adumbrated in the preceding paragraph: the spirit of Muḥammad, the Adamite form, mankind and the world (*cf.* also Fig. V, above, n. 43).

[67] Instead of the first, D and Q2 have *al-munazzahah.* It would perhaps be more natural to read both terms in the nom. case: "One far beyond [and] removed [from the lower levels of creation]"—but I have opted for the more complete ryhme. In any event, the idea is that the Reality of Muḥammad is exculpated from, or raised above, association with imperfect creation, as M notes: "The Muḥammadan Reality is freed [and] removed from generation and division/partition (*al-tawallud wa-l-taqsīm*)."

[68] *Wa-fataqa l-ratqa*: lit., "He rent the stitching." *Cf. Qur.* 21: 30, where the Heaven and the Earth are described as originally having been of one piece (*kānatā ratq*^{an}), "and then We parted them (*fa-fataqnā-humā*)"—that is, by the air separating them (see Lane, *s.v. ratq*, for several explanations of this expression).

(*al-ṣūrah al-ibhāmīyah*),[69] setting it to reproducing and struggling for precedence, haling one another before the judge and lining up against one another for battle,[70] until [God's appointed] Time (*awānu-hu*) should arrive and His Term (*zamānu-hu*) come.

Then [the Real] fashioned the whole World with His grasping (*qabḍatu-hu*) and His shaking (*makhḍu-hu*),[71] for the body (*jism*) of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep Him!) is the Cream of His churning (*zubdat makhḍati-hi*),[72] even as [God's] Reality (*ḥaqīqatu-hu*)[73] C,56
is the Source of [the Prophet's] Arising (*aṣl nash'ati-hi*). He is pre-eminent in comprehensiveness (*al-iḥāṭah*) and in Mediation (*al-wisāṭah*) He is to be obeyed, because He is the Beginning and the End (*al-bidāyah wa-l-khatm*), the Locus of Revelation and Concealment (*maḥall al-ifshā' wa-l-katm*). For this is the "Sea of Pearls" (*baḥr al-la'ālī*) and the "Night of the Arisings" (*layl al-nawāshī*):[74] It is quite smooth and B,26b
even (*tamahhada*),[75] so, then, fathom it (*fa-sbur-hu*)![76] and it became

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[69] *Ibhāmī* (= *mubham*): "non-specific, generic; ambiguous, amphibolous; obscure, unintelligible" (see Blachère, under *b-h-m*, B). This root is probably cognate with the sense of *bahīm* ("a beast, lacking articulate speech [*mustabhim*]"; see *ibid.*, *s.v.*, A), and it is evident in what follows that the "animal man" of social anthropology is intended. Q has *al-ilhāmīyah* (inspirational) in place of *al-ibhamīyah*; Q2 lacks the verb, *ṣawwara*; and B2 omits the whole clause, along with the foll. sentence.

[70] *Wa-jaʿala-hā tatanāsalu wa-tatafāḍalu, wa-tatarāfaʿu wa-tatanāzalu.* As Form VI verbs, these are all to be understood as plur. in sense. If the *nash'ah al-Ādamīyah*, above, is made to correlate with the *male* Adam of the second chap. of *Genesis* (the one of *Gen.* 1: 27 being hermaphrodite), then the *ṣūrah al-ibhāmīyah*, or "animal form," could be taken to signify Eve (*Ḥawwā'*) as "the mother of all living things" (*Gen.* 3: 16–20). At this point (ff. 108–109b) al-Maqābirī suddenly launches into a long and elaborate account of cosmic and anthropogenetic developments (*taṭawwurāt*) which I am unable to follow, but which look similar to some of the salient features of al-Ḥijāzī's theories (outlined in App. II).

[71] For the eschatological connotations of the word, *qabḍah* (handful; grasping), see *Qur.* 39: 67 and *Fut.* I, 37 (30), *et al.*; and *cf. Muʿjam, no.* 518. W and Q2 have *makhḍatu-hu* (to rhyme with *qabḍatu-hu*).

[72] The verb, *makhaḍa*, means "to churn (milk), to agitate, shake, turn over (s.th.)". Lane quotes a line apropos to our text: "God caused the years to revolve (*makhaḍa*) until that was their issue, or result (*zubdatu-hā*)" (*s.v. makhaḍa*). Thus, the precious body of Muḥammad is likened to the butter/cream resulting from the churning of time (*cf.* below, pp. 403–07).

[73] Q2 omits the poss. pron.

[74] That is, the *ground* out of which entities arise. B, C, E and R all gloss *al-nawāshī* as *al-sāʿāt* (the hours, *i.e.*, divisions [of the night]), but I am not certain what this usage signifies here. *Cf.* above, pp. 244–45, n. 72; and Gloss., *s.v. nash'ah.*

[75] That is, the sea was homogeneous (before the production of the "pearls" = atoms?) and the night was starless (w/o *nawāshī*). These concrete images are intended to denote the undifferentiated state prior to *tajassud* (becoming corporeal), in the foll. clause. The analogy intended may be the curdling of milk, a common trope for cosmogenesis in Hindu mythology.

[76] Instead of this, both printed edns. have *fa-stur-hu* (so conceal it). W glosses this

corporeal (*tajassada*), so, then, experience it (*fa-khbur-hu*)![77] For the arising[78] of a First-Existent One (*nashʾu awwali mawjūd*^{in}) has occurred to your knowledge, as well as the whereabouts of its Station in Existence (*ayn martabati-hi min al-wujūd*) and its Ranking in the [Divine] Bounty (*manzilatu-hu min al-jūd*). Thereafter, the World became mightily attached to [the Reality of Muḥammad] by the Will of the Real **39** (*ikhtiyār al-Ḥaqq*), since [Muḥammad] was entitled to it by right—for, indeed, [God] (Be He Exalted!)[79] is the Benefactor Who-Gives-Preference (*al-Munʿim al-Mufaḍḍil*),[80] lavishing upon whomever He will[81] whatsoever He will.[82]

An Addendum (*lāḥiqah*)[83]

Since the affair of the World is cyclic (*dawrī*)[84] and its development circuitous (*falakī*),[85] the Return (*al-ʿawd*) goes back to the Beginning

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with *fa-ḥfaẓ-hu* (bear it in mind); and M has: *taʾammal ḥukma-hu wa-aḥkāma-hu* (contemplate its provision and its principles).

[77] In its undifferentiated mode the Muḥammadan Reality is to be transcendentally contemplated, while, in its concrete, human form as the Prophet it may be experienced mystically.

[78] Q2 alone has *shayʾ* (thing) instead of *nashʾ*.

[79] Note that the referent could easily be understood to be either God or Muḥammad (*sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality), and, hence, the pious ejaculation, *taʿālá*, is lacking in V and Q (though it is added in the margin of the former), who apparently take the Prophet to be the subj.

[80] V, W, Q and one printing of Q2 read, instead, *al-Mutafaḍḍil* (the Gracious), but the former corrects this in the margin. *Al-Munʿim* can be regarded as a derived Divine epithet on the basis of *Qur.* 4: 69, *et al.*

[81] *Ibtidāʾ*^{an} *ʿalá man shāʾa.* For this sense of *ibtadaʾa*, see Dozy, *s.v.*

[82] With *ibtidāʾ* in the preceding clause and the expression, *al-ʿawd ʿalá l-badʾ*, in the next sentence, Ibn al-ʿArabī perhaps has in mind the Qurʾānic verse: "Say: 'the Truth has come, whereas falsehood does not originate (*yubdiʾu*) or bring back again (*yuʿīdu*)'" (34: 49).

[83] This is clearly marked as a subsection-heading in all of the best mss., although neither printed edn. does so. Apparently this sense of *lāḥiqah* is modern, since, of the western dictionaries that I have seen, only H. Wehr (*A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, s.v.*) notes it (*cf. Wörterbuch, s.v. lāḥiq*).

[84] *Cf. Qur.* 84: 16–19. M's comm. is interesting: "[The order of the world is cyclic] in respect of Adam's [*sci.*, man's] dependence upon the existence of the essence of the Muḥammadan Light (*ḥaqīqatu nūri l-Muḥammadī* [sic]) . . ., while all of the animals are [dependent] upon the existence of Adam." This quaintly speculative observation is crossed out by the copyist, who then substitutes the more theologically correct: "The whole world is [dependent] upon the existence of man" (see *Qur.* 6: 165, 16: 5–8 and 80: 24–32). Q2 reads *min* (from) instead of *amr* (affair); and has *nashʾah* rather than *nashʾu-hu* in the foll. clause.

[85] "That is, the development of the world (*nashʾ al-ʿālam*) is circuitous in respect to its revolving/circulating (*dawarānu-hu*) [and its developing stage after stage (*ṭawr*^{an} *baʿda ṭawr*^{in})], since man is the cause and condition of the revolution of the sphere. If the turning of man in existence were to be discontinued, the revolution of the

(*al-badʾ*), and the whole becomes balanced[86] in the [existential] development (*al-nashʾ*)[87]—the Wearer (*al-lābis*) turning into what is worn (*malbūs*) and the Intelligible (*al-maʿqūl*) becoming tangible (*maḥsūs*). For the discovery of the Secrets of the Macrocosm (*wujūd asrār al-kawn al-akbar*) in the Microcosm (*al-ʿālam al-aṣghar*) is a "re-establishment" (*iʿādah*) [therein];[88] and of [those Secrets, the Macrocosm is itself] an "extolment" (*ishādah*):[89] "As [God] has originated you, so shall you return—"[90]

> And you surely have known the First Arising (*al-nashʾah al-ūlá*); why, then, do you not remember?[91]

It is for that reason that those blinded by their intellects (*al-maḥjūbūna bi-ʿuqūli-him*) make [the Resurrection] out to be "a vain recurrence" (*karrah khāsirah*).[92] For they carp: "Shall we, indeed, be restored (*mardūdūn*) [when we are returned to our] Original State (*al-ḥāfirah*)?"[93]

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sphere would cease, for it is the breaths of the most-perfect man (*anfās al-insān al-akmal*) which turns the sphere" (M).

[86] *Wa-stawá l-kullu.* The verb means "to become straight, level, equable; complete", *etc.* The idea is that by the *coincidentia oppositorum* the crooked become straight and the sick become whole.

[87] "Since the order of the world is cyclic, the world returns by His decree to the source . . ., and that is the Muḥammadan Reality; but the manifestation of that secret is dependent upon the arising of Adam. Thus, the command returns necessarily to the arising [of man]" (M).

[88] *Iʿādah* (cognate with *ʿawd*): "a giving-back, returning (trans.)." The inner secrets of man are reflected in the mirror of the external world, "reinstated" there, as it were.

[89] That is, an expression. C, V, W, B2, Z and Q2 read *ishārah* (an allusion or reminder) instead.

[90] *Qur.* 7: 29. Ibn al-ʿArabī explicates this verse and the one foll. in *Fut.* I, 312 (21*sq.*).

[91] *Qur.* 56: 62. This verse is usually taken to mean: "You know the form in which you were first created from nothing; why, then, do you not consider that I can create you again in another form (*nashʾah ukhrá* [see 53: 47; and *cf.* also 29: 20]) in the Resurrection?" Here, in effect, the Shaykh equates the "resurrection form" to regenerate, or perfect man, as another instance of coming to realize the unknown world (*sci.*, the microcosm) by means of the world around us (*cf.* above, pp. 240–42).

[92] This expression is from *Qur.* 79: 12, describing the nonbelievers' reaction to the teaching that their decayed corpses would be resurrected (see also next note). Despite the orig. context, Ibn al-ʿArabī's ref. may be to the Muslim rationalist philosophers (*falāsifah*) with their doctrine of the eternity of the universe. It is perhaps worth noting that Nietzsche would later enunciate a decidedly *pessimistic* doctrine of "eternal recurrence" of events (*ewigen Wiederkehr*).

[93] *Qur.* 79: 10. Here, again, in the Qurʾānic context the ref. is to God's "first creation" of man (or, some say, to man's youth) as opposed to the "second creation" of the Resurrection. *Ḥāfirah*: "The original state or constitution of a thing; that wherein it was created; and the returning in a thing, so that the end thereof is brought back to the beginning" (Lane, *s.v.*).

For in existential development there is no incremental reality (*ḥaqīqah zāʾidah*) other than the acquired accidents (*aʿrāḍ wāridah*).[94]

An Intimation (*ishārah*)

Although the significance of [the Spiritual-Human Arising] (*maʿnā-hā*) has already been made clear in what was said before, here [we give the epitome of] its Highest Degree (*muntahā-hā*):[95]

Is [the true, perfect] Man to be considered[96] within the Macrocosm or[97] is he something set apart from it (*munfaṣil ʿan-hu*) in his Most-resplendent Station (*maqāmu-hu l-azhar*)?[98] For he is the Last of all beings from the standpoint of sense (*ḥiss^{an}*), but the First as to Soul (*nafs^{an}*).[99] If he is [considered] among the things of the Macrocosm,[100] where, then, is his Copy (*nuskhatu-hu*) therein?[101] But if he is not of the Macrocosm, then by virtue of what relation (*nisbah*) can he be experienced?[102] Then restrict [your] perception (*al-baṣar*) and avert

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[94] M explains: "The accident requires a locus (*maḥall*) to establish it; but, except for the Creator, all that there is are [either] accidents [or] substances (*aʿrāḍ wa-ajsām*). The substance is self-subsistent (*qāʾim bi-nafsi-hi*), while the accident is based upon another than itself (*qāʾim bi-ghayri-hi*). Now, the substance (*al-jawhar*) does not accept increase, and all things come from the "essential arising" (*al-nashʾah al-ḥaqīqīyah*)." The point, it seems, is that the "resurrection" or "re-discovery" of the secret of man, which is "another development" (*nashʾah ukhrá*), complements and completes the only one known to rational man.

[95] On p. 377 the Muḥammadan Reality was said to be a "copy" (*nuskhah*) of God, and Adam (ideal man) a "copy" of the Muḥammadan Reality, while mankind in the collective is the "copy" of Adam. It is important to understand that only the second corresponds exactly with the later Akbarian notion of the "perfect man" (*insān kāmil*), but the "highest degree" of the latter (*muntahā-hā*), in effect, merges with the *first persona*, the quasi-Divine Muḥammadan Reality.

[96] Q2 has *maʿdūm* (non-existent) instead of *maʿdūd*. The latter may suggest a sense of being "trifling, insignificant".

[97] B2 and both edns. have the conj., *wa-*, instead of *aw*.

[98] Al-Maqābirī, for his part, replies: "I say *yes*, indeed, [man] is to be counted within the macrocosm! Do you not see that what is meant by "the world" is "that which is not God (*mā siwá Llāh*)"? Therefore, he must be contained within it according to the definition of the world" (but *cf.* above, n. 38). Rather, the point of Ibn al-ʿArabī's question is to suggest precisely what M shrinks from—the quasi-Divinity of the perfect man. B2 is wanting this line and half of the next.

[99] *Nafs* here may connote "soul, spirit, mind, nature, personhood, self", *etc.* The "last of all beings" is the man of clay of the second chap. of *Genesis*, created after "the heavens and the earth . . . and all the hosts of them," whereas the essence of man is the light of *Gen.* 1: 3.

[100] *Al-ʿālam al-kabīr*, in all ss. exc. for M and Q2, which read *al-akbar*.

[101] Since the microcosm is a copy of the entire macrocosm it necessarily cannot be *in se* any part thereof. The human being which is a *part* of the external world is not the perfect man, but rather his more or less dim terrestrial reflection.

[102] *Yukhbaru bi-hi ʿan-hu.* The first question has to do with the essential def. of the

speculation (*al-naẓar*), restore the Remembrance [of God's Names]
and struggle to dominate [over your lower-nature] (*al-dhikr wa-l-mughālabah*);[103] seek the assistance of reflection and attentiveness (*al-fikr wa-l-murāqabah*),[104] and prepare for the acceptance (*al-qabūl*) of B,18
that which the Messenger (*al-rasūl*)[105] brings to you. [Do all of this] (*sic*)
and you will surely be informed of that [Message] with clarity, and the integument of blindness (*ghiṭāʾ al-ʿamā*)[106] shall be lifted from your eyes.[107]

This is a [sublime] Epitome (*nuktah*), so recognize its full scope and examine its order, for it is the Quintessence of the Matter (*zubdat al-amr*) and the Mystery of the innermost Secret (*khafī al-sirr*)! If you would like for me to inform you, then listen and infer that which I shall confide in you, and bring together [the following]:[108]

> The World in "place"/space (*al-ayn*), and Man in the Source/Essence (*al-ʿayn*).[109]

For if you are in "place", then you are *of* it; and if you are in the Essence, you are yet without any *experience* [*khubr*] of it.[110] [But] you are not entitled[111] [to be regarded as completely] devoid of place (*fī ʿadam al-ayn*); rather, you are the *Interval* between the "Two Matters" (*barzakh al-amrayn*),[112] one who is entrusted with an "Encounter" and

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absolute object, while the second broaches the problem of realizing that obj., treated in the next sentence. The whole reality of man comprises both perspectives, as we learn *infra*.

[103] Instead of the last, C and Q read *al-muqābalah* (reception), but this is corrected by the former in the margin. Q2 has *al-muqālabah* (?); and M has garbled this clause, reading *al-madhkūr* (the above-mentioned) for *al-dhikr*.

[104] At this point a folio of *Ms. Berlin 3266* (B) is bound out of place, and it is now numbered 17 (or, by my new pagination, 18). Curiously, there is a long lacuna in the 1934 Cairo edn. (Q) which occurs after the end of the next sentence (see n. 107, below).

[105] Missing in Q, M, probably corretly, interprets this to be the "messenger of inspiration" (*rasūl al-ilhām*), but the ref. could also be applied to the Prophet.

[106] *ʿAm*$^{\acute{a}n}$: "blindness (physical or spiritual); dust covering s.th., hiding it from view" (see Kazimirski, *s.v.*).

[107] At this point a hiatus of seven pages occurs in the 1934 edn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (Q, p. 43, l. 13). The text of Q resumes *infra*, on p. 411 at n. 37 (see n. 104, above).

[108] Foll. B, W and Z: *Wa-ḥaṣṣil mā usirru ilay-ka bi-hi, wa-jmaʿ* [to rhyme with *fa-smaʿ*]. E, D and R reverse the two prep. phrases; and C has garbled the verb. V, B2, M and Q2 read "that which I invite (*ushīru*) you to" for the second verbal.

[109] On both *ayn* and *ʿayn*, see Gloss., *s.v.* Roughly speaking, we may conjecture that "space" stands for "matter" and "essence" for "spirit".

[110] *Fa-lā yukhbaru bi-ka ʿan-hu.* V, W, B2 and Q2 have garbled the verb.

[111] E and D voc. this to read: "*I* am not entitled," *etc.*

[112] *Cf. Qur.* 55: 20 and 23: 100. The *barzakh* (barrier; interval; isthmus) is a standard metonym for the Islamic Logos as *tertium quid.* The "two matters" are this world

a "Dictation" (*ṣāḥibu liqā'*^{in} *wa-ilqā'*^{in})[113] and Lord of a Descending and a Meeting (*sayyid al-nuzūl wa-ltiqā'*).[114]

So contemplate your place, and realize your Essence! [For] I am
free of your [so-called] "esoteric interpretation" (*al-mubarra' min ta'wīli-*
ka) and purified of your "measured explanation" (*al-muqaddas ʿan tafṣīli-*
ka),[115] unless you assent to the Command of the Real and admit me
to Creation.[116] This is "Pulp" (*lubb*) for him who has pith (*qulb*)[117]—
[with] a "husk" (*qishr*) upon it, lest one who is not of [God's] People
gain access to it.[118] That is [because all that is in] the World, includ-
ing all of its species and forms (*ajnāsu-hu wa-mabānī-hi*),[119] the lowly
and the exalted—Man is *not* just something superfluous (*shay' zā'id*)[120]
to [the aggregate of all of] those notions (*jamʿu tilka l-maʿānī*) in their **40**
[existential] dispersal (*iftirāqu-hā*), [merely] containing those natures
and essences (*al-ajnās wa-l-ʿuyūn*) in their [essential] congruence (*ittifāqu-*
hā).[121] Thus, in this manner, the Gnostic rectifies [the World's] Para-
phrase (*salkhu-hu*),[122] being its most-complete Transcription (*akmal*
naskhi-hi).[123]

(conditioned by time and space) and the other world (unconditioned) in the latter Qur'ānic verse. In the former, it is the two seas divided by the "firmament" of *Gen.* 1: 6.

[113] The Prophet Muḥammad "encountered" (*laqiya*) the angel Gabriel, and the latter "delivered, or dictated" (*alqā*) the Revelation to him.

[114] Instead of the last, V and B2 read *wa-rtiqā'* (and an ascension); and Q2 has *wa-ltiqā'u barzakh*^{in}. M correlates the "descending" with man's existence in space and the "meeting," or reunion, with his essential being, but the actual ref. is probably the same as the *tadallī* (coming down) and *tadānī* (coming nigh) discussed earlier (see nn. 27–28).

[115] Instead of the last, Q2 has *tafḍīlu-ka* (your preferment).

[116] That is, contrary to what appeared to be the drift of the argument in the preceding paragraph, Ibn al-ʿArabī disdains the so-called "esoteric" or "spiritual" rationalizations of the *bāṭinī* theosophists, theologians or philosophers. It is interesting, however, that in the personal prons. used in this clause the Shaykh seems to suppose that the reader might be of that persuasion—rather as, today, one might assume a secular-humanist readership.

[117] —Rather than *qalb* (heart; mind), to rhyme with *lubb*. Both *qulb* and *lubb* signify the "pith, or heart", of the palm-tree.

[118] *Cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 71, *s.v. qishr* and *lubb*. For some reason, *qishr*^{un} *ʿalay-hi* is written in bold print in B.

[119] One printing of Q2 has *jināsu-hu* (its semblance).

[120] Q2 reads: "Man is not informed (*yunba'u*) of anything in addition," *etc.*

[121] As *summum genus*, the perfect man does not just subsume all entities in abstraction, but he contains them in their extended realities.

[122] On this literary usage of *salkh*, see Kazimirski, *s.v. salakha*; see also Gloss, *s.v.* Q2 has the intrans., *ṣaḥḥa*, rather than *ṣaḥḥaḥa*.

[123] Or "copy" (*nuskhah*), as the microcosm. *Al-ʿārif* and *akmal* were added in the margin of B by the orig. copyist (though the latter addition spoils the rhyme). Q2 has *akbar* (greatest) in place of *akmal*; and the conj., *fa-*, instead of *wa-*.

Man's Portion in the World[124]

Know that Man,[125] according to the dictates of Revelation and Knowledge (*al-kashf wa-l-ʿilm*),[126] is the Spirit of the World (*ruḥ al-ʿālam*), B,18b while the World [is] the Body [of Man] (*al-jism*)—for [Man] is even now a Spirit for [this] Nether World (*rūḥ li-l-ʿālam al-dunyāwī*):[127] By means of him is [the World's] continuance (*baqāʾu-hu*), and by virtue of him was the fashioning (*fatq*) of its Earth and its Heaven,[128] as well as that of the Other World[129] when the Lordly Command (*al-amr al-rabbānī*) breathes[130] into it this Human Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-insānī*)—it being at this time as the Form of Adam (*ṣūrat Ādam*) before [God's] inspiration of the Spirit (*nafkh al-rūḥ*), or as the earth before the rising of the Sun (*ishrāq Yūḥ*).[131] Were this Human Arising (*al-nashʾ al-insānī*) to be taken from this Nether World (*al-ʿālam al-dunyāwī*), its physical structure (*binyatu-hu*)[132] would be razed and its courtyards (*afniyatu-hu*)[133] laid to ruins, being blown (*nufikha*) into the Other World (*al-ʿālam al-ukhrāwī*). Thereupon, the Garden [of Paradise] (*al-jannah*)[134] would come to life therein, being to [the Spirit of Man] as this World (*al-dunyā*) is to it [now][135]—a veil and a covering (*sitr wa-junnah*).[136] And the Spirit which is attributed to the Real (*al-rūḥ al-*

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[124] *Ḥaẓẓu l-insāni mina l-ʿālami.* This heading is not found in B, but it is in all later ss.

[125] One printing of Q2 lacks *al-insān.*

[126] That is, both esoteric and exoteric knowledge.

[127] Q2 has garbled this clause; and B2 omits the entire sentence by lapsus.

[128] Or: "by means of him [God] split asunder (*fataqa*) His Earth and His Heaven." M reads the verb as pass.

[129] *Wa-ʿālamu l-ukhrá* [sic] (lit., "and the world of another"). V, W, B2, M and Q2 have *al-ukhrawī* for the last. Perhaps the fem. adj. is to be related to the "other arising" (*nashʾah ukhrá*) of *Qur.* 53: 47 (*cf.* above, n. 91).

[130] *Ilá an yanfukha fī-hi* (as in B). One printing of Q2 has *yanfatiḥu* (he introduces) for the verb. On God's breathing of His Spirit into Adam, see *Qur.* 15: 29, 32: 9 and 38: 72, *et al.* (*cf.* also 21: 91 and 3: 49).

[131] C and Q2 read the last as *Būḥ*; and B2, *Yūḥá*; both variants of the solar name, *Yūḥ* (see Lane, *s.v.*).

[132] *Binyah*: "a form or mode of construction". It is also a syn. of *bināʾ* (building); and *al-banīyah* (the edifice) is an epithet of the Kaʿbah.

[133] Foll. B and several later ss. Instead of this, C, E, R and D, all excellent mss., read *abniyatu-hu* (its structures); and V has *aqniyatu-hu* (its canals).

[134] *Al-jannah* = Heb., *gan ʿēden*, the "garden of delight" (see Blachère, *s.v. janna*, C). Instead of that, Q2 reads *al-juththah* (the body, corpse), which, at least, has the merit of rhyming with *al-junnah* in the next clause. (Moreover, it must be admitted that B, C and E are rather unclear). There are, however, other instances of such alliterative "rhymes" as *jannah/junnah* (*e.g.*, *al-udhn/al-idhn*; *al-malik/al-malak*, etc.).

[135] Q2 omits *ka-* (as).

[136] *Junnah*: "breastplate, armor; cape, hood" (see Blachère, *s.v. janna*, B).

muḍāf ilá l-Ḥaqq), which was breathed forth from Him in the world of Creation,[137] is [none other than] the Muḥammadan Reality which arises in the [Divine] Unity (*al-qā'imah bi-l-aḥadīyah*). Thus, Man is in two Abodes [*dārān*], his manifestation in two Worlds [*'ālamān*].[138]

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[137] In place of *al-khalq*, Q2 has *al-Ḥaqq* (the Real).

[138] M reasonably interprets the "abodes" and "worlds" as "this world" (*al-dunyā*) and the hereafter (*al-ākhirah*). I think that the author's point, however, is that man, as quasi-Divine, belongs to the categories of both the external manifestation of reality (= *al-khalq*, comprising all of the worlds) and its intrinsic, Divine essence, which is the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*).

VI. The Emergence of the World (*nashʾ al-ʿālam*) out of the Muḥammadan Reality

[*The Ten Macrocosmic "Pearls"*:]

The Emergence of the [Cosmic] Water of the Throne from [the Muḥammadan Reality][1] as a [*First*] *Pearl*:[2]

[My original] plan (*al-gharaḍ*) in this section was to set next to each [large, Cosmic] "Pearl" (*luʾluʾah*) its [corresponding Microcosmic] "*Small* Pearl" (*marjānah*, "margarite"),[3] and with every beginning its end;[4] but in this chapter,[5] where the elucidation is devoted to that which proliferated from a single [Divine] Essence (*dhāt wāḥidah*)[6] and emerged therefrom as discrete genera (*ajnās mutabāʿidah*), I have decided to set forth its Pearls sequentially, as on a string (*nasaq*), placing them stage after stage (*ṭabaq*)[7] until we come to the Last of Creation (*ākhir* B,27 *al-kawn*),[8] (*sic*) desirous that the [reader][9] be not bewildered thereby, for most of its meanings (*maʿānī-hi*) would escape him.[10] When, God willing, I have treated exhaustively of the [Cosmic] Pearls [in this section][11] and arranged in order its Arisings (*nawāshiʾu-hu*)[12]—and the Seeker (*al-ṭālib*) has come to know the Source of its import (*maʿzā-hu*),[13] its meaning (*maʿnā-hu*) becoming evident—we will then take up [in a later section] the sequence of [the Microcosmic] "Jewels" [or Small Pearls] in accordance with the order of its Larger ones—[hence, beginning with] the First "Jewel" (*al-marjānah al-ūlá*) for the First [Cosmic] "Pearl" of this section—in the finest of arrangements, with the most wonderful workmanship and the wisest combination![14]

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[1] *Min-hā* (see foll. note).

[2] I read this as: *Nashʾu māʾi l-ʿarshi min-hā luʾluʾat*^{an} (as seems to be the voc of B), in preference to the reading of W and M: *nashʾu māʾ*^{in}, *al-ʿarshu min-hā luʾluʾat*^{un} (the emergence of water in which the throne is [as] a pearl). But since I find no precedent for treating *māʾ* as fem., the obj. of the prep. must refer to the Muḥammadan Reality as root-source of cosmogenesis, echoing the preceding clause. As for the "water of the throne" (see *Qur.* 11: 7), which symbolizes the infinite space of chaos, we learn below that it is the perspiration, or "sweat" (*ʿaraq*) of the Muḥammadan Reality. By any reading the grammar here is uncharacteristically turbid. Q2 (which has *mā* instead of *māʾ*, and *luʾluʾ*) does not recognize these two lines as constituting the heading, though all of the mss. clearly indicate this. W qualifies the "pearl" as "pure" (*zakīyah*). On the structure of the foll. cosmogony, see p. 83 of the intro.

[3] See *Fut.* III, 109 (26), where Ibn al-ʿArabī so defines these two terms. *Marjānah*—apparently deriving from Persian *via* Aramaic and the Gr., *margarītēs* (pearl)—came to be commonly applied to *coral*-beads and gems, or jewels, in general (see Dozy, *s.v.*; see also Jeffery, *s.v.*). For the purpose of distinguishing the two terms I will tr. *luʾluʾah* as "pearl" and *marjānah* as "jewel" (or else "small pearl"). Frequently the distinction between the two gems, whatever its nature, would be based on an interpretation of *Qur.* 55: 22 (*q.v.; cf.* also v. 58). The "two seas" from which the *luʾluʾ* and the *marjān* are taken could be the Persian Gulf (famous for its pearls) and the Red Sea (replete with fantastic coral reefs)—that is, the east and the west of the Arabian peninsula. Acc. to M, "the pearl symbolizes the well-preserved secret illuminated by the light of grace, while the small pearl is its perfection and completion"; but *cf.* next note.

[4] *Wa-maʿa kulli bidāyat*^{in} *ghāyatu-hā*. Instead of *ghāyatu-hā* (its end), B2, M and Q2 have *nihāyatu-hā*, meaning much the same. The idea is that of a gem-necklace (*ʿiqd*, a common trope in late-classical Arabic literary anthologies, where the pieces in a suite were named after individual gems), alternating in a series of large and small pearl-beads, each pair of both types together correlated to a hierarchic stage, with the large pearls representing the macrocosm, and the smaller ones their microcosmic parallels. For the sake of clarity, Ibn al-ʿArabī decided to adumbrate the matter firstly in terms of a traditional, sequential cosmogony, treating of the corresponding mystical-human categories in a later series (see below, pp. 428–60).

[5] *Hādha l-faṣl*, in all ss. exc. for one printing of Q2, which omits "this"; and B2 (missing the entire phrase). The foll. long clause is another example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of a redundant *lammā*-construction, which I tr. as "where" (*cf.* above, p. 246, n. 5).

For I Declare[15] that when God (Praised be He!)[16] originated Muḥammad (May God bless and keep Him!)[17] as an Ideal-Reality (*ḥaqīqah mithlīyah*), making Him a Universal Arising (*nashʾah kullīyah*) where there is no time and no space (*lā ayn wa-lā bayn*),[18] [God] said to

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[6] *Sci.*, the Reality of Muḥammad as *summum genus* (*jins al-ajnās*) and the *alpha* of creation.

[7] B and W gloss this as *ḥāl*^{an} *taḥta ḥāl*^{in} (state below/after state); and C has the same, with *ḥālah.*

[8] *Sci.*, man as the consummation, the *omega*, of creation.

[9] *Al-nāẓir*: lit., "the perceiver [*i.e.*, sight; the eye]; one who rationally considers".

[10] "—Because of the inscrutability of its affair (*ghumūḍ shaʾni-hi*) and the subtlety of its significations (*diqqat maʿānī-hi*)" (M). The poss. pron. refers to creation, or the universe (*al-kawn*).

[11] *Laʾāliʾu-hu* in all mss. exc. for B. Q2 garbles this.

[12] That is, in the present section. On *nawāshiʾ*, see Gloss., *s.v. nashʾah.*

[13] As in all mss. exc. for D and R, which have *maghzā-hu* (its meaning, import). Q2 garbles this. W glosses *maʿzā-hu* as *marjiʿu-hu* (its source).

[14] *ʿAlá aḥsani naẓm*^{in} *wa-abdaʿi ṣanʿ*^{in} *wa-aḥkami waṣl*^{in}. These expressions relate to the craftsmanship of a fine pearl-necklace.

[15] This is marked as a heading in C, R, W and Z.

[16] C omits this benediction; V and B2 have "Be He exalted," instead; and Q2 has both.

[17] *N.b.*, I generally capitalize prons. referring to the Muḥammadan Reality as quasi-Divine.

[18] *Ayn* (or *īn*, cognate with *ān*) = *ḥīn*. M glosses this expression with: *qabla khalq al-zamān wa-l-makān* (before the creation of time and place). One could also, perhaps, read: "where there is no *where* and no *between.*"

Him: "I am the King (*al-Malik*) and You are the Kingdom (*al-mulk*);[19]
I am the Helmsman (*al-Mudabbir*) and You the Ship (*al-fulk*).[20] I will
establish You as a Manager and a Leader (*sā'is wa-mudabbir*), for-
bidding and commanding (*nāhiy*^{an} *wa-āmir*^{an}),[21] in a Mighty Kingdom **41**
(*mamlakah ʿuẓmá*) and a "Great Event" (*ṭāmmah kubrá*)[22] fashioned out
of You.[23] You will give unto them[24] commensurate with what I will
give to You,[25] and You shall be for them as I am for You; for *there
is none other than You, even as You are none other than Me.*[26] You are My
Attributes and My Names among them.[27] So, then, set the Statute
(*al-ḥadd*)[28] and manifest the Contract (*al-ʿahd*)[29]—and I will surely
inquire of You[30] after the Revelation and the Regulation (*al-tanzīl
wa-l-tadbīr*)[31] about the dint of a date-pit and the speck [thereupon]!"[32]

Then, with that discourse, [the Reality of Muḥammad] perspired[33]

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[19] M glosses the latter as "the source of [all earthly] sovereignty (*aṣl*^{an} *li-l-mulki*)." Ibn al-ʿArabī regularly uses the word, *mulk* (kingship), in the sense of *mamlakah* (kingdom).

[20] M reads this as *al-falak* [*al-muḥīṭ*], the "all-encompassing sphere", the *primum mobile* of the starry spheres; but this will only be tenable if *al-mulk* in the preceding clause be voc. as *al-malak* (the angel). On *fulk*, see Jeffery, *s.v.*

[21] To forbid (evil) and command (good) is the duty of every Muslim.

[22] *Cf. Qur.* 79: 34, where the day of Resurrection and Judgment is so called. The "mighty kingdom" may be either the Mahdī's apocalyptic reign preceding the final doom or the great gathering (*ḥashr*) for the Judgment itself. M interprets the "great event" (lit., "calamity") as the macrocosm and the "mighty kingdom" as the microcosm, the human estate.

[23] *Mā yatakawwanu ʿan-ka.* Recall that all of the foll. "pearls" are emanations proceeding from the first, the Muḥammadan Reality.

[24] The pron. refers to the "kingdom" and the "great event" of the preceding sentence.

[25] *ʿAlá ḥaddi mā uʿṭī-ka.* Instead of the latter (in the fut. of polite request), C, R, M and Q2 have the perf., *aʿṭaytu-ka.* Q2 garbles this entire phrase.

[26] Foll. C, D, Q2 and the margin of B, which read: *Fa-laysa siwā-ka ka-mā lasta siwā-ya.* The other ss. have *laysa* also in the second clause, exc. for V, which reads: *Fa-lasta siwā-ya ka-mā lastu siwā-ka* (For you are not other than Me, as I am not other than you).

[27] *Fa-anta ṣifāt-ī fī-him wa-asmā-ya* (the latter, instead of *asmā'-ī*, to rhyme with *siwā-ya* in the preceding sentence).

[28] *Fa-ḥudda l-ḥaddu,* in all ss. exc. Q2, which seems to read *fa-khudhi l-ḥadda* (so take the boundary). *Ḥadd*: "Divine ordinance; legal regulation".

[29] *Cf. Qur.* 48: 10. The verb is *unzil* (send down).

[30] One printing of Q2 has *wa-sa'ala-ka* (and He inquired of you) instead of *wa-sa-as'alu-ka.*

[31] *Al-tadbīr* here probably refers to the "direction of the Divine command" (*tadbīr al-amr*) in *Qur.* 32: 5, *et al.*

[32] *Al-naqīr wa-l-qiṭmīr.* Concerning the first word, *cf. Qur.* 4: 56 & 124; and on the second, 35: 13. Both signify s.th. very minute (see Lane, *s.v. nuqrah* and *qiṭmīr*). *Cf. Matt.* 5: 17–18.

[33] E and Q2 have garbled the verb (*tafaṣṣada*). The Muḥammadan Reality's per-

with a bounteous rain of "Sweat" (*ʿaraq ḥayāʾ*).[34] And that outward perspiration (*al-ʿaraq al-ẓāhir*) was [a kind of primordial] Water (*māʾ*), the "Water" which the Real (Exalted be He!) made known in the Truthful Tidings (*ṣaḥīḥ al-anbāʾ*), for He has said (Praised be He!): ". . . and His Throne was upon the Water"[35]—that is, the Furthest-Limit of the Void (*muntahá l-khalāʾ*), except for a vehement Wind drawing a Line (*zaʿzaʿ musaṭṭir*)[36] there—a Bearer (*ḥāmil*) for an "Unmoving Water" (*māʾ mustaqirr*) ["above the Firmament"].[37] Beyond that [Line] is no "beyond"[38] in which there could be [either any *real*] vacuum or a plenum (*khalāʾ aw malāʾ*).[39] For the Universe fills [no space] but the Void,[40] there being *nothing* outside of it, that there B,27b
could be any [so-called] "vacuum" or "plenum" therein.[41]

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spiration is an effect of his anxiety caused by the Divine threat of retribution (*cf.* the next note).

[34] *Ḥayāʾ* (to rhyme with *māʾ*) here does not signify "modesty, diffidence", as M supposes, but has the sense of its syn., *ḥay*^{an} (see Lane, *s.v.*): "plenteous rain that gives life (*ḥayāh*) to the earth". On the notion of the Muḥammadan Reality's "perspiring", Chodkiewicz has pointed out a (non-canonical) *ḥadīth* which describes the first-created being, the "white pearl" (*al-durrah al-bayḍāʾ*, = the first intellect, or Muḥammadan Light) as liquifying under the influence of the fear of God, *al-haybah* (*cf.* below, at n. 158).

[35] *Qur.* 11: 7, referring to precreation (*cf. Gen.* 1: 2 and *Psalm* 29: 10). For a trad. elaborating this verse, see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Hayʾah al-Sanīyah* (in A.M. Heinen, ed. and tr., *Islamic Cosmology*), p. 132 (*cf.* also p. 140, trad. 8).

[36] *Zaʿzaʿ* is glossed as a "vehement wind" (*rīḥ shadīdah*) by B and W. (The element of air is superior to that of water). The adj. in E, D(?), R, V, B2 and Z is *musaṭṭir*, which Lane identifies with *musayṭir* (as in C and W), def. as: "One who is set in absolute authority over a thing (or people) to oversee it, and to pay frequent attention to its various states or conditions, and to write down its manner of action" (*s.v. musayṭir*; *cf.* also Jeffery, *s.v. saṭara*). Here, however, I think that the sense is more literal: "drawing a line (*saṭr*) [between the waters above and below the limit of the void]". The exceptive, *illā*, implies that the "vehement wind," or gale, functioning as the "firmament" of *Gen.* 1: 7, as Heinen recognized (see *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 79 and 130 [trad. 3]), is the actual *muntahá l-khalāʾ*—the waters above being the chaotic and formless void, while those below constitute cosmic space. B(?) and D gloss *musaṭṭir* with *mumtadd* (extended, laid out; comprehensive).

[37] Rather than *li-māʾ*, C, D and Q2 have *li-hawāʾ* (for an "air"), which the former corrects in the margin; and B2 and M read *la-hā* (for it). The motionless and, therefore, invisible water above the firmament stands for the abstract, imponderable space of the void (*cf. ibid.*, p. 132 [trad. 17]).

[38] *Laysa warāʾa dhālika warāʾ*^{un}. Q2 has garbled this phrase and is wanting most of the foll. sentence.

[39] *Cf.* Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, 278b, 21–279, 11 (quoted by Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī in his *K. al-Tafhīm*, p. 45 [see below, n. 121].

[40] *Fa-mā ʿamara l-ʿālamu siwá l-khalāʾi. Cf.* the *Risālah al-Jāmiʿah* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (J. Saliba, ed.), vol. II, p. 24.

[41] *Fa-yakūna fī-hi khalāʾ*^{un} *aw malāʾ*^{un}. Many of the ss. have garbled this line.

A [Second] Pearl: *The Emergence of the Supernal Host* (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlá*) *from* [*the Muḥammadan Reality*]:[42]

Then the Wellsprings of the Spirits (*ʿuyūn al-arwāḥ*) began flowing forth copiously[43] from [the Reality of Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!), and the Supernal Host were manifested in the clearest appearance (*bi-l-manẓar al-ajlá*),[44] having the most-pleasant provenience (*al-mawrid al-aḥlá*).[45] For [Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!) is the Supreme Genus (*al-jins al-ʿālī*) to all of the genera,[46] and the Greatest Father (*al-ab al-akbar*) toward all existent beings and mankind (*al-mawjūdāt wa-l-nās*), Whose worth (*qīmatu-hu*) was well-known even though His flesh (*ṭīnatu-hu*) appeared late [in time]. Whereas the participation [of Muḥammad] with the angelic Regent-Hosts (*al-ishtirāk maʿa l-amlāk*)[47] in non-spatiality (*fī ʿadam al-ayn*) had been to such an extent that it was as if they were essentially One,[48] [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep Him!) willed to possess alone the original Essence (*al-ʿayn*)[49] and to cause the Hosts to come into spatiality (*al-ayn*).[50]

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[42] Foll. B's voc.: *Luʾluʾat*^{un}: *nashʾu l-malaʾi l-aʿlá min-hu.* This is the second of ten macrocosmic "pearls", corresponding to the ten "small pearls" (s., *marjānah*) relating to the microcosm, *infra* (see pp. 431–32, where the "primary inspirations" are correlated with the *ʿuyūn al-amlāk*, presumably the same as the *ʿuyūn al-arwāḥ* in the present section). M explains the *malaʾ al-aʿlá* as "the throne, the pen, and the spheres beneath them, as well as the angels included within them." Hence, this "pearl" may be regarded as subsuming all of those foll. under the general rubric of the "supernal host" (= Gr., *plērōma*, "the fullness of being").

[43] *Inbajasat,* which C and M gloss as "to burst forth" (*infajarat*); and W, "to branch out" (*tashaʿʿabat min-hu*). *Cf. Qur.* 7: 160, where this verb describes the action of the water flowing forth into twelve springs (*ʿuyūn*) from the rock struck by Moses. B2 has *inḥabasat* (were held back, obstructed). At this point, R breaks off suddenly (at the bottom of f. 161b), resuming again at p. 52 (l. 7) of Q2 (= p. 431 of our trn.).

[44] B2 and M have *al-naẓar* instead, meaning much the same.

[45] Instead of the last, M and Q2 repeat *al-ajlá.*

[46] The Muḥammadan Reality is the ultimate progenitor (*al-akbar*: "most ancient") of all beings.

[47] *Al-amlāk* (to rhyme with *al-ishtirāk* ?) is properly a plur. form of *malik* (king, regent), not *malak* (angel); but see Gloss., *s.v. amlāk.*

[48] *Ḥattá ka-anna-hum fī l-ʿayni.* Note that here and in the foll. sentence—as frequently elsewhere (see refs. in Gloss., *s.v. ayn* and *ʿayn*)—Ibn al-ʿArabī plays on the distinction between the antithetical notions of the unitary essence and conditioned, finite existence.

[49] *Arāda . . . l-tafarruda bi-l-ʿayni.* That is, he remained unique, or distinct from all other, derivative genera, remaining absolute in his own [Divine] essence.

[50] [*Arāda*] *taḥsīla l-malaʾi l-aʿlá fī l-ayni.* The other supernal entities—the throne, the footstool, *etc.*—though one with the Muḥammadan Reality in essence, are yet distinguished in their existential natures, which are finite (conditioned according to space).

A [Third] Pearl: *The Emergence of the [Divine] Throne (al-ʿarsh) Therefrom*:[51]

When the Real (Exalted be He!) knew of [Muḥammad's] Will (*irādatu-hu*)[52] and, towards its fulfilment, put into effect His Custom (*ʿādatu-hu*),[53] He gazed upon the Hidden-content of the Lights (*maknūn al-anwār*) which He had engendered (*awjada*) in His Heart, removing from [the Lights] the veils (*al-astār*) which enclosed them. For [the Real] revealed Himself to [Muḥammad both] in the Heart and by eye,[54] until the Light was made manifest from two directions.[55] And out of that spacious Light (*al-nūr al-munfahiq*) [proceeding] from [Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!) He (Be He Praised!) created the Throne, making it His Seat (*mustawā-hu*),[56] and creating the Heavenly Host and the other things that I shall mention[57] which B,28 [the Throne] contains.

But they are in the Nether Location (*al-mawḍiʿ al-adná*), proceeding from [the Muḥammadan Reality] (May God bless and keep Him!) and His Seat in the Most-resplendent Place (*al-maḥall al-asná*).[58] For they came to be in the locality of "Detention" (*aynīyat al-ḥaṣr*)[59] and resided in the grip of "Captivity" (*qabḍat al-asr*), while [the Supernal Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!) is alone distinguished

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[51] That is, from the Reality of Muḥammad, as with each of the foll. sections. "Emergence": *nashʾ*. The Divine throne corresponds to the ninth, or all-encompassing, starless sphere (*al-falak al-aṭlas al-muḥīṭ*) of the Ptolemaic cosmos. Acc. to M, it is composed of "the secret of the light of prophecy, which [God] made to be as its veil." The mythos of the Divine throne afloat on the waters of chaos can be compared to that of the Hindu *Brahmānda*, or "egg of Brahmā" (treated by al-Bīrūnī in Chap. 20 of his book on India, *Taḥqīq Mā li-l-Hind*).

[52] See above, nn. 49 and 50.

[53] That is to say, the laws of nature (= God's "custom") were designed to implement the will of the creative Reality.

[54] *Fa-tajallá la-hu min jihati l-qalbi wa-l-ʿayni. Cf.* p. 429 at n. 12.

[55] The verb is *takāthafa* (to become condensed, concentrated). Form VI verbs typically denote plur. subjs. The "two directions" presumably refer to inner and exterior vision. M understands *al-ʿayn* in the preceding clause as the "essence" rather than the "eye."

[56] The word acquires this connotation from *Qur.* 20: 5, *et passim* (*cf.* 9: 129). Quoting this verse, M glosses *istawá ʿalá* (to mount upon) with *istawlá ʿalá* (to seize, master). In what follows it appears that the throne is regarded as the seat of the Muḥammadan Reality—reminiscent of the Qabalistic "Metatron" (as *meta thronos* ?). For a trad. stating that the throne was created of the Divine Light, see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 130 (3).

[57] Q2 has the perf.

[58] Instead of the first, Q2 has *bi-l-tajallī* (in the Theophany).

[59] That is, in the sense of the limitation of finite existence. In place of the first, Q2 reads *anīyatu-hu* (? his that-ness). *Aynīyah*: "where-ness". This purely technical term is a typical example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's innovative use of philos. jargon.

in His Seat [*sci.*, the Throne] with Him Who selected Him and
chose Him[60]—the Real (Exalted be He!) forming Him [to be] the **42**
Treasury of His Secret (*khizānat sirri-hi*) and the Place of the Execution of His Command (*mawḍiʿ nufūdh amri-hi*). He is designated by the [creative Word] "Be!" (*Kun*)[61] to that which is not (*li-mā lam yakun*), for no Command will be effected except by Him, nor any News (*khabar*) transmitted except through Him.[62] [The Reality of Muḥammad] is the Veil of [God's] Self-Manifestation (*ḥijāb tajallī-hi*) and the Fashioning of His Self-Adornment (*ṣiyāghat taḥallī-hi*),[63] being the very Ascension of His "Coming-nigh" (*taraqqī tadānī-hi*) and the Reception of His "Coming-down" (*talaqqī tadallī-hi*).[64]

A [Fourth] Pearl:

The Emergence of the [Divine] Footstool (al-kursī)[65] Therefrom:

Then [the Muḥammadan Reality] looked [about], seeking a place where He might set down His feet, and where His sandals might be put aside.[66] And rays from that glance (*al-ṭarfah*)[67] were sent forth into the Void (*al-khalāʾ*), the lights of which orbit as with the circulation of [mutually reflecting] mirrors (*ka-stidārat al-marāʾī*)[68]—graceful in [external] nature (*laṭīfat al-kayf*),[69] void of interior (*fārighat al-jawf*),[70] well-known in their [zodiacal] Stations (*maʿlūmat al-manāzil*) to the wayfarer and the traveller (*al-sālik wa-l-rāḥil*). And He made that round (*al-kawr*) and started that rotation (*al-dawr*) [of the Zodiac][71] as a Footstool for His feet and a Presence (*ḥaḍrah*) for the execution of the Commands which He issues from His Presence.[72] For the Command goes out from Him unified in essence (*muttaḥid al-ʿayn*) until, when it reaches [the level of] the Footstool, it divides into two parts[73]—since the Addressee of the [Command] (*al-mukhāṭab*),[74] from that [exalted] Place to the Furthest of the lowliest (*aqṣá al-asfal*), is two [different] Existents [*mawjūdān*], although it had been *One.*[75]

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[60] *Ijtabā-hu wa-. . . iṣṭafā-hu. Muṣṭafā Llāh* (the elect of God) is an epithet of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[61] *Cf. Qur.* 36: 82 (*et al.*): "Verily, should He desire a thing, His command is only that He say to it, 'Be!' and it *is* (*kun fa-yakūnu*)." The expression is used specifically of the orig. Divine *fiat* in 2: 73.

[62] "[God] transmits no data (*akhbār*) in the revealed books and scriptures save through [Muḥammad's] knowledge (May God bless and keep him!)" (M).

[63] Instead of the last, Q2 repeats *tajallī-hi*. On *taḥall*^{in}, see Lane, *s.v. ḥalá*.

[64] On Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of the terms, *tadān*^{in} and *tadall*^{in} (regarding which, *cf. Qur.* 53: 8, referring to Gabriel's appearance to the Prophet), see above, p. 375, nn. 27 and 28 (in the ref. cited there, the terms, *taraqq*^{in} and *talaqq*^{in}, are also treated).

[65] *Kursī*: "throne" (see *Qur.* 2: 255 [end]; and Jeffery, *s.v.*). For exegetes the *kursī* soon came to be distinguished from the *ʿarsh* as the "footstool" which stood before the "throne" proper (*cf. Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 73). For M's comm., see App. I.

[66] The *kursī* is styled "the place of the two feet" (*mawḍiʿ al-qadamayn*) in trads. 21 and 22 in Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 132–33 (see also *Tadbīrāt*, 152, *et al.*).

[67] Instead of this, Q2 has *al-ṭurqah* (the way); and B2, *al-naẓrah* (the glance).

[68] The latter is the plur. of *mirʾāh* (as glossed by B). The Divine *kursī* corresponds to the eighth, or starry sphere, that of the so-called "fixed stars" of the zodiac. The description foll. seems to celebrate the beauty of the geometric sphere or circle—sheer perfection in its external form, pure void within.

[69] *Kayf*: "nature, quality, character" (see *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*).

[70] In Arabic this expression suggests a sense of calm, freedom from anxiety (*cf.* Lane's remarks on *Qur.* 28: 10, *s.v. fārigh*).

But from another perspective, in addition to that One, the Mes-
sengers (*al-rusul*) follow in succession, one after the other.[76] For, ver-
ily, the "One Addressed in all things"[77] is [the Perfect] Man (*al-insān*), B,28b
not the Angels or the *Jinn*. For the Angel and the *Jinnī* are [merely]
a part (*juz'*) of [the Perfect Man] and a model (*unmūdhaj*)[78] based
upon him, having [only] a portion of the Message (*baʿḍ al-khiṭāb*),
while Man is the Universal Book (*kullī al-kitāb*), indicated in [God's] C,56b
words (Exalted be He!): "We neglected not a thing in the *Book* "[79]—
after which His speech became general: "—Then unto their Lord

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[71] *Kawr*: "winding (of a turban); circular motion" (see *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*, which cites Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿUqlat al-Mustawfiz* (Nyberg, ed.), p. 42 [15]). For Nyberg's distinction between *kawr* and *dawr*, based on that of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', see *Gloss.*, *s.v. dawr*. Whatever the precise meaning, the idea is the apparent revolution of the sphere of fixed stars.

[72] *Li-nufūdhi mā yaṣdiru mina l-amri bayna yaday-hi.* The "execution of the commands" issuing from the Muḥammadan Reality would be "astrological" determinations (*aḥkām*).

[73] *Cf. Fut.* II, 257 (17–18*sq.*); *Tadbīrāt*, 152–53; and *ʿUqlat al-Mustawfiz*, 59.

[74] Foll. B. W voc. this to read "the speaker" (*al-mukhāṭib*). As Plotinus had taught, the first created/emanated being after the One (*viz.*, the intellect) must itself be unitary.

[75] Q2 garbles this phrase.

[76] *Tatābaʿa l-rusulu wa-tatrá.* The addressee in the first instance is Adam, standing for [the perfect] man (*al-insān*; see *infra*) and regarded as the first prophet by Muslims, who believe that a series of apostles/messengers then followed in succession, each "in accordance with the time and his people" (M).

[77] *Al-mukhāṭab bi-jamīʿ al-ashyā'*. Instead of the last, V and W have *al-asmā'* (the names).

[78] Or *numūdhaj* (< Per., *namūdah*): "a thing that is made in the form, or after the fashion, of another thing, that the mode of the latter may be known thereby" (Lane, *s.v. namūdhaj*). M understands the term to signify "a part which gives indication of the whole." For the more negative connotations of this word in Persian, see F. Steingass, *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, *s.v. numūnah.*

[79] *Qur.* 6: 38 (continued in the next clause), frequently taken to refer to the "preserved tablet" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), understood as God's complete record of His decrees. Here, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī clearly applies the term to man, or Adam, as the "comprehensive book" (*al-kitāb al-jāmiʿ*; see *Fut.* II, 67 [29]; *cf.* also next note). See App. I.

they will be gathered."[80] But [God] indicated the Muḥammadan Reality, which is the *Source* of Creation (*aṣl al-inshā'*) and the First Beginning (*awwal al-ibtidā'*), when He said: "With Him is the Source of the Book (*umm al-kitāb*)."[81] For *we* are the Most-manifest Book (*al-kitāb al-ajlá*), while *He* [the Reality of Muḥammad] is the Most-exalted Source (*al-umm al-aʿlá*).[82] Man [as a whole is] the All-inclusive Book (*al-kitāb al-jāmiʿ*)—the "dark Night" (*al-layl al-muẓlim*) as well as the bright, "shining Day" (*al-nahār al-mushriq al-sāṭiʿ*).[83]

From the elevation of his Degree (*ʿulūw martabati-hi*) and the loftiness of his Station (*sumūw manzilati-hi*), verily, [the Reality of Man] is *One* as regards his essential Meaning (*maʿná-hu*),[84] *Two* as regards his States (s., *ḥālu-hu*),[85] *Three* as to His Worlds (s., *ʿālamu-hu*);[86] *Four* as to his Bases (*qawāʿidu-hu*),[87] *Five* in his Kingdoms (s., *mamlakatu-hu*),[88] *Six* in his Aspects (*jihātu-hu*);[89] *Seven* in his Attributes (*ṣifātu-hu*),[90] *Eight* as regards his Copies (s., *nuskhatu-hu*),[91] *Nine* in his Ranks (*marātibu-hu*);[92] *Ten* in his Comprehensiveness (*iḥāṭatu-hu*) [of all of the above-mentioned Degrees]; and *Eleven* as to his Sainthood (*walāyatu-hu*),[93] which is the Spirit of Holiness (*rūḥ al-qudus*).[94]

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[80] The continuation of *Qur.* 6: 38, which, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains, refers to all creatures in general (acc. to Islamic belief, even irrational animals will be resurrected for judgment). Inasmuch as the species of animals are called "nations" (*aqwām*) in this *āyah*, the foll. verse from the last poem in the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm* (p. 183) may refer to it: "The nations shall read only their own souls (*nufūsu-hum*)/in their own conditions with their Lord. . . ." Ibn al-ʿArabī denominates man, or, rather, his essence, "the book of his Lord (*kitāb Rabbi-hi*)" in *Fut.* III, 352 (18).

[81] *Qur.* 13: 39, the prooftext for *naskh* (*cf.* also 43: 4 and 3: 7). On the *umm al-kitāb*, see *Muʿjam*, *no.* 52 (where, however, it must be noted that most of the refs. are to the anon. *Mir'āt al-ʿĀrifīn* [see next note]).

[82] In place of the first, V, W, B2 and M have *al-imām* (the leader). *Umm*: "a mother; a source, origin, matrix; s.th. to which other things are joined; a place of the collection or combination of a whole; an abode (as in *Qur.* 101: 9); a head, or chief, of a people", *etc.*, in which latter case it is the same as *imām* (see Dozy, *s.v.*). Note that the expression is masc. In the *Mir'āt al-ʿĀrifīn*, sometimes attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī, but probably the work of a disciple of al-Qūnawī (as noted in *Ms. Rağib Paşa 1453/6*; see Yahia, *no.* 475), the *umm al-kitāb* is correlated with the Divine throne and the pen, while the "clear/manifest book" (*al-kitāb al-mubīn* = *al-kitāb al-ajlá* ?) is made to correspond to the footstool and the preserved tablet, *etc.* (see S.H. Askari, ed. and tr., *Reflection of the Awakened*, pp. 22*sq.*).

[83] M interprets the "dark night" as signifying man's carnal passion and his lower-soul (*shahwatu-hu wa-nafsu-hu*) and the "shining day" as the illumination of his heart; but it is more likely that the first image stands for man's ineffable essence, and the second for his phenomenal manifestation (see, *e.g.*, Ibn al-ʿArabī's *R. al-Intiṣār*, p. 4, tr. above, on p. 175).

[84] By virtue of "the creation of his reality (*ḥaqīqatu-hu*) before every [other] thing," as is written in the margin of M—"before . . . the separation [of creation from the Creator] (*al-inqiṭāʿ*)," in al-Maqābirī's orig. comm., which has been crossed out. Hereafter follow twelve way-stations (s., *manzilah*) of man—which, presumably, correlate in some way with the twelve houses of the zodiac (associated with the Divine footstool). Note, however, that the microcosmic correspondences of the cosmic "pearls" are properly the subj. of the next, "jewels" section.

[85] "That is, after his creation and the existentiation of his essence (*takawwun ḥaqīqati-hi*)" (M). The foll. set of correspondences is based, in part, on the same cosmology found in the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (outlined by S.H. Nasr in

For if this Spirit supports him (*amadda-hu*) without an angelic Revelation (*kashf malakī*),[95] he being a Follower (*tābiʿ*) of another [as to revealed Law], then he is a "Faithful One" (*ṣiddīq*)[96]—that being **43**

An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines, pp. 51–52). There the number, two, is related to the intellect (*ʿaql*), which may be either "innate" or "acquired".

[86] If this does not denote the worlds of sense, spirit and imagination (denominated by such terms as *al-mulk, al-malakūt* and *al-jabarūt*), then the ref. is probably to the vegetative, animal and rational faculties of the soul.

[87] These are either the four elements (*qawāʿid* = *usṭuqusāt*) of fire, air, water and earth, or, possibly, the grades of matter (*hayūlá*)—original (primary), universal (secondary), physical and artificial (see *ibid.*).

[88] Either the five types of nature (*ṭabīʿah*)—celestial, fiery, airy, watery and earthly (as in *ibid.*)—or else the five bodily senses.

[89] The six directions, or sides, of a body (*jism*): front, back, left, right, top and bottom. B2 has *ṣifātu-hu* here and is missing the foll. clause.

[90] These are concomitant with the seven so-called "attributes of the Divine essence": life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight and speech.

[91] As Lane notes, a *nuskhah* can be "an original which is copied" as well as "a copy" (*s.v.*). M correlates the number, eight, rather arbitrarily, with the principal classes of beings modeled hierarchically on the Muḥammadan Reality: the throne, the footstool, the tablet, the pen, the planetary spheres, angels, mankind and *jinn*.

[92] In this connection, M lists the foll. grades of mystics (*awliyāʾ*): apostle (*rasūl*), prophet (*nabī*), scholar/knower (*ʿālim*), "pole" (*quṭb*), "tent-peg" (*watad*), one specially endowed, élite (*khāṣṣ*), substitute (*badal*), overseer (*naqīb*), and believer (*muʾmin*). The last was added as an afterthought to make up for one word which has been crossed out, but which may have read *malāmī* (one who seeks the disapprobation of ignorant society). B2 lacks this clause, also.

[93] Having expended his roster of *awliyāʾ*-types on the nine *marātib*, above, M has nothing to say about *walāyah* at this point (but see next note).

[94] The holy Spirit which supports Jesus (the Seal of sainthood) in *Qur.* 2: 87. For M's comm., see App. I.

[95] As we have noted, God is said to have supported [*ayyada*] Jesus with the Spirit of holiness (= the angel Gabriel) in *Qur.* 2: 87. Here, however, the "angelic revelation" signifies not so much the tangible visitation of a celestial figure as it does the granting of a concrete scripture, or revealed law, by means of an angelic messenger (but *cf.* below). "Follower of another" in the next clause, then, signifies one who accepts the law previously revealed through an apostle.

[96] On the term, *ṣiddīq*, see Gloss., *s.v.* See also *tābiʿ* (used differently here) in the Gloss. This is the grade of *walī*, personified in Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ranking below the prophet and apostle, epitomized in Muḥammad. "If the holy Spirit supports him without the mediation of an angel (*wāsiṭatu malak*^{in}), but rather with the "messenger of inspiration" (*rasūl al-ilhām*), then he is a *ṣiddīq*—a follower of another in legal regulations (*al-aḥkām*), not one who is followed [in such things]" (M).

Man's Eleventh Station (*manzilah*).[97] But if [the Spirit] *does* support him through the angelic Revelation, while he is also a Follower—or else *not* a Follower nor yet one who is Followed (*matbūʿ*)[98]—then he is a Prophet (*nabī*), that being the Twelfth Station of Man. And should [the Spirit] support him with the angelic Revelation, he being Followed *and* not a Follower[99]—then he is the Apostle (*al-rasūl*).[100] That Apostleship (*al-risālah*) is the Thirteenth Station[101] of Man in B,29 the perfection of Man's being (*tamām wujūd al-insān*), and by means of it existence is perfected in the Ten [categories above-outlined].[102] Thereafter, the Eleventh comes as the counterpart (*naẓīr*) of the First,[103] if you consider carefully,[104] attached thereto. [And, similarly] the Twelfth and the Thirteenth are the counterparts of the Second and the Third fundamental Principles (*al-basāʾiṭ*) [respectively].[105] That becomes clear in the intermediate [Principles] (*al-wasāʾiṭ*).

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[97] Actually, *ṣiddīqīyah* represents the lower subclass of the category of *walāyah* (sainthood, already correlated with the number, eleven). The higher subclass, *qarābah* (associated with the *maqām al-qurbah*), would presumably be inc. in the foll. description of the twelfth station (of *nubūwah*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's mature doctrine, where *walāyah* is equated with "general prophethood" (*al-nubūwah al-ʿāmmah*).

[98] V and B2 read: "he being neither a follower nor one followed"; and M has the conj. instead of *aw* (or), explaining that the *nabī* is a follower of a Divine law formerly established, but he is also *not* a follower by virtue of his having been directly inspired (*ūḥiya ilay-hi*) by God. The earlier ss., however, definitely declare that the prophet may either adhere to a previous law or not (presumably in the latter case he would be a kind of *ḥanīf*). This would leave open, then, the possibility that such a Ṣūfī as Ibn al-ʿArabī (who openly claims to have received "angelic revelations") might be relieved of the obligation to follow Islamic law. In the Shaykh's terminology, as we noted above, "general, or absolute (*muṭlaqah*) prophecy" is sometimes a syn. expression for "sainthood".

[99] As in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has garbled this line.

[100] This is the highest station, explains M, for "it is commissioned [to deliver] a special Divine law (*sharʿ makhṣūṣ*) by the mediation of the angelic messenger, and following and fealty (*mutābaʿah wa-mubāyaʿah*) are ordained for it."

[101] One printing of Q2 has "twelfth."

[102] *Wa-bi-hi tamma l-wujūdu fī l-ʿasharati*, in all ss. exc. for Q2, which garbles this line.

[103] This apparently means that sainthood (*walāyah*) corresponds to the essence of man (*maʿnā-hu*; see above, at n. 84).

[104] *In taʾammalta.* In place of the first, Q2 has *idh.*

[105] Foll. V and B2, which alone omit *wa-naẓīr* from the beginning of the sentence. All of the other, superior ss. (B, C, E, D, W, Z and M, as well as Q2) have this redundant *naẓīr*, apparently reading: "*and the counterpart* of the twelfth and the thirteenth [stations] is the counterpart of the second and third fundamental principles." For two variant readings, see App. I. It is worth noting that this and the preceding paragraph are among the very few passages in the *ʿAnqāʾ* that are not written completely in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), and these particular lines may be garbled or unfinished. As it stands (if my trn. is accepted), the "twelfth station," prophecy (*nubūwah*), corresponds to man's two states (s., *ḥālu-hu*; see above); and the "thirteenth," apostleship (*risālah*), to his three worlds (s., *ʿālamu-hu*). From the foll. sentence, then,

The Angels of devotion (*malāʾikat al-taqayyud*)[106] cling to [Adam's] feet,[107] carefully observing (*lāḥiẓah*), while faithfully preserving (*ḥāfiẓah*) the instances of Knowledge (*al-ʿulūm*) issuing from him among them. If it is said, "This is the Most-exalted Footstool (*al-kursī al-ajlá*)[108]—then [what about] the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) and the Exalted Pen (*al-qalam al-aʿlá*)?[109] or the [Divine] Inkwell (*al-dawāh*) and the Right-Hand [of God] (*al-yamīn*)?[110] and the modality of the Record of Specification (*kayfiyat kitāb al-taʿyīn*)?"[111]—we answer: We have left out the specification (*taʿyīn*) of what you have spoken of, reserving [that, rather] for your own self (*mawqūf*^{an} *ʿalá nafsi-ka*),[112] so that you might acquire that [knowledge] by your insight with the rising of your own [inner] Sun (*ʿinda shurūqi shamsi-ka*). We have given instruction about [all of that] in this book implicitly (*bi-l-taḍmīn*), not explicitly (*bi-l-taʿyīn*). So, then, strengthen[113] your heart (*fuʾādu-ka*) and intensify your effort (*ijtihādu-ka*),[114] and it may be that God will open for you a Door unto Him with your diligence in fulfilling His Covenant (*al-wafāʾ bi-ʿahdi-hi*) and believing in His Threat and His Promise (*al-taṣdīq bi-waʿīdi-hi wa-waʿdi-hi*)![115]

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we infer that the fourth, 5th and 6th principles (= the *wasāʾiṭ*?), as well as the seventh, 8th and 9th, correspond, likewise, to the first and last triads. The careful student would be advised, however, to consider the variants proposed in App. I.

[106] Thus, in all of the earliest ss. *Taqayyud*: "attachment, cleaving". Instead of the latter, V and M have *al-taqyīd* (the recording). Interestingly, the "two receivers," or *learners* (*al-mutalaqqiyān*), described in *Qur.* 50: 17 are generally understood as "recording angels"—but hardly in the sense intended here!

[107] *Fa-ʿtakafat . . . ʿalá qadamay-hi.* The referent of the pron. is semi-deified man [Adam], at whose feet the angels are commanded to prostrate themselves in *Qur.* 7: 11, *et al.*

[108] Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-aḥlá* (the most-pleasant); and, in the foll. clause, one printing has *al-aʿlam* (the most-knowing) instead of *al-aʿlá*.

[109] *Cf.* above, n. 82 (end).

[110] That is to say, the "writing hand" of God. M glosses this as the manifesting power (*al-qudrah al-muẓhirah*) behind the Divine "pen" and "inkwell" (the latter symbolizing the spiritual sciences deposited in the Muḥammadan Reality = "exalted pen"; see below, p. 432, n. 36).

[111] That is, presumably, the Divine determination of individual destinies in the Afterlife. This original judgment, *via* the "hand", the "ink" and the "pen", is what appears on the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, which can be cross-referenced in a different symbolism with the Divine footstool (even as *dhātu alwāḥ*^{in}, etc., denotes Noah's ark in *Qur.* 54: 13). M and B2 have *kitābah* instead of *kitāb*.

[112] *Mawqūf* is s.th. established as a *waqf* (religious endowment).

[113] Q2 has garbled the verb (*fa-shḥadh*).

[114] M glosses this as "your firm intent (*ʿazmu-ka*) in worship."

[115] *Al-waʿīd* is a name of the day of Judgment in *Qur.* 50: 20, while in v. 28 it denotes the Scripture (*cf.* also 20: 113). As for *al-waʿd*, it normally refers to God's

The Pearl of the Spheres (*al-aflāk*), They Being the Spirits of the Heavens (*arwāḥ al-samāwāt*):[116] *The Emergence of the Seven Ways and Seven Stars* (*al-sabʿ al-ṭarāʾiq wa-l-kawākib*) *Therefrom:*[117]

When this [Divine] Footstool became complete and the Host of the Command (*al-malaʾ al-amrī*)[118] were established therein, the Lights of its Seven Luminaries (*anwār sabʿati-hi l-aʿlām*)[119] poured forth. In accordance with [those Lights] are the Seven [celestial] Ways (*al-sabʿ al-ṭarāʾiq*)[120] whose masses are in mutual contact (*mutamāssat al-ajrām*),[121] [which] God appointed to be a "raised Ceiling" (*saqf marfūʿ*)[122] for a "Resting-place" (*mihād*)[123] which shall come into existence when the Command is given to it in His Saying (Exalted be He!): "'*Be!*' B,29b

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promise of Paradise to the believers (*e.g.*, in 4: 122), but in 10: 48 it designates the Judgment (in a positive sense).

[116] Acc. to M, the spheres are "the spirits of the heavens" by virtue of the continued circulation [*baqāʾu dawarān*^{in}] of the latter being dependent on that of the former; and "if the rotation of [the spheres] were to cease, then the heavens would be rolled up in [God's] right Hand" (*cf. Qur.* 39: 67).

[117] Q2 adds *al-ṭibāq* (strata) after *al-sabʿ*. The "seven ways" are the orbits of the seven "stars," or trad. "planets" (inc. the sun and the moon). The referent of "therefrom," again, is the Muḥammadan Reality. This heading orig. followed the pattern of all of the other "pearl" sections in B, reading: "A [fourth] pearl: The emergence of the seven ways and stars therefrom"; but *al-aflāk, wa-hiya arwāḥ al-samawāt* was added to B (by the orig. copyist?) after the first word, making it an *iḍāfah* construction, and all of the later ss. have followed this. Here we have strong evidence that B (and not some earlier *Urtext*) is the source, direct or indirect, of all of our other texts.

[118] These are "the supernal host brought into existence by the [Divine] command, 'Be!' (*bi-amri Kun*)" (M). *Cf.* n. 61, above; and n. 124, below.

[119] The verb here tr. as "poured forth" is *aḥāla* (see Lane, *s.v.*). This may carry the sense of "intervening (between the supernal and the lower, sublunar worlds, = *ḥāla, q.v.*)", which is, in fact, descriptive of the astrological role of the "spheres" in the trad. system.

[120] These are the graded stages (*ṭibāq*) of Heaven, "so-called because they lie one above another" (Lane, *s.v. ṭarīqah*). M supposes that the ref. is to the seven planets [*kawākib sālikah*] in accordance with *Qur.* 86: 1–3, where *al-ṭāriq* evidently denotes a star; but *ṭarāʾiq* is not a possible plur. form for *ṭāriq*. Moreover, the planets/stars cannot be described as in the foll. clause.

[121] For a description of the celestial spheres (*aflāk*), which were conceived as being "like the skins of an onion," see al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm* (tr. by R.R. Wright as *The Book of Instruction in the Elements and the Art of Astrology*), p. 43, *et seq.* There we learn, however, that the spheres were not thought to actually come into contact, but were separated by spaces of varying degrees in which the planets could move.

[122] *Cf. Qur.* 52: 5 and 21: 32 (see next note).

[123] In *Qur.* 78: 6, the earth is called a *mihād* (wide expanse) made by God (*cf.* also 20: 53, 43: 10 and 51: 48). The term is more commonly applied to Hell, however (see 2: 206, *et al.*), while, in one instance (30: 44), the verb has ref. to the future reward of the righteous in Paradise. The various celestial spheres will be the abodes of the blessed in the Afterlife according to their specific deserts.

then it *is*";[124] while their Stars (*kawākibu-hā*) are the perfect realization of the Limit of the Rays (*muntahá l-ashiʿʿah*) in the Void.[125] The Lights then fell down (*saqaṭat*) and became adjacent to one another (*tajārat*), while the Spheres arose (*intashaʾat*)[126] and began revolving **44** (*istadārat*). [Hence, the Lights are, as we just said] the "Limit of the Rays," [while, at the same time, this] "Limit" remains in the state of its Source (*aṣlu-hu*), shining upon its place of alighting (*nayyir fī maḥalli-hi*).[127]

Thus, the Spheres are connected (*ittiṣāl*) with the Rays of the Muḥammadan Lights (*ashiʿʿat al-anwār al-Muḥammadīyah*)[128] and the Stations of the [Divine] Unity (*maqāmāt al-aḥadīyah*). The smallness or greatness of size of [each of] the Stars is due to the [magnitude of the] pore of its radiant Essence (*masāmmu dhāti-hi l-mushriqah*) and its plenteous Springs (*yanābīʿu-hu l-munfahiqah*);[129] and the cause (*ʿillah*)[130] of the rotation of the Spheres [is] the encompassment (*al-iḥāṭah*) characterizing the Mediation (*al-wisāṭah* [*sci.*, the Surrounding Sphere]),[131] [the cause of] their motion by mutual contact (*taḥrīku-hā bi-l-tamāss*) being conditioned by a binding contract (*ʿaqd marbūṭ*).[132] [Thus] the

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[124] *Qur.* 16: 40, 36: 82, *et al.* (*cf.* n. 61, above).

[125] The rays of the "glance" (*al-ṭarfah*) of God/Muḥammad into the void (*al-khalāʾ*), above (at n. 67), were the fixed stars of the zodiac, or eighth sphere (= the footstool). Here we are dealing with the "moving stars," or planets, of the seven lower spheres, which, presumably, are the furthest realization of the Divine-creative "glance." M explains: "The furthest-limit of the shining lights scattered in the void is for the purpose of their adornment and protection (*zīnat*^{an} *la-hā wa-ḥifẓ*^{an}) and [to act as] stones [to pelt] the devils (*rujūm*^{an} *li-shayāṭīn*)" (*cf. Qur.* 37: 6–7).

[126] For this form of the verb, see Dozy, *s.v.*

[127] "It remains as it was in the beginning, while existent (*qāʾim*^{an}) in its place of alighting which it forms (*yuqawwimu-hu*)" (M). Since *maḥallu-hu* does not rhyme with *aṣlu-hu*, one is tempted to read *maḥlu-hu* (its barrenness, sterility), esp. since the verb, *amḥala*, can refer to the setting of the stars (such that they bring no life-giving rain).

[128] Q2 adds *al-ḥaqīqīyah* (essential) before *al-Muḥammadīyah*.

[129] The masc. pron. refers either to the individual *kawkab*, regarded as a perforation in the sphere to which it is attached (so that the radiant light of the empyrean may shine through), or to the starry spheres collectively with their variegated perforations, as the *ittiṣāl* (liaison) between the Divine lights and the world. M gives as another reason for the (apparent) size of the stars their various distances from the earth. Note that, contrary to the popular heliocentrism of today, trad. cosmology regarded "outer space" as the region of *light.*

[130] Q2 has *ʿalay-hi* instead. On *ʿillah*, see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 114–15.

[131] *Al-falak al-muḥīṭ,* the "ninth sphere," which is the prime mover of the cosmic system of concentric spheres, is regarded as the "mediation," the "esoteric threshhold of the Invisible" (acc. to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq).

[132] That is, the special rates of motion of the various spheres are determined by the mathematics of their particular dimensions and the mechanics of their interactions.

Stars of the [Zodiacal] Way-stations (*kawākib al-manāzil*)[133] acquire the characteristics of the Noble Footstool (*al-kursī al-karīm*) inasmuch as "each Wise Command (*amr ḥakīm*)"[134] is allotted in [that] Station.

So, take heed, O heedless one, and reflect, you discerning one, concerning this Protected Arising (*al-nashʾ al-maṣūn*) and "Well-concealed 'Book' (*al-kitāb al-maknūn*) which none may touch but those who are purified (*al-muṭahharūn*)!"[135] When these Spheres, hollow within (*mutajawwifah*), revolved, and the worlds of the Angelic Hosts (*ʿawālim al-amlāk*)[136] were established in pious fear [of God] (*mutakhawwifah*) within their open spaces (*sāḥātu-hā*),[137] and the form (*al-binyah*)[138] was perfected in the supernal Arising (*al-nashʾah al-ʿulwīyah*),[139] while the flow (*al-jiryah*) [of the Light] continued [into the Lower worlds] and the [astral] influence (*al-taʾthīr*) sought its place[140]—it was not able to find [it].[141] So [the Light] returned,[142] destitute (*faqīr*), to the Veil of the ONE (*ḥijāb al-Aḥad*),[143] and fell to his knees at the Feet [of the

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M asserts that the motion of the spheres is dependent on the existence of human souls, "because man is as the spirit of [the spheres]."

[133] *Sci.*, the constellations of the zodiac, constituting the "eighth sphere," that of the fixed stars.

[134] *Qur.* 44: 4.

[135] *Qur.* 56: 78–79. The latter ref. is to the *umm al-kitāb*, the source of the Qurʾān itself. Here, however, the author seems to intend, rather, the cosmic "book" of existence (*al-wujūd*), signified by various expressions in Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings (see *Muʿjam, no.* 543, esp. pp. 952–53). Otherwise, the ref. could be to supernal *man* as the comprehensive *Kitāb al-Rabb* (see *ibid.*, 951; and below, p. 468 at n. 63).

[136] M identifies these as "angels and spirits freed of the condition of their existence" (*cf.* Gloss, *s.v. amlāk*).

[137] This phrase is added in the margin of C. D, V and B2 have the sing., *sāḥatu-hā*.

[138] *Binyah*: "structure, form; pattern" (see Blachère, *s.v.*).

[139] That is, the macrocosmic hierarchy, the external form (*binyah*) of which is represented by the constellar system.

[140] *Wa-ṭalaba l-taʾthīru ayna-hu*, in B, C, W, B2 and Z; unless we should read the last—as apparently in E, D and V—*anīyu-hu* (its I-ness), or else *annīyu-hu* (its thatness); *q.v.* in *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 93–94).

[141] That is, the personified radiating power of the starry spheres sought to have its proper astrological effect (*taʾthīr*) in the lower, elemental worlds before these even existed. This passage shows to what lengths Ibn al-ʿArabī will go to develop a cond. sentence!

[142] *Fa-rajaʿa*, in all ss. exc. for one printing of Q2, which has the ind., *fa-yarjiʿu* (so he will return).

[143] V, B2 and the margins of C and W read *al-aḥadīyah* (the unity) instead of *al-Aḥad* (an imperfect rhyme with *lam yajid* in the preceding clause). The latter is an epithet of God (on the basis of *Qur.* 112: 1, where it occurs w/o the art.): "The One, . . . He who has no second to share in His lordship—nor in His essence, nor in His attributes" (Lane, *s.v.*).

Muḥammadan Reality],[144] desirous (*rāghib*), beseeching (*ṭālib*) Him for his own proper Kingdom (*mamlakatu-hu*), while the Angels of Heaven and every other [denizen] thereof[145] clamored for the existence[146] of [the natural elements] the Earth and the Water, Fire and Air.

A [Sixth] Pearl:

The Emergence of the Primary Elements (*al-ʿanāṣir al-uwal*) *Therefrom:*[147]

[The Reality of Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!) contemplated His Essence (*dhātu-hu*)[148] with penetrating eye (*ʿayn al-istiqṣāʾ*),[149] for the Real had created Him the Locus of Registration [of all things] (*maḥall al-iḥṣāʾ*).[150] Then He beheld the Supernal Host and the World nearest [to Him] (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlá wa-l-ʿālam al-adná*)[151] which had come to be out of Him,[152] and He noted the absence of the Intermediate and the Most-remote Worlds (*al-ʿālam al-awsaṭ wa-l-aqsá*),[153] so He began to arrange for the creation of the foundations of the Lower World and Descendent Light (*uṣūl al-kawn al-asfal wa-l-nūr al-anzal*).[154] For it is inevitable that to every height there be a bottom, and to every pure perfume some dregs.

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[144] *ʿInda qadamay-hā* (in all ss. exc. for W, which has *ʿalá qadami-hi*, with the correct reading in the margin). The fem. pron. here and in the foll. clause presumably refers to the *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah* (acc. to M).

[145] *Wa-mā baqiya hunālika mina l-asmāʾi.* The foll. is inscribed in the margin of B: "'And every other [denizen] thereof' refers to the angels of heaven [?]. That is, 'every other denizen thereof' [also] clamored when the angels clamored." [The other denizens of the heavens are the *jinn* and other elemental spirits (see *infra*)]. This exact same gloss is copied in the margin of C, and it also appears in the text of W, where it is mistaken as the last line of the paragraph.

[146] *Li-wujūdi* in all ss. exc. for Q2, which has *illā* (*except* [*for* the existence of the earth, *etc.*]). The verb is *ḍajjat*, which C glosses as "they shouted loudly" (*ṣāḥat*).

[147] After giving this heading at the bottom of f. 29b, our primary ms. source, B, suddenly breaks off for six and-a-half pages of the Arabic text of Q2, resuming on p. 427 of our trn. (at n. 184).

[148] That is, his own [Divine] essence, containing all things.

[149] *Istiqṣāʾ*: "profound inquiry into the root of a matter". M inappropriately glosses this with *istidlāl* (demonstrative reasoning).

[150] "That is, the place of proliferation and multiplicity (*maḥall al-taʿaddud wa-l-kathrah*) of created things" (M). *Cf. Qur.* 36: 12: "Everything We have recorded (*aḥsaynā-hu*) in a clear register (*imām mubīn*)" (*cf.* also 78: 29).

[151] Foll. C and W, which gloss *al-adná* as "the near" (*al-qarīb*). Normally, of course, the *ʿālam al-adná* is *this* world (*al-dunyā*), the lowest level of being (*cf.* the note foll. the next).

[152] *Mā wujida ʿan-hu* (rather than *min-hu*, as in Q2).

[153] The verb is *faqada* (to fail to find) in V, W, B2, Z, M, Q2 and, most notably, the margin of C (by a later hand). C and D read, instead, *nafadha* (to pierce, penetrate); and E is w/o any verb here. As B and R suffer hiatuses in this section, it is difficult to decide what the orig. reading might have been since both of the above possibilities are nearly as plausible as they are peculiar (*faqada* is the ant. of *wajada*; and *nafadha* is consonant with *istaqṣá*). The problem takes on some importance in that the interpretation of the expressions, *ʿālam al-adná* and *al-aqsá* (nearest

Then, with that Contemplation (*al-naẓrah*) [of Muḥammad] and the occurrence of that Thought (*al-khaṭrah*)[155] [to His mind], the Real (Be He Praised!) grasped Him with the Grip of the [Divine] Majesty and Awesomeness (*qabḍ al-jalāl wa-l-haybah*) in order to bring out the Rays remaining in that Concealment (*al-ghaybah*).[156] And when the [Divine] Command intensified upon [Muḥammad] and Compulsion (*al-qahr*) increased in strength over Him, Justice and Command (*al-ʿadl wa-l-amr*) overcoming Him, He began to *perspire* on account of that pressure (*al-ḍaghṭah*),[157] and that "Sweat" was [the cosmic element] Water.[158]

After that, [God] relieved Him (*naffasa ʿan-hu*) a little so that He paused for a breath (*tanaffasa*)—and that "Breath" was [the element] Air. Then [God] acquainted [Muḥammad] with the secret of the Aspect (*sirr al-jihah*) from which He had drawn Him[159]—for the Scale of Justice (*mīzān al-ʿadl*) shone forth to Him, established on a half of **45**
His Essence (*dhātu-hu*)—and [the Prophet] *groaned* because of it, that "Groan" (*ẓafrah*)[160] being [the element] Fire. Then [God] shielded[161]

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and most-remote—to *whom*, God or mankind?), apparently hinges upon our option here. I would be inclined to prefer *nafadha* and the normative understanding of the *ʿālam al-adnā*, exc. that what follows seems to militate against it.

[154] The "foundations," or roots of engendered existence are the elements—fire, air, water and earth. As the word, *ījād*, normally indicating Divine creation, is used here, M specifies that the subj. is God (*al-Ḥaqq*), but this is clearly not the case. He continues: "The 'descendent light' is the light [emanating from] the Muḥammadan Reality, or created therefrom, such as the light of the sun and the moon."

[155] *Wa-murūru hādhihi l-khaṭrah.* M has, instead, *surūru hādhihi l-ḥaḍrah* (the joy of this presence).

[156] That is, God caused the creative light within Muḥammad to be externally manifested. C alone has *amtiʿah* (delights) rather than *ashiʿʿah* (rays).

[157] C glosses this with *al-shiddah* (exerting pressure). Q2 has *al-nuqṭah* (the point) instead, and also adds a conj. at the beginning of this clause.

[158] As Thales taught, water is the first element (*awwal al-ʿanāṣir*). "And that [primeval] water is divided into two sorts, sweet and salty; the former being the element of the people of perfection, and the salty, the lowly element" (M). Note that this "water" is evidently not the same as the *pre*-cosmic element which was also exuded in the "sweat" of the Muhammadan Reality, above, at n. 34. Perhaps we could identify that with first matter and this with second.

[159] *Allatī qabaḍa-hu min-hā.* That is, the *qabḍ al-jalāl wa-l-haybah*, signifying the Divine omnipotence, mentioned above.

[160] The verb, *ẓafara*, primarily means "to draw in the breath (*idkhāl al-nafas*); inhale as from distress" (see Lane, *s.v.*), and, so, may be understood as the ant. of *tanaffasa*, above; but it also connotes the groan or sigh which follows such a prolonged intake

Him from the Scale of Justice by the Veil of Grace (*ḥijāb al-faḍl*), and [Muḥammad] experienced the coolness of Mercy (*bard al-raḥmah*), so that what remained of the [above-mentioned] "Sweat" became dry after it fell in drops—that dryness and coolness [becoming the element] Earth, a dwelling-place.[162]

Then [God] called to Him from the Presence of the Source/Essence (*ḥaḍrat al-ʿayn*):[163] "O Muḥammad, these are the fundamental Elements of engendered existence (*uṣūl al-kawn*). Cause them to incline to You,[164] then mix some of them with others so that out of [that mixture] will come the World of Air and Earth (*ʿālam al-hawāʾ wa-l-arḍ*)!"[165] Now, the Summation (*al-jāmiʿ*) of these Worlds[166] is *Man* (*al-insān*)—he being [the real referent to] whom the Gnostic refers in his saying:

> [This] is the best (*abdaʿ*) World possible (*fī l-imkān*).[167]

Then the Caliphate and Likeness (*al-khilāfah wa-l-mithl*)[168] came into existence, and the Image and Semblance (*al-ṣūrah wa-l-shikl*)[169] were manifested—for every created thing heads toward that from which

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of breath, and it was apparently in this sense that the word is used to describe the hissing sound of a burning fire.

[161] Q2 has *fa-sadda* instead of *fa-satara* for the verb; and one of its printings adds "in" before "the scale."

[162] *Fa-kāna . . . arḍ*^{an}, *qarār*^{an}. Q2 has garbled this clause. For M's comm., see App. I.

[163] M suggests that the ref. is to the "eye of certainty" (*ʿayn al-yaqīn*), or mystic intuition, and that is quite possible.

[164] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 260 (and above, pp. 350–51). Ibn al-ʿArabī is implicitly comparing the four birds in that verse to the four elements here. Instead of *fa-ṣur-hā*, Q2 has *fa-ṣayyara-hā* (and he fashioned them).

[165] M speculates that this is because "water is generated (*yatawalladu*) from the air, and fire from the earth," but the idea is probably, rather, that the second, compound "air and earth" form the tangible earth and atmosphere of the sense-world.

[166] Q2 has *al-ʿawāmil* (the constituents) in place of *al-ʿawālim*.

[167] *Lā abdaʿu mina l-ʿālami fī l-imkāni*. This is the famous dictum of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (the "gnostic" mentioned in the text), to which Ibn al-ʿArabī refers on numerous occasions (in addition to the many refs. cited by Chittick in *Path*, 409, n. 6, see also *Tadbīrāt*, 107, and *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 172; and *cf. Tāj al-Tarājim* [in *Rasāʾil*, r. 18], pp. 3–4). On this subj. in general, see E.L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic Thought*: The Dispute over al-Ghazālī's "Best of All Possible Worlds" [1984]).

[168] Foll. C and W. Instead of *al-khilāfah*, the other relevant ss. (exc. for E, which is unclear) read *al-khilāf* (the difference), the ant. of *al-mithl*, but that would be to forego a very good pun. Man's caliphate to God is promulgated in *Qur.* 2: 30, and it would be possible to apply the "sublime similitude" (spelled, however, *al-mathal al-aʿlā*) of 30: 27 to the Muḥammadan Reality.

[169] *Shikl* is a syn. of *mithl*, although some specified that it signifies more a "likeness in nature or constitution" (see Lane, *s.v. shakl*). If Ibn al-ʿArabī intends to make a formal distinction between *ṣūrah/shikl* in this clause and *khilāfah/mithl* in the

it was created by augmentation (*bi-l-iḍāfah*),[170] becoming after death (*ba*ʿ*da l-khilālah*) that out of which it was engendered.[171] And you shall come to learn that [Man's heavenly] Associate (*rafīqu-hu*)[172] [is] the Pre-existent One (*al-Qadīm* [*sci.*, the primordial "Perfect Man"])[173] in [God's] saying (Be He Exalted!): "Verily, We [first] raised Man in the Fairest Stature (*aḥsan taqwīm*), then We returned him, the Lowest of the low (*asfal sāfilīn*),"[174] to that which is created of the clay (*al-ṭīn*)—"except for those who believe and do good works."—[For such Righteous ones] know whence they came, the shadow vanishing; then they return[175] "—and theirs is a Wage unfailing (*ajr*^{un} *ghayru mamnūn*^{in})"[176]—a witnessing of Enablement (*mushāhadatu tamkīn*^{in}). "So who, then, will call you a liar concerning the Last Judgment (*al-*

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preceding, we may speculate that the latter applies to the Seal of sainthood and the former to the Mahdī. At any rate, both refer to the proper subj. of the "*extra* seventh" "pearl" section, below—which I take to stand for Jesus (see p. 412, n. 45).

[170] *Iḍāfah*: "attachment; supplementation; admixture; attribution", *etc.* All of creation is elaborated from the simplex Reality of Muḥammad.

[171] I follow M in glossing *khilālah* as "death" in the metaphorical sense of an "interval, break, hiatus" (*khilāl*), as in *Qur.* 24: 43 and 30: 48. See App. I.

[172] *Sci.*, the perfect man's "counterpart, or image", the Muḥammadan Reality. My reading of this passage is highly conjectural, as only M and Q2 have *rafīqu-hu* rather than *raqīqu-hu* ([man's/God's ?] slave), or else *al-raqīqah*, as in C, D, V, W, B2 and Z. Unfortunately, E is unclear; and B and R lack this section. My rationale for choosing the less attested option is the possible relevance of the foll.: In *Qur.* 4: 69, "those whom God has favored" (*viz.*, the prophets, saints, martyrs and righteous) are said to be "the best of associates [in the Afterlife]" (*wa-ḥasuna ūlā'ika rafīq*^{an}); and in a trad. cited by Lane (*s.v. rafīq*) the Prophet describes the righteous in Heaven as *al-rafīq al-a*ʿ*lá* (the highest companions, or associates). Could Ibn al-ʿArabī be suggesting a connection between the verb, *ḥasuna*, in the above verse and the expression applied to man, *aḥsanu taqwīm*^{in}, in the verse (95: 4) quoted immediately below? If this interpretation can be sustained, then the *aḥsan taqwīm* would denote the "pre-existent associate" [*al-rafīq al-qadīm*], while "the lowest of the low" (*asfal al-sāfilīn*) in the foll. clause would be carnal man.

[173] That is, as the *Adam Kadmon*, or primordial man, of the Qabalah. The epithet, *al-Qadīm* (the Eternal), is applied to God by Muslims, but not in the Qur'ān (*cf. Dan.* 7: 9, 13 & 22; and *1 Tim.* 1: 17). It is important to understand that Ibn al-ʿArabī himself does *not* use the expression, "perfect man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*), in the *ʿAnqā'* (nor, as far as I know, in any other Maghribine work), and here the ref. is no doubt to the Muḥammadan Reality.

[174] *Qur.* 95: 4–5. All of the quotations in this paragraph are from *Sūrat al-Tīn*, which is almost entirely represented here.

[175] *Fa ʿarafa min ayna jā'a, wa-zāla l-ẓillu, thumma fā'a.* (I tr. in the plur. to suit the context). See Lane, *s.v.*, who notes that *fā'a* signifies a return to a better state (*cf.* its use in *Qur.* 49: 9). *Ẓill* is "a morning shadow (inclining west)", while *fay'* is "afternoon shade (inclining east)". The idea, then, is that man's spirit returns to God as the sun sets and returns to its source.

[176] *Qur.* 95: 6.

dīn)"—at the revelation of Specification (*mukāshafat al-taʿyīn*)?[177] "Is not God the Wisest of Judges (*aḥkam al-ḥākimīn*)" between the disputants among the People of the Intervals (*al-mutanāziʿūn min ahl al-barāzikh*) of the Left and the Right?[178] But safeguard these "Pearls" (*al-durar*) and keep silent concerning them,[179] and *be concealed*!

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[177] Ibn al-ʿArabī's *tafsīr* of *Qur.* 95: 7. God's "predetermination" (*taʿyīn*) in His omniscience precedes His "enablement" (*tamkīn*) in His omnipotence. Moreover, the former can only be known *a priori*, by revelatory intuition (*mukāshafah*), while the latter may be perceived *a posteriori*, by sense (*mushāhadah*). On the latter two terms, see *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 64. Note that *tamkīn* in this context does not have the precise sense of that word in *ibid.*, 66 (where it is contrasted with *talwīn*). Perhaps *mukāshafat al-taʿyīn* here should simply be tr. "revelation of eye-witnessing," in the sense of *iʿyān*.

[178] *Tafsīr* of *Qur.* 95: 8. Apropos of the "shadows" discussed in n. 175, above, *cf. Qur.* 16: 48: "Have they not observed all things that God has created, how their shadows incline (*yatafayya'ū aẓlālu-hu*) to the right and to the left, bowing to God in lowliness?" The disputants among the "people of the intervals" are presumably litigious mankind awaiting judgment in the Hereafter.

[179] *Wa-takattam bi-hā* (as voc. in W). *Cf. Matt.* 7: 6. *Durar* are "large pearls". Another possibility would be to read this as *al-dirar*, the plur. of *dirrah* (*q. v.* in Dozy, *s.v.*), a kind of finely-braided reed mat which was used in Spain to cover the walls of rooms. This reading would perhaps accord better with the final imp., as well as *takattam bi-hā* (be hidden by them), and the fact that Dozy's source here is an old Arabo-Castilian lexicon may also argue for its tenability.

A [Seventh] Pearl: *The Emergence of the "Smoke"* (*al-dukhān*)[1] *in Which the Highest Heavens* (*al-samawāt al-ʿulā*) *Were Opened:*[2]

When God created these primary Elements (*al-ʿanāṣir al-uwal*) in accordance with the Creation which He had decreed in Eternity (*fī l-azal*), He made them to be Seven [Earths],[3] one on top of another (*ṭibāq*^{an}),[4] accommodating them with nutriments and means of sustenance (*aqwāt wa-arzāq*), even as He accommodated the Uppermost Strata (*al-ṭibāq al-ʿulā*) with intellections and natures (*maʿārif wa-akhlāq*).[5] Now, the strata of Earths[6] are in mutual contact, some of them scraping against others,[7] so that a Flame (*lahab*)[8] is kindled between them [by friction] having seven tongues (*shuʿab*), each tongue of the type of its own distinct Earth. Then, from each [tongue of] flame arose a "Smoke" which mixed together (*dukhān mukhtalit*),[9] and, after that, rent the Sphere of the Water, Air and Fire,[10] and mingled with

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[1] This is the title of *Sūrah 44* (see v. 10) as it is commonly rendered, which seems appropriate there but not so much in *Qur.* 41: 11, where it may, rather, signify a "mist or steam" (see my comm. in App. I). The present section actually constitutes a *tafsīr* on *Qur.* 41: 9–12.

[2] Q2 alone lacks *nashʾ* (emergence), and reads "*in* the highest heavens." This is the only "pearl" section-heading that does not end with *min-hu* (therefrom).

[3] Foll. al-Maqābirī, who (despite *Qur.* 67: 3 and 71: 15) explains the ref. as being to the seven *araḍūn* corresponding to the seven heavens. On this notion, see the third chap. of al-Suyūṭī's *Hayʾah al-Sanīyah*, tr. by Heinen in *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 138*sq.* The primordial water was partly vaporized, or sublimated, to form the heavens, and desiccated, or coagulated, to make up *terra firma*, which was then divided into seven earths on the first two days of creation. The belief that Earth was created before Heaven is founded upon *Qur.* 41: 9–12 (see also Heinen, *op. cit.*, p. 143 [trad. 31]; and the foll. page), but the actual scheme of the seven earths, even their general significance, was not so firmly established (they were usually assumed to range *below* the present earth and to constitute types of Hell, as, *e.g.*, in *ibid.*, trad. 32). Perhaps it is for this reason that our author does not actually designate his subj. as the seven *araḍūn*, since he obviously does not have such an infernal scene in mind.

[4] *Cf. Qur.* 67: 3 and 71: 15.

[5] The verbal phrase used in this sentence is *askana-hā*, which I have construed as "He peopled them," on the strength of a colloquial sense of the IInd form, *sakkana*, noted by Dozy (*s.v.*). M explains the "nutriments" as being for the dwellers (*sukkān*) of those worlds, but it seems, rather, that the dwellers are themselves the physical and moral "food" of man. See App. I for M's comm.

[6] *Ṭibāq al-arḍ*: "the strata of the earth".

[7] *Fa-tamāssat . . . wa-ḥakka baʿḍu-hā fī baʿḍ*^{in}. *Cf.* Heinen's remarks concerning the "creaking noise like a camel's saddle," said to characterize the Divine footstool (in *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 78).

[8] This may perhaps be voc. as *luhab* (to rhyme with *shuʿab*) as a form of *luhāb*, a syn. of *lahab*. *Shuʿab*: "prongs; fingers".

[9] Lane specifies in one place that the *lahab* is a "smokeless flame" (*s.v.*), so we should probably envision this *dukhān* more as an invisible fume or vapor than as "smoke".

[10] Q2 has *dhālika* instead of *falak* (sphere). The verb, *fataqa* (to rend, tear apart),

the Spheres of the Stars and the Lights (*aflāk al-darārīʾ wa-l-anwār*),[11]
closed off and removed from the tongues of flame.[12] Then the lumi-
nous Spheres (*al-aflāk al-nayyirāt*)[13] distributed [the Smoke amongst
themselves] by their Essences.[14] Hence, there was a Rending (*fatq*),
and it rose up as a *Materia Prima* (*hayūlānīy*^{an});[15] and then the Real
fashioned it on the basis of these secondary Causes (*al-asbāb*)[16] into **46**
Forms and a Creation (*ṣuwar wa-khalq*).

Then [God] set [the Smoke] in motion as seven Ways (*ṭarāʾiq*)[17] and made the [supernal] Spheres to be as Spirits and Essences for them (*arwāḥ la-hunna wa-ḥaqāʾiq*), as He has declared (Exalted be He!): "Thereafter, He lifted Himself up to Heaven when it was Smoke . . .;"[18] and: "Then He ordained them seven Heavens in two Days"[19]—*after* He had created the Earth and decreed the sustenance therein in four Days[20]—that being by virtue of the [heterogeneous] density of

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is used in *Qur.* 21: 30 to describe in vaguely sexual imagery the separation of Heaven and Earth out of the undifferentiated fabric (*ratq*) of chaos (see n. 12, below). M is probably correct in interpreting this as the creation of the elemental zones by means of their "separation out, or differentiation" (*tamyīz*).

[11] "That is, the supernal world of subtle, luminous bodies (*al-ajrām al-nayyirah al-laṭīfah*)" (M). For the several possible meanings of *darārīʾ*, an epithet applied to the stars, see Lane, *s.v. dirrīʾ*.

[12] *Martūqu l-shuʿabi, manzūʿu l-lahabi*: lit., "closed off as to the tongues [of flame], removed as to the flame [itself]." *Martūq* = *ratq* (in *Qur.* 21: 30; see Lane, *s.v. ratq*). M comments: "—Because of its casting off of that heaviness (*al-kathāfah*) in accordance with its development (*taṭawwuru-hu*) in that station." Throughout this passage Ibn al-ʿArabī is playing off the complements, *ratq* ("mending" = synthesis) and *fatq* ("rending" = analysis, differentiation) in the light of the above-cited verse.

[13] V, B2, M and Q2 insert a conj. between the two words, making the latter "the luminaries" (but Q2 has *al-nayyirān*, "the *two* luminaries" [*sci.*, the sun and moon]).

[14] *Fa-farraqat-hu . . . bi-ḥaqāʾiqi-hā*. Instead of the first, C has *fa-ʿarraqat-hu* (for [the spheres] caused it to sweat); and D appears to read *fa-ʿarafat-hu* (they came to know it).

[15] The "rending" is the smoke's penetration of the elemental spheres in its rise to the stellar lights of the "luminous spheres" (see *supra*). "It rose up" (*ṣaʿida*) could also be tr. as "it vaporized, or became sublimated," suggesting a kind of alchemical significance. *Hayūlá* is "prime matter" (*hylē*), but here the ref. must obviously be applied to a type of *secondary* matter.

[16] *Sci.*, the *ḥaqāʾiq* (realities) of the "luminous spheres," acting as secondary causes in the formation of matter.

[17] The "seven ways" (s., *ṭarīqah*) are evidently the physical "planetary" orbits. Q2 has *ṭarīq*. See App. I for M's comm.

[18] *Qur.* 41: 11. Foll. Arberry in the trn. of *istawá ilá* (Ubay b. Kaʿb and others read *ṣaʿida* [He ascended] here, which happens to be the verb Ibn al-ʿArabī used [see n. 15, above] to describe the smoke's rising to the supernal spheres).

[19] *Qur.* 41: 12.

[20] Exc. for having *al-qūt* (sustenance) in place of *aqwātu-hā* (their means of sustenance), this is a quotation from *Qur.* 41: 10.

the [Spheres'] masses (*kathāfat al-ajrām*).[21] For [the four "Days" correspond to the] four Elements (*ʿanāṣir*) differing in [their particular] natures (*al-awāṣir*).[22] And since the Smoke of the [one] Fire from the seven earthly Strata (*al-ṭibāq al-turābīyah*) was [yet] variegated in color (*al-lawnīyah*), therefore, so were the heavenly Strata (*al-ṭibāq al-samāwīyah*) multicolored[23]—blue, yellow, red, white and green—each Heaven of the type of its [corresponding] Earth, since it is [constituted] of part of it. Hence, if the origin of the Heavens is an elemental Earth (*arḍī ʿunṣurī*), [the former] will, then, cease with the cessation [of the latter] in the Hereafter (*al-ākhirah*), while the supernal Spheres are perpetually turning (*dāʾirah*) in their Height (*awju-hā*)[24] without ponderable mass or tangible body.[25]

Thus it is that the Stars (*al-nujūm*) are not [actually] manifested in [the supernal Spheres][26]—for, in fact, the Sphere (*al-falak*), properly speaking, is [only] manifest *in* its essence,[27] and "Star" (*al-najm*) is a term for something that emerges *out* of the Sphere.[28] So contemplate, my brother, this Good (*al-khayr*)[29] which concerns you:[30] The Spheres continue [turning] with the continuance of the [Paradisean] Gardens and Man (*baqāʾ al-jinān wa-l-insān*),[31] while the [physical]

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[21] Or: "the solidity of [their] bodies."

[22] S., *āṣirah*: "ties, blood-lines; favors". But Lane reports that al-Tabrīzī listed *awāṣir* as a plur. of *iṣr* ("compact", hence, "burden, weight", as in *Qur.* 3: 81), which seems apropos in this context (as W also proposes). V and B2 have *al-awākhir* (the ends). M, who reasonably glosses *awāṣir* with *uṣūl* (origins), adds: "It is for this [cause] that difference in the natures (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ*) occurs, due to difference in the elements and materials (*al-mawādd*)."

[23] The last clause is inscribed in the margins of C and V, and appears in the texts of E(?), Z, M, B2 and Q2; though it is not found in D and W. M explains that the heavenly strata are multifarious "due to the [differing] purity of [their] bodies (*ṣafāʾ al-ajrām*). For the purity of the bodies of the lower, earthly strata affect that of the essences (*jawāhir*) of the heavens of the upper strata."

[24] *Awj*: "the highest point of heaven; the apogee of a planet". The expression here may be used metaphorically for the luminous, supernal spheres created prior to the earths and heavens (see above). M has garbled this clause.

[25] *Min ghayri jirm*^{in} *maḥsūs*^{in} *wa-lā jism*^{in} *malmūs*^{in}.

[26] As M reasons, the stars could not "set" were it not for the cessation of the [turning] of their localities (*zawāl maḥalli-hā*), the physical heavens.

[27] *Yabruzu bi-dhāti-hi.* The spheres are abstract, spiritual entities, the rational grounds of celestial phenomena. M has *yadūru* (revolves) for the verb.

[28] *Ẓahara min*, which also means "to derive, result from" (*cf.* the verbal phrase, *najama min*, "to spring, derive from"). For M's comm., see App. I.

[29] D, B2 and Q2 read *al-khabar* ([this] report) instead.

[30] *Shamala-ka*: lit., "it contains/implicates you".

[31] Foll. W and M, exc. that they both understand "man" here as part of the subj. (with "the heavens") of the next clause. Another possibility would be to read *janān* (that which is hidden within; heart, mind, soul) as a ref. to the universal soul.

Heavens pass away with the annihilation of the Earth and accidental Nature (*fanāʾ al-arḍ wa-l-ḥidthān*).[32] And consider: Were it not for the Essences connected (*al-ḥaqāʾiq al-murtabiṭah*) and the intermediate spiritual Spheres (*al-aflāk al-rūḥānīyah al-mutawassiṭah*), the Earth would not be converted [into anything] but earth, and the "white flour" [of the soil of Heaven][33] would come under the foot of abasement.[34] But the manifestation of the luminous Spheres (*ẓuhūr al-aflāk al-nayyirāt*) is [itself] the transformation of the Heavens (*tabaddul al-samawāt*). So contemplate these intimations, and explore that which these expressions imply![35]

An [*Extra* Seventh] Pearl:[36] *The Emergence of the Image of the Vision of the Real* (*mithāl ruʾyat al-Ḥaqq*) *in the World of Creation* (*ʿālam al-khalq*):[37]

The Real (Praised be He!) manifests Himself to rational animals (*al-nāṭiq min al-ḥayawān*) in the manner of a Mirage (*al-sarāb*) [appearing] before the thirsty[38]—there being nothing in the whole Universe which resembles the Self-Manifestation of the Real (*tajallī l-Ḥaqq*) to the hearts of mankind (*al-ʿibād*) from the Heaven of Gnosis (*samāʾ al-maʿrifah*) other than this description (*al-ṣifah*).[39] Do you not see that C,57 the [Divine] Self-Manifestation shall not be otherwise than from the Highest (*al-aʿlá*) unto the Lowest (*al-adná*)[40]—even as He makes the plains below the mountains the place of the brightest mirage (*maḥall li-l-sarāb al-asná*)? View it as wisdom—how clear it is! and as a drop of a raincloud[41]—how sweet and how refreshing!

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[32] Reading thus in preference to *al-ḥadathān* (the vicissitudes of time) for a better rhyme with *al-insān*. Regarding both of these words, see Lane and Blachère (*s.v.*). The dual of *ḥadath* (an incident, phenomenon), can also signify "day and night", which would seem apposite here, but in the *iḍāfah*-construction we would need the gen., *al-ḥadathayn*. Q2 has *bāqiyah bi-baqāʾ* (as in the preceding clause) here instead of its contrary, *fānīyah bi-fanāʾ*.

[33] Acc. to tradition, the soil of Paradise (*turbat al-jannah*) is "white flour (*darmakah bayḍāʾ*) and musk" (see, *e.g.*, Muslim, *Fitan*, 92 and 93).

[34] The earth of Paradise is like purest, finely sifted flour, with no footprints marking it (a metaphor for the purity which Euro-Americans have envisaged as driven snow). Without the influence of the higher, spiritual spheres, the earth would not have been sublimated to form the celestial realms as we saw above, and, hence, the more rarified matter of heaven would, as it were, be brought low (*cf.* the oddly similar imagery of *Matt.* 5: 13).

[35] For a summary of M's long comm. at this juncture, see App. I.

[36] I treat this as an "extra" (seventh) macrocosmic pearl since it obviously corresponds with the *seventh* microcosmic jewel (*marjānah*), below (pp. 446–47); *cf.* also p. 82 at n. 38, of the intro.

[37] The first Cairo edn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (Q) resumes at this point on p. 46, l. 16, after a hiatus of seven pages in the Arabic text (see above, p. 384, n. 107).

[38] *Cf. Qur.* 24: 39; and below, p. 446, n. 9. B2 is missing this clause and the one foll. D, which has the first sentence inscribed in the margin by the orig. copyist, has *ʿaṭshān* (thirsty) instead of its syn., *ẓamaʾān*.

[39] *Ṣifah*: "a quality, attribute, or property"; "or a description, as meaning the aggregate of the qualities . . . of a thing; or the state, condition or case of a thing"; also, "a word denoting an attribute (*maʿn*^{an}) and a substance (*dhāt*)" (Lane, *s.v.*).

Now, [the Real] veiled (*ḥajaba*) the Reality of this Secret,[42] in that He "displayed" it (*naṣaba-hu*) in a likeness (*tashbīh*^{an}) to the work of the people of Infidelity (*ʿamal ahl al-kufr* [*sci.*, the Christians?]).[43] But then [God] informed the People of [mystic] Intimation (*ahl al-ishārah*) [*sci.*, the Ṣūfīs] of [the Secret's] exaltedness (*ʿaẓamatu-hu*) with Him in the Eschaton (*fī ākhir al-amr*), for He declared when He revealed **47**
His [pre-eternal] Covenant (*ʿahdu-hu*) and addressed His Servant (*ʿabdu-hu*)[44] [*sci.*, Man, that] unless he come unto [His Secret], he would not find [God] by any means—God being found [only] with [this Secret].[45] At first [the Real] disguised Him (*satara-hu*) in the "work of Infidelity" (*ʿamal al-kufr*), but afterwards [He concealed Him] in His exaction of the Reckoning (*bi-tawaffī-hi al-ḥisāba*),[46] as:

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[40] That is, this world (*al-dunyā*). Q2 lacks the prep., *ʿalá* (upon, toward, unto); and V has *ilá* (to).

[41] *Qaṭratu muzn*^{in}, in all ss. exc. for C, which has *nūr* (light) instead of the last; and V, which has *māʾ* (water). M describes the cloud as "sashed with the overflowing of necessary being (*mutawashshaḥat*^{un} *min fayḍi wājibi l-wujūdi*)."

[42] *Ḥaqīqatu hādhā l-sirri* (the latter garbled in Q2).

[43] As in *Qur.* 24: 39: "Concerning those who are infidels—their works (*aʿmālu-hum*) are like a mirage (*sarāb*) in a desert." M explains that "were the infidel (*al-kāfir*) to approach (*taqarraba*) God with all manner of piety and goodness without, however, perfecting his submission (*islāmu-hu*) [to God—that is, becoming a Muslim]—all of his good deeds would be as a mirage presenting the illusion of real water (*al-muwahhim li-l-māʾ*) until one actually approached it and saw that there was no water at all." The purport of this rather mysterious passage is not entirely clear, and it must be noted that *al-kufr* does not really rhyme with either *al-sirr* (above) or *al-amr* (below). Reading *ʿamal ahl al-kifr* (the ordeal of the people of the *grave*) provides a slightly better rhyme but little reason.

[44] A ref. to the *yawm al-mīthāq*, alluded to on many occasions (see above, pp. 247–48, n. 18).

[45] *Ḥattá idhā jāʾa-hu lam yajid-hu shayʾ*^{an}, *wa-wujida Llāhu ʿinda-hu.* C and W read the last clause in the act. voice, making "God" the obj. *Shayʾ* (with the neg., "[no]thing") here perhaps foreshadows its occurrence in the well-known verse quoted below (at n. 47). This line is so elliptical that it is entirely possible to construe its meaning in more than one way. If my reading is valid, then I think that Ibn al-ʿArabī is alluding very cautiously to the Seal of the saints as God's "secret." To take this interpretation one long step further, then, the "people of infidelity" could be taken to refer to the *Christians* as followers of Jesus, the universal Seal of sainthood. (In this connection, *cf. John 14*, esp. vv. 6–7; this happens also to be the chap. which many Muslims cite as orig. containing Jesus's foretelling of the Prophet Aḥmad's advent [see *Qur.* 61: 6]).

[46] Foll. D and Z. Instead of the first, C, Q2 and the margin of W read *bi-tawfiyati*

> There is nothing like unto Him, and He is the Hearer, the Seer (*al-Samīʿ al-Baṣīr*)!"[47]

—But His description (*waṣfu-hu*) is not realized—"He being the Subtle, the Aware (*al-Laṭīf al-Khabīr*)."[48] So raise these tent-ropes (*al-ṭunub*) and pierce these veils (*al-ḥujub*), and you will see a marvelous Marvel (*al-ʿajab al-ʿujāb*), and you shall extol the Shell (*al-qishr*) that protects this Core (*al-lubāb*)![49]

An [Eighth] Pearl: *The Close Adherence of the Jacynths* (*iltiḥām al-yawāqīt*) *and the Ordering of the Times* (*intiẓām al-mawāqīt*):[50]

When the Creation (*al-khalīqah*) was made ready (*tamahhada*) and the Subtle-Ray (*al-raqīqah*) was extended to the Reality [of Muḥammad] (*al-ḥaqīqah*),[51] and the Adamite Human Substance (*al-shakhṣ al-insānī al-Ādamī*),[52] created by the power of the [Divine] Transcendence (*bi-yad al-tanzīh*)[53] and clothed in the garb of honoring and praise (*ḥullat*

(with the fulfilment [of the reckoning]); and V, B2 and Q have *fa-yuwaffī-hi* (but He will give him his full share). W has *bi-tawfīqi*; and M is garbled. *Cf. Qur.* 24: 39 (end). I read this very obscure line as a furtive allusion to Jesus, who as Seal/Mahdī, could be said to represent the Judge in the eschaton (*cf. Rev.* 1: 7–8).

[47] *Laysa ka-mithli-hi shay'*^{un}, etc. (*Qur.* 42: 11, already quoted above, on p. 338 [at n. 92], where it was specifically applied to the "ocean of the ruby" [*cf.* n. 50, below]). *Mithl* (like; likeness, image) in this verse was sometimes understood by Ṣūfīs to be a substantive, representing some form of the Muḥammadan Reality as a kind of mystical hypostasis. Here there may be a connection with the word, *mithāl* (image), in the section-heading.

[48] This is the continuation of *Qur.* 42: 11; but *cf.* also 6: 103: "Vision cannot realize Him (*lā tudriku-hu l-abṣāru*), but He comprehends all vision. He is the Subtle, the Aware," which may be compared to the clause preceding, where (God's? the secret's?) distinguishing mark (*waṣf*) is not realizable (*lā yudraku*). Recall that above, at n. 43, *al-ṣifah* was evidently applied to the "mirage" manifestation of God. (*Qur.* 6: 103 is the subj. of a *tafsīr* affixed to *Ms. Manisa 4868* [pp. 210–11], copied in Malatya, *c.* 615/1218).

[49] B2 and M have *al-kitāb* (the book) instead.

[50] The "jacynths," hyacinths, or corundums, are the "ruby" and the "topaz" treated in this important section, symbolizing the Seal of the saints (Jesus) and his protégé, presumably the special Muḥammadan Seal—that is, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself. *Cf.* above, pp. 335–36*sq.*, where the "ruby and its lustrous shell" is first introduced. In line with that earlier usage, M identifies the ruby here also with the Muḥammadan Reality and the topaz with Adam. The "times" refer generally to the "stages" and "cycles" of this section, but more concretely to the imagery of stringing gem-beads to form a necklace (but *cf.* also below, p. 448, n. 25).

[51] The *khalīqah* (phenomenal creation) is connected to the *ḥaqīqah* (creative reality) by the *raqīqah* ("line, thread of light"; see Gloss., *s.v.*). Q2 has *al-daqīqah* (? the particle) instead of the latter, using another term employed by Ibn Qasī in his *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn.*

[52] C adds *al-jusmānī* (corporeal) in the margin as a second adj. after *al-insānī* (omitted in B2); and D and Q2 have the same before.

[53] V has *al-tashbīh* (anthropomorphism) instead of the last, its contrary.

al-tashrīf wa-l-tanwīh),[54] was corporealized (*tajassada*) in the First Earthly-Arising (*awwal al-nash' al-turābī*)[55]—the body (*al-jasad*) coming and going,[56] stage (*ṭawr*) after stage, cycle (*kawr*) after cycle,[57] in [various] forms (*qawālib*),[58] the number of which is myriad and their duration extensive[59]—those stages in those cycles [ultimately] became a unified Arising (*nash'ah muttaḥidah*)[60] and a corporeal, individualized Form (*hay'ah fardīyah mutajassadah*).[61] When [the human entity's] physical frame (*binyatu-hā*) was finished and its refinement (*tasfiyatu-hā*) completed, the spiritual Substance (*al-shakhṣ al-rūḥānī*),[62] the Divine Word (*al-kalimah al-ilāhīyah*) and the Lordly Command (*al-amr al-rabbānī*) were breathed into it,[63] and the Form (*al-nash'ah*) rose up, supported by its trunk (*sāqu-hā*),[64] based upon its Mandate (*amru-hā*).[65]

For the cycle of development (*al-dawr bi-l-nash'*) continued [around] to the very Source of Genesis (*aṣl al-bad'*)[66] until that "Day" (*al-nahār*) was stripped from the "Night" of its Earth (*layl arḍi-hi*) and attained unto its highest Element (*ʿunṣuru-hu l-aʿlá*)[67]—a portion of it blending with a portion[68] and remaining as a Guardian (*raqīb*) in its highest Height (*awju-hu l-aʿlá*)—a Reckoner (*ḥasīb*) down through the succession of ages.[69] You will surely see Him with your own eyes[70] in the Station of Establishment (*maqām al-tamkīn*) "and you will certainly learn of His tidings (*nabaʾu-hu*) after a while,"[71] when He will be the Wisest of Rulers (*aḥkam al-ḥākimīn* [*sci.*, the deified Seal/Mahdī as manifestation of the Muḥammadan Reality]).[72] For when He had been taken up,[73] as we related, in the "Robe" (*al-ridāʾ*) in which we concealed Him,[74] the Kingdom fell to corruption[75] and destruction spread over all of mankind[76] until [such time as] the Sun should come forth[77] in His storm-cloud (*fī ḥamali-hā*)[78] [upon] the House of His Nobility and Felicity (*bayt sharafi-hā wa-jadhali-hā*)[79] and the [New] Aeon (*al-dawr*) dawns[80] and the Command comes down. There is no Heavenly Host (*malaʾ aʿlā*) not thunderstruck by that Theophany (*al-tajallī*),[81] and no lofty [celestial] "carpet" (*rafraf asnā*)[82] except it be a locus (*maḥall*) of that [Divine] "Coming-down" (*al-tadallī*). **48**

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[54] *Tanwīh*: "praise; allusion, intimation", *etc.* Focusing on the secondary connotation, the human form is a kind of veil or symbol (re-veiling) alluding to, or allegorizing the Divine. This, of course, is the doctrine of "anthropomorphism" (*al-tashbīh*), which is, indeed, Q's reading here (*al-tashbīh* in place of *al-tashrīf*). V has *al-tanzīh* (transcendentism) instead; and M, *al-tanwīr* (illumination).

[55] V has *al-sarābī* (mirage-like) instead of the last.

[56] *Wa-taraddada*, in all mss. instead of a IInd form verb as in both printed edns. Could this signify a doctrine of reincarnation, or metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*)?

[57] See Gloss., *s.v.* In what follows, we may infer that the *kawr* is a subdivision or epicycle of the *ṭawr*.

[58] S., *qālab*: "a model (< Gr., *kalapous*); mold, matrix; form, body [as opposed to spirit]" (see Dozy, *s.v.*); and *Passion*, III, 16).

[59] *Yakthuru ʿadadu-hum wa-yakburu amadu-hum.* In D and Q2 the prons. are inanimate, or non-human, plurals (*-hā*). These may refer to cycles of actual human incarnations.

[60] As in all ss., although *mutawaḥḥadah* ("unified", in the sense of "individualized") would make a better rhyme (with *mutajassadah*).

[61] One might be excused for detecting a kind of "evolutionary" doctrine of anthropogenesis here. For M's comm., see App. I.

[62] M regards the *shakhṣ* (individual, person) as Adam himself, breathed into his clay-form (*al-ṭīnah*). The primary meaning of *shakhṣ*, however, is the "corporeal form, figure or *substance* of a man" (see Lane, *s.v.*), and this latter is evidently the sense intended here (see Gloss., *s.v.*).

[63] *Nafakha fī-hā*. *Cf. Qur.* 32: 9, 15: 29, 38: 72; and 21: 91 and 66: 12, where the ref. is to God's breathing of His Spirit into Adam or the virgin Mary; and 3: 49, where it is Jesus who animates the clay image of a bird.

[64] *Sāq* can also have the sense of "soul, or self" (see Lane, *s.v.* [end]).

[65] Foll. V, B2, M and both printed edns.: *ʿAlá sāqi-hā taʿtamidu, wa-bi-amri-hā tastanidu.* Instead of the last, C(?), E(?), D, W and Z, all good ss., apparently read *tastabaddu* (alone possesses), but this does not suit the rhyme at all. The form's "mandate" is the Divine-creative command (*amr*) to *be* (*Kun fa-yakūnu* [*Qur.* 6: 73, *et al.*]).

[66] This is garbled in Q2 and other ss.

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[67] "Earth" is the lowest of the four elements; "fire" the highest. On the "stripping of the day from the night," *cf. Qur.* 36: 37, alluded to earlier (see p. 373, at n. 14), where the referent was the Muḥammadan Reality. Here it would appear to be the human "spiritual substance" (*al-shakhṣ al-rūḥānī*), which sheds its earthly "skin" in the mystical death.

[68] *Wa-khtalaṭa baʿḍu-hu bi-baʿḍi-hi* (Q2 has garbled this phrase). The "highest element" is presumably the Divine Spirit (= "fire") breathed into man (see n. 63, above), which, from another perspective, is none other than the Reality, or Light of Muḥammad, from which, we saw earlier (p. 373, *et seq.*), a "portion" (*qiṭʿah*) was separated off.

[69] *ʿAlá taʿāqubi l-adwāri.* The epithet, *ḥasīb*, is applied to God in *Qur.* 4: 6 and 33: 39, as is *raqīb* in 4: 1 and 33: 52. One of the connotations of the latter is "a son as successor, heir". In any case, as we learn below, this spiritualized element is apparently personified in Jesus as the inner, mystical Seal of sainthood.

[70] *Wa-la-tabṣurunna-hu alá l-taʿyīn* (to rhyme with *tamkīn*). Here I think that *taʿyīn* (specification, appointment) has the sense of *ʿiyān* (eye-witnessing). *Cf. Qur.* 68: 5. The obj. is the "Guardian-reckoner," who, we may gather from what follows, is the Seal/Mahdī, but apotheosized in his ultimate identification with the Muḥammadan Reality, or "Source of genesis" (see *supra*), the *omega* uniting with the *alpha*. *Cf. Rev.* 1: 7 (and *Isa.* 40: 5).

[71] *Qur.* 38: 88 (the last verse of the *sūrah*).

[72] This appellation is applied to God as Lord of the Judgment in *Qur.* 95: 8 (*cf.* also 11: 45).

[73] *Irtafaʿa*: "he ascended, passed away from view". I think that the allusion is, in part, to God's "taking up" Jesus at the time of his martyrdom (see *Qur.* 3: 55 and 4: 157–58). *Cf. Acts* 1: 9–11, where the ascension/disappearance of Jesus into Heaven is the occasion of indicating the manner of his return as messiah (to be understood in terms of v. 8).

[74] See above, p. 412 (at nn. 43 and 45), where Jesus is said to have been veiled as a "secret" in the *ʿamal al-kufr* (= the worship of the idolatrous Christians) until the time that he will return as the Seal/Mahdī to set aright the state of corruption and disorder in the world during his absence therefrom. Q2 has *al-radd* (the return) instead of *al-ridāʾ*.

[75] *Laḥiqati l-mamlakatu bi-l-fasādi.* In place of the last, M and Q read *al-safād* (coition [of animals]). Q2 has *taḥaqqaqati l-maḥlakatu* (the danger was realized) instead of the first.

[76] Q2 adds *al-bilād*, reading: "over all the country and mankind."

Then the Light of "There is nothing like unto Him"[83] lowered Itself into the node (*unbūb*)[84] of that which casts an afternoon shadow (*fayʾ*):[85] [—For the Light had been] embraced in the Robes of safeguarding (*ardiyat al-ṣawn*) until It arrived in the World of existence (*ʿālam al-kawn*), and the radiant Star (*al-dirrīʾ al-mushriq*)[86] alighted in Its mansion (*burju-hu*)[87] and the given Number [of the Seal-Mahdī] (*al-raqm al-mūdaʿ*) fell to Its lot.[88] For a Topaz (*yāqūtah ṣafrāʾ* [yellow jacynth])[89] was hollowed out [to make room] for a Ruby (*yāqūtah ḥamrāʾ* [red jacynth]), which [God] (Be He Praised!) then deposited inside [the Topaz], sealing it with the seal (*khātam*) [of the verse]:

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[77] Q2 has *ḥallat* (it alights; becomes resident in) for the verb.

[78] For the Biblical image of the messiah whom all shall see "coming in the clouds of Heaven," see *Dan.* 7: 13, *Matt.* 24: 30, *Rev.* 1: 7, *et al. Fī ḥamali-hā* could mean, rather, "in the sign of Aries (the first house of the sun)."

[79] V, B2 and both printed edns. have garbled this.

[80] *Wa-saṭaʿa l-dawru*, in C, E, W and Z. The other ss. have *al-nūr* (the light) in place of the last.

[81] This clause is omitted in M and garbled in Q2. "Thunderstruck": *ṣuʿiqa* (*cf. Qur.* 7: 143).

[82] *Cf. Qur.* 55: 76, where *rafraf* is said by some to denote cushions or carpets, and by others, gardens.

[83] *Qur.* 42: 11 (*cf.* above, p. 379 at n. 63).

[84] *Unbūb*: "a node; tube, pipe", *etc.* (see Gloss., *s.v.*). The secondary meanings listed by Lane are: "a way, road, track", *etc.*; and Dozy gives as one sense of *unbūbah*, "a chest or coffre for relics, a reliquary" (*s.v.*), which resonates with the meaning of *durj* (a woman's jewelry box) in n. 88, below.

[85] That is, a physical entity subject to corruption.

[86] See Lane, *s.v.* [*kawkab*] *dirrīʾ*, where he gives as one of the senses of this expression: "a star that is impelled [*yudraʾu*] in its course from the east to the west." Another possibility is a "shooting star", as one that is "propelled" against the devil (*cf. Isa.* 14: 12–15*sq.*, and *Luke* 10: 18). M glosses it as "a great, shining star that emerges from the east toward the end of the evening"—the "morning star", which is actually Venus (Lane also notes that some identified the *kawkab dirrīʾ* as one of the five planets).

[87] *Burj*: "a tower (< Gr., *pyrgos*); a sign of the zodiac". The plur., *burūj*, has the latter meaning in *Qur.* 15: 16, 25: 61 and 85: 1 (the title of the *sūrah*). As *ḥalla* also means "to become incarnate", it may be possible to interpret this clause: "The radiant star (from the east) was born in his zodiacal sign (in the west)"—an allusion to the Mahdī as "sun rising in the west".

[88] *Ḥaṣala . . . fī durji-hi.* A *durj* is a small basket, casket, or case in which women may keep perfume, *etc.* (and in Modern Arabic, a "drawer"). Its syn., *ṣafaṭ*, can signify a burial casket. These may be taken as playful allusions to the precise astrological *darajah* (the "degree" of the *burj*, or zodiacal sign) of the Seal/Mahdī's birth. But the notion of a small jewelry-box foreshadows the topaz hollowed out to contain the ruby described in the foll. passage.

> Verily, the Hour is coming (*al-sāʿah ātiyat*^{an}); I will virtually conceal It![90]

When the two Realities (*al-ḥaqīqatān*) closely adhered[91] and the two Subtle-Rays (*al-raqīqatān*) intertwined, the celestial Spheres radiated and the Angelic Regents kept themselves [from disobedience to God],[92] [starry] missiles (*al-rujūm* [*sci.*, "shooting stars"]) appearing before him who purposed to attack [*viz.*, Satan],[93] while the Real-Light (*al-nūr al-ḥaqq*)[94] and the True-Words (*al-kalim al-ṣadq*)[95] came down.

Then the two Gems (*al-yāqūtatān*) were snatched away in the [clouds of] darkness[96] in order that the Topaz[97] might behold those signs (*al-āyāt*) which had been hidden from her. For when the Topaz joined with her Sister [the Ruby], she became to Her a Daughter (*bint*).[98] Then [the latter, the Topaz] ascended to the One to Whom she was an abode (*bayt*),[99] and the Mother [the Ruby] honored Her

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[89] *Yāqūt* < Gr., *hykinthos*, "hyacinth, jacinth" (see Jeffery, *s.v.*): a word used to denote various gems, depending on their color (see p. 549).

[90] *Akādu ukhfiyu-hā* (*Qur.* 20: 15): The ruby (= the coming "hour," a metonym of the Seal/Mahdī) is concealed within the topaz. The evocation of the image of the virgin Mary "containing" the child, Jesus, in her womb is irresistible. *Cf.* also 15: 85, 22: 7 and 40: 59. "[The hour] is coming in power. [God] is concealing it [now] in accordance with a Lordly wisdom, but He will manifest it when He wills" (M); after which al-Maqābirī conflates *Qur.* 16: 1 and 21: 37: "The command of God will come, but do not try to hasten Me!"

[91] *Iltaḥamat* (cognate with the first *maṣdar* verbal noun in the subj.-heading). Q2 has *iltaḥaqat* (came in close contact).

[92] *Wa-ʿtaṣamati l-amlāku.* Regarding the latter term, see Gloss., *s.v.* V lacks this clause.

[93] See above, p. 231, n. 33.

[94] M and Q2 have *al-rūḥ* (the spirit) instead of the first.

[95] See *Wörterbuch, s.v. kalimah,* for instances of the collective, *kalim*, with sing. adjs.

[96] *Thumma khtulisat. . . fī l-ẓulumāti.* V, B2 and Q have "from" (*min*) instead of "in."

[97] Q2 has *al-ṣughrá* (the smallest) here and in the next clause rather than *al-ṣafrāʾ* (the yellow [jacynth]). As we surmise below, the topaz symbolizes the author himself (as the special Muḥammadan Seal), while the ruby stands for the universal Seal—Jesus.

[98] Instead of this, Q2 has *bayt* (a dwelling, abode). M identifies the "daughter" as the topaz (and the ruby as her "mother"), which interpretation I follow, even though, earlier, the topaz was described as a *container* (a kind of womb) of the ruby (see also what follows).

[99] Q has *bint* (a daughter) instead. Most of the ss. at this point revert to the masc. gender in prons. referring to the ruby, but I have maintained the convention in light of the overt fem. symbolism.

"dwelling" (*mathwā-hā*)[100] and extolled Her counterpart (*mustawā-hā*).[101] For the Ruby emerged from behind the Veil of concealment (*ḥijāb al-katm*)—and lo! She is the very Light of the Seal (*nūr al-khatm*), Who addresses [Her counterpart][102] in the language of inquiry (*bi-lisān al-istinbāʾ*):[103]

"I am the Seal of the Saints (*khātam al-awliyāʾ*) and the Forerunner of the Society of sincere Friends (*muqaddam jamāʿat al-aṣfiyāʾ*). I am the hidden Secret of your Wisdom (*maknūn ḥikmati-ka*) and the Seal of your Community (*khātam ummati-ka*)."[104] Then [the Ruby] inquired of [the Topaz]:[105] "Would you [agree to] be a Faithful Minister (*wazīr ṣiddīq*) for Me?"[106] [The latter] answered, "But You have already appointed as *Khalīfah* a Noble One (*ʿatīq* [*sci.*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq]):[107]

> He bore his mantle/pall (*ridāʾu-hu*)[108]—for, behold, he is the "Faithful One" (*al-ṣiddīq*) before him (*izāʾa-hu*), while the "Sun of the West" (*shams al-gharb*) [= the Mahdī will come] *behind* him (*warāʾa-hu*).[109]

Thereafter, [the Ruby] departed from [the Topaz], having given her joy.[110]

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[100] This and the foll. clause are garbled in Q2.

[101] Or: "her seat." While the topaz and ruby are actually "sisters" under God, and, therefore, equal (*mustaw*^{an}), in their specific relationship the latter is the progenitor of the former.

[102] The gender here changes to masc. for both subj. and obj. in all ss. (see n. 99, above).

[103] That is, inquiry as to whether or not the topaz would accept the position of "faithful minister" (see *infra*).

[104] "Your community": the Ṣūfī brotherhood. This clause is missing in E and M.

[105] Here the gender of the ruby reverts again to the fem., while that of the topaz is made masc. (in consonance with *wazīr ṣiddīq*).

[106] *Cf. Qur.* 20: 29 and 25: 35, where Aaron is styled the *wazīr* of Moses. On this term, see Jeffrey, *s.v.*

[107] *Qad istakhlafta ʿatīq*^{an} (*cf.* above, pp. 293*sq.*).

[108] The *ridāʾ* is the coffin-mantle, or drape, the corners of which were carried by the pall-bearers at a funeral. The image in what follows is that of the pall-bearers in front of and behind the bier.

[109] The *Ṣiddīq* (= the caliph, Abū Bakr) bears the Prophet's mantle, representing his authority in the beginning of the era of the universal caliphate, even as the Mahdī (= Ibn al-ʿArabī as mystical "Sun of the west" and Seal of sainthood) does in the latter days.

[110] *Wa-qad shāqa-hu.* That is to say, the "ruby" (= the universal Seal of the saints, Jesus) made the "topaz" (the *special* Seal, Ibn al-ʿArabī) to understand how that, in addition to the venerable Abū Bakr as caliph, or "successor" of the Prophet *par excellence*, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself would be called upon to play the role of successor as the veritable "Sun" from the Islamic west, or Maghrib, and leader of the community of believers in the latter days. For M's rather simplistic interpretation of this passage (which is given in a later context), see App. I.

When the accidents had vanished[111] and the lights were extinguished,[112] the Semblant Subtle-Ray (*al-raqīqah al-mithlīyah*) uniting with the Universal Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah al-kullīyah*)[113] in the node (*unbūb*)[114] of the [Universal-] Substantial Emerald (*al-zumurrudah al-ṭīnīyah*),[115] the voice of the [Topaz, the Ruby's] Minister (*ṣawt wazīri-hi*)[116] was heard—the Master of His Secret and His Rule (*ṣāḥib sirri-hi wa-tadbīri-hi*) whom He appointed as His Caliph, the Seal of His Saints (*khātam awliyā'i-hi*) in accordance with all of His Ways.[117] Thereafter, such things [occurred] in this Theophany as time (*al-waqt*) does not suffice to reveal, nor can the present state (*al-ḥāl*) disclose their tidings. But, truly, the purpose of this book is none other than the Gnosis of the Successor and the Seal (*ma'rifat al-khalīfah wa-l-khatm*) and the Coming-down of the Definitive Command (*tanazzul al-amr al-ḥatm*).

So, then, let us say: [The Muḥammadan Seal of the Saints] returned to his Origin (*bad'u-hu*) through his night (*laylu-hu*), arriving at the morning prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) with his people (*ahlu-hu*).[118] And that body (*al-jasad*) became a Lord over his peers, [both] those who went before or after,[119] since the substance of the Original Reality

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[111] *'Udimati l-aghyāru* (as voc. in E and W). The sing. of the latter, *ghayr*, signifies primarily "a rival, an *other*"; but it also connotes a "change, or difference", or "the act of changing" (= *taghyīr*). In some of its usages it may be confounded with the plur., *ghiyar* (accidents, changes of fortune; lies), as would appear to be the case here.

[112] M specifies that this is at the end of time, quoting the trad.: "Islam began as a stranger (*gharīb*), and it shall return as it began. . . ." (see Muslim, *Īmān*, 232, *et al.*). I think, however, that the ref. is primarily to the initiatic "union" of the universal Seal (the ruby, Jesus) and its "semblant", the special Muḥammadan Seal (the topaz, Ibn al-'Arabī), which was the subj. of the heady chap., "Purest Sealed Wine," in Pt. I (pp. 281–87).

[113] D, V, B2 and Q garble this expression; and M is wanting the entire sentence.

[114] On this word, see above, n. 84.

[115] The emerald is a metonym for the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kullīyah*) in Ibn al-'Arabī's symbolism (see *Mu'jam*, *no.* 317), as is the ruby in some contexts. Here the adj., *al-ṭīnīyah* (< *ṭīn* = Gr., *hylē*) suggests that the ref. could be to the *'anqā' mughrib* itself as emblem of prime matter. B2 and Q add "universal" (*al-kullīyah*).

[116] *Viz.*, the topaz, representing Ibn al-'Arabī himself as existential counterpart of the universal Seal of sainthood. As we may infer below, however, that the ref. is also to the Prophet Muḥammad as historical instantiation of the Muḥammadan Reality.

[117] *Fī l-jaryi 'alá anḥā'i-hi.* Here I tr. in the masc. gender, though I take the pron. to refer to the ruby.

[118] That is, through his own "night-journey" (*isrā'*) he returns to his source, reaching it at dawn, when he leads his people in the communal prayer.

[119] *Fa-tasawwada dhālika l-jasadu 'alá amthāli-hi/ mim-man taqaddama aw ta'akhkhara min ashkāli-hi.* V, B2 and Q add *bi-'amali-hi* (by means of his activity) after *al-jasad.*

(*māddat al-ḥaqīqah al-aṣlīyah*) and the Primordial Form (*al-nashʾah al-badʾīyah*)[120] belong to [the Seal] in their essence (*min dhāti-hā*), while their attributes (*ṣifātu-hā*) go to others.

A [Ninth] Pearl: *A Rebuttal* (*iʿtirāḍ*) *to Him Who Hunts with* [*the Arrow of*] *Obliquity* (*al-miʿrāḍ*):[121] 49

When this Muḥammadan Arising (*al-nashʾ al-Muḥammadī*)[122] was in that elevated Station (*al-manzilah al-ʿalīyah*) and became the Comprehensive Origin (*al-aṣl al-jāmiʿ*) of all of Creation (*li-jamīʿ al-barīyah*), and the honor which would not be properly bestowed upon any other accrued to him, and the Real (Praised be He!) established him as the Image of His Benefit and His Harm (*ṣūrat nafʿi-hi wa-ḍayri-hi*)[123] with Justice and Grace, collectively and particularly,[124] willing that His Honoring of [Muḥammad] (*takrimatu-hu*) be made complete regarding sense (*ḥiss*^{an}) as it had already been perfected spiritually (*nafs*^{an}), He caused a corporeal Image (*ṣūrah mujassamah*) for [him][125] to arise in the World of sense after the completion of the cycle (*al-dawrah*), its End turning toward its Beginning,[126] while it was in its Middle endowed with speech (*mukallamah*).[127] [God] (Be He Praised!) then named that immaculate, venerated Body (*al-jism al-mukarram al-muṭahhar*) MUḤAMMAD,[128] and He made him to be an Imām for all People, and for the whole World a Lord (*sayyid*). And the Voice of Command (*lisān al-amr*)[129] spoke to the exterior (*ẓāhir*)[130] of that Body (*al-jasad*), declaring: "I am the Lord of the Progeny of Adam—*no boast*!"

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[120] Instead of the last, D, V, B2, M and Q read *al-badanīyah* (corporeal); and Q2 has *al-bidāʾīyah*. The latter also adds *ismu-hu* (its name) before *min dhāti-hā*.

[121] *Iʿtirāḍ li-man aṣāba l-ṣayd bi-l-miʿrāḍ*. This heading can be understood in several ways, a good example of the very Straussian device to which it refers, *taʿrīḍ* (obliquity in speech; equivocation). The *miʿrāḍ*, as Lane explains (*s.v.*), is an "arrow" w/o feathers or a tip, and thick in the middle (*ʿarḍ*), which is shot sideways so that the prey is struck with its main body and killed by concussion rather than penetration. Acc. to Islamic law, however, that kind of game is not lawful to be eaten (see *Concordance, s.v. miʿrāḍ*), so the idea here is evidently one who argues in a heretical/specious manner against—or, more likely, one who insinuates against, or casts aspersion upon—Ṣūfī teachings. On the other hand, *miʿrāḍ* also signifies "an oblique, indirect, ambiguous, or equivocal mode of speech [= *taʿrīḍ*]," so that it is tempting to understand the phrase as s.th. like: "one who hits the mark with indirect speech". The genius of Arabic is indicated in the proverb quoted by Lane: "Verily, in oblique modes of speech (*al-maʿārīḍ*) is ample scope to avoid lying." This chap. corresponds to the ninth "jewel", below (pp. 450–53), which treats of man's dual nature, corporeal and spiritual.

[122] Q2 has *al-ḥamdī* (laudatory) for the adj. In the context of the preceding section, this "Muḥammadan arising" will be assumed to represent the Muḥammadan *Seal* (the topaz). As we gather *infra*, however, the ref. becomes identified with the orig. Muḥammadan *Reality* itself, which is about to become incarnate in the Prophet Muḥammad. Notwithstanding, I believe that the latter is to be assimilated to Muḥammad *Ibn al-ʿArabī* as the heir and seal of Muḥammadan sainthood.

[123] Instead of the last (to rhyme with *ghayru-hu*), V and W have *ḍurru-hu*, meaning much the same (*cf. Qur.* 39: 38), and Q2 has *ḍayrah*.

[124] *ʿAdl*^{an} *wa-faḍl*^{an}, *wa-jam*^{ʿan} *wa-faṣl*^{an}.

[125] As the pron. is actually fem., the ref. is evidently to the Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah*), or else to God's "honoring" (*takrimah*) of the Prophet. V, B2 and Q add *wa-hayʾah mukammalah* (and a perfected form) after "a corporeal image."

After that [the Muḥammadan Reality] was made to come down as an Instruction (*taʿlīm*) for [mankind], so He became "poor" (*iftaqara*) [like them].[131] Then [the incarnate Muḥammad] gazed upon and considered [his fellow human beings] repeatedly,[132] and averred: "I am [only] a man (*bashar*) [like you]."[133]—That is, we are to [the Reality of Muḥammad] an "example" (*mithāl*), as He is a "Model" (*timthāl*)[134] to us: Sometimes He sacrosanctitates (*taqaddasa*) and sometimes He assimilates (*tajannasa*),[135] for He is the One who goes before (*al-sābiq*), while we are those who come after (*al-lāḥiqūn*); He is the Truthful (*al-ṣādiq*), and we are the Faithful (*al-muṣaddiqūn*).[136] Even as His corporeal Form (*ṣūratu-hu l-jasadīyah*) was also a *Seal* (*khatm*) for the Station of [Prophetic] Informing (*maqām al-inbā'*)[137]—*not* for the Form of Creating (*ṣūrat al-inshā'*)[138]—so He had been a *Beginning* (*bad'*) for the coming-to-be of the Universe (*wujūd al-kawn*)[139] and the manifestation of the Source/Essence (*ẓuhūr al-ʿayn*)[140]—the turning of His Sphere (*dawrat falaki-hi*) [in the latter case] being the cycle of Kingship (*dawratu mulk*^{in}), while the *first*-mentioned is the cycle of a King (*dawratu malik*^{in}).[141]

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[126] V, B2 and Q add the foll. phrase: *wa-thubbitati l-ḥikmatu min fāʿili-hā* (? and wisdom is confirmed by its practioner). For my comm. on this and similar interpolations in these ss., see App. I.

[127] Instead of this, C, V, B2 and Q read *mukammalah* (complete), but this is corrected in the margin of C. M understands the ref. to be to the prophets' reception of scriptures. "Its middle": *wasaṭu-hā* (*awsaṭu-hā* in B2, M and both edns.). V, B2 and Q add after this: ". . . as it was noble (*musharrafah*)[or 'illuminated' (*mushriqah*)] at its beginning and its end." The idea would appear to be that the cycle of development that begins at the "bottom" with the spiritual inception of man reaches its initial perfection at the "top" of the cycle, its "middle," where it is endowed with speech, but then continues to move in a downward arc that results in the formation of the physical body at the orig. starting-point.

[128] "This is his proper, celebrated name (*ʿalamu-hu l-mashhūr*), while he has numberless appellations and characterizations (*asmāʾ wa-awṣāf*), all of which [this] book could never extend to enumerate" (M). While the ref. is ostensibly to the Prophet Muḥammad, recall that this is also the proper name of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who, as Muḥammadan Seal of the saints, may well be the real referent here.

[129] *Lisān* means "voice" in such expressions as *lisān al-ḥāl*, or *lisān al-dhikr* (see *Wörterbuch, s.v.*).

[130] Thus in all of the ss., although we are probably to understand *ẓahr* (the lower back = loins), as when God inquired of the children of Adam present in the seed of their progenitors' loins (*ẓuhūru-hum*) in *Qur.* 7: 172: "Am I not your Lord? (*A-lastu bi-Rabbi-Kum* ?)."

[131] Q2 has *ightafara* (and he forgave) instead.

[132] *Wa-raddada fī-him l-baṣara wa-l-naẓara.* Instead of the last, E, W and M have the verbal, *wa-naẓara*, and the latter omits *al-baṣar.*

[133] *Qur.* 18: 110 (quoted also below, p. 451 at n. 44).

[134] *Mithāl* has a wide range of significations ("s.th. equal, similar; an example; image; pattern; model; quality, manner, fashion", *etc.*); as does *timthāl* (pattern, template; statue; idol), but their usage here (and below, p. 451, n. 49) seems peculiar, in any case (*cf.* also above, p. 278 at n. 10). Another, far-fetched possibility: "We are a bedspread (*mithāl*) for him, and he is a pattern/template [for cutting fabric-material] for us."

Perhaps you will ask how the existence of the King[142] comes *after* the existence of the Kingdom (*wujūd al-mamlakah*),[143] when the latter has already been brought upon the arena of destruction (*maydān al-halakah*).[144]—[Well, that is] by [the Kingdom's] support (*istinādu-hā*) being in One Who is [to come] at that time,[145] [depending] upon One Who will arise as its Power and its Pillar (*amru-hā wa-ʿimādu-hā*).—Then, *here I am*: I quench the thirst[146] and show the Way!

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[135] *Taqdīs* corresponds to *tanzīh* (regarding the Divine as transcendent), while *tajnīs* is a syn. of *tashbīh* (viewing God in comparison to human qualities, anthropomorphism). The former, then, refers to the Muḥammadan Reality's being "Lord of the children of Adam," and the latter to his becoming "poor"—a human being. *Cf. Phil.* 2: 6–7.

[136] *Cf.* p. 283, n. 20, above.

[137] Instead of this, Q2 has *jism* (a body). The "seal" here is the antithesis of the "beginning" (*bad'*) in the foll. clause. The ostensible ref. is to Muḥammad's being the Seal of the prophets.

[138] That is, Muḥammad's corporeal existence constitutes the seal, or *omega*, of prophecy (= *khatm al-inbā'*), but his Divine essence is the *alpha* of creation (*bad' al-inshā'*). Instead of the last, M has *al-insān* (man), and, after trying to explicate his misreading, goes on to say: "For God causes to arise at the beginning of each century a saintly man (*rajul walī*) who can rule the world . . ., he being the 'pole' who exercises free disposal under the sufferance of our Prophet (*al-quṭb al-mutaṣarrif ʿalá qadami nabīyi-nā*)."

[139] Foll. V, W, Z and Q, which read *bad'*^{un} *li-wujūdi l-kawni*, rather than *bad'u l-kawni l-wujūdi* (the beginning of the world of existence), as in most of the other ss.

[140] V, B2 and Q add: "And in his bringing-up [of the world] (*ḥiḍānatu-hu*) is safeguarding (*al-ṣawn*)."

[141] Foll. V and Z, which seem to read ملك thus in the two instances. E (voc. by a later hand) gives the reverse of this, reading *malik/malak* (king/angel) for the first and *mulk* (kingship; tenure) for the second; D has "king" for the first; while M has "angel" for the first and *milk* (property, estate) for the second; and W has *mulk* for both. Q2 has garbled this line. Obviously, all of the copyists are uncertain of the text—as am I, although my reading would seem borne out by what follows. The "first-mentioned cycle" is that of prophetic "informing" (*al-inbā'*), as opposed to the one devoted to creation (*al-inshā'*). As we see in what follows, Ibn al-ʿArabī's real concern may be to establish that the Seal/Mahdī exists in spirit even before the realization of his eschatological kingdom on earth (note that our author uses the word, *mulk*, in the sense of *mamlakah*).

[142] As voc. in D, V and M. W, again, reads *al-milk*.

[143] In the present context this could signify: How can the *physical* image (*al-ṣūrah al-jasadīyah*), the historical instantiation of the Divine creative-reality (= *al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*), which is Ibn al-ʿArabī himself, precede the actual manifestation of

And [now] I shall inform you of the extension of the Subtle-Rays (*imtidād al-raqāʾiq*)[147] and the interconnection of the essential Realities (*tanāsub al-ḥaqāʾiq*).

A [Tenth] Pearl: *The Extension of the Subtle-Rays* (*imtidād al-raqāʾiq*) **50**
from the Muḥammadan Reality to All of the Essential Realities (*al-ḥaqāʾiq*):

When, as we have already set forth,[148] the Real (Praised be He!) produced the celestial Spheres as a "raised Ceiling" (*saqf marfūʿ*)[149] for the people of the Depths (*ahl al-sufl*) and prepared the Earth as a "Bed laid down" (*mihād mawḍūʿ*)[150] for the dregs of refuse (*ḥuthālat al-thufl*),[151] and the Essences [of the Reality of Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!] spread forth from His Seat (*mustawā-hu*) among the Heavenly Host,[152] and His Ways (*ṭarāʾiqu-hu*) were fashioned

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the latter as the noble Mahdī in the universal *parousia* at the end of times? This question may have orig. arisen in theological controversy in the inverse form of those who denied the *current* existence of the Mahdī (and, therefore, the relevance of any debate as to his identity) on the grounds that a king cannot precede the existence of his kingdom—a position which Jesus countered in *John* 18: 36. Ibn al-ʿArabī's own response to the question strikes me as reminiscent of Christ's answer to the disciples of John the Baptist in *Luke* 7: 20–23.

[144] M writes (missing the point, I think): "Because the postponement of [the king's] existence till after [that of] the kingdom results necessarily in the corruption (*fasād*) of the latter, just as [in the case of] the flock without a shepherd. . . ." A better rhyme with *al-mamlakah* would be *al-mahlakah* (the peril).

[145] That is, at the apocalyptic "end of times," which is the *hic et nunc* in the mystical eschatology. This sentence begins with *fa-ilá* (and toward, upon) as prep. to *istinādu-hā* in all ss. exc. for C, which reads *fa-innī* (for verily, I [am the one, *etc.*]); and D, M and Q2, which have *qāla* (he said).

[146] *Al-ghalīl* (= *ghull, ghill, maghlūl*): "a burning within, as from thirst, rancour, love or grief" (*cf. Qur.* 7: 43, where its relief is effected by the rivers of Paradise).

[147] The latter is the plur. of *raqīqah* (concerning which, see pp. 357–58, n. 46).

[148] See above, p. 400 at nn. 122 and 123, *et seq.*

[149] See *Qur.* 52: 5 (and *cf.* also 21: 32).

[150] *Cf. Qur.* 78: 6.

[151] Foll. C and the margin of W. *Ḥuthālah*: "worthless chaff, refuse, dregs; evil". *Thufl*: "dregs, sediment". Instead of the first, E has *ḥibālah* (snare); and many ss. have garbled the second. M has *ḥamālat al-thiql* (the carrying of a heavy load), and applies the expression to animals (obviously with ref. to *Qur.* 16: 7), but this does not suit the rhyme.

[152] B2 and Q add *balagha* (to attain a high degree) after *mustawā-hu*. "The essences [of the Reality of Muḥammad]": *ḥaqāʾqu-hu*.

out of the scintillations of the beams of His Light (*anwār ashiʿʿat nūri-hi*), while His Subtle-Rays (*raqāʾiqu-hu*) made contact with the World of the Earth laid down (*ʿālam al-arḍ al-mawḍūʿ*), and the external Characteristics [(*shamāʾil*) of Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep Him!) and His natural Dispositions (*khalāʾiqu-hu*)[153] became manifest in them,[154] to each Essence (*ḥaqīqah*) a fixed portion (*shirb maʿlūm*),[155] along with an apportioned sustenance (*rizq maqsūm*)[156] for every Subtle-Ray—for we noticed a certain rivalry for precedence among the Subtle-Rays (*tafāḍul al-raqāʾiq*), finding them to be derived from the [original] disparity of natural dispositions (*tafāwut al-khalāʾiq*) in the Gardens (*al- ḥadāʾiq*),[157] [—after all of this, I say] we examined the Subtle-Rays of the Prophets and the Apostles (*raqāʾiq al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-mursalīn*) from the Station of direct Vision and Eye-witnessing (*maqām al-mushāhadah wa-l-taʿyīn*).[158] For we beheld them descending upon [the Prophets and the Apostles] (May God bless them!) in two classes—those which the Angels at [the Perfect Man's/Muḥammad's] Feet (*malāʾikat al-qadamayn*)[159] bring down, and those sent down upon them [directly] from His Seat [*sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality] as an immediate Revelation (*mukāshafata ʿayn*^{in}).[160]

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[153] Instead of this, Q2 has *ḥaqāʾiqu-hu* (his essential realities).

[154] See Lane (*s.v. shimāl*), who quotes a source describing these as characteristics which enwrap a man like a garment. In Modern Arabic the *shimāʾil* are "good qualities" (= *akhlāq ḥamīdah*). *Khalāʾiq* (s., *khalīqah*): "innate qualities". In the verbal phrase, *ẓaharat fī-him*, the pron. indicates a *human* plurality, and so cannot be taken to be the above-mentioned *ḥaqāʾiq* and *raqāʾiq* as such, but rather their pre-eminently anthropogenetic effects (represented by the *jamīʿ al-ḥaqāʾiq* of the subj.-heading). As is frequently the case, our author's long, apparently rambling sentence is, in fact, structured to indicate thematic development.

[155] A *shirb* is a share of water-rights. M quotes *Qur.* 2: 60 in this connection, specifying that every "drinking-place" (*mashrab* [= theological school]) originates in the ocean of the Prophet's knowledge.

[156] D has *wazn* (weight) instead of the first.

[157] Foll. C (in the margin) and W. S., *ḥadīqah* = *jannah* (garden [of Paradise]). In place of *al-ḥadāʾiq*, M and Q2 repeat *al-khalāʾiq* (the dispositions); and V, B2 and Q read *al-ḥaqāʾiq* (the realities).

[158] On the distinction between *mushāhadah* as the vision of the *dhawāt* (natures), and *kashf*, or *mukāshafah* (see below), the vision of the *maʿānī* and *asrār* ("meanings" and "essences"), see *Muʿjam, no.* 383, pp. 664–65. See also *Path*, 225–28, for a discussion of "witnessing" (*shuhūd, mushāhadah*).

[159] As voc. in E and W. A better rhyme with *qismayn* would be produced if we read *al-qidmayn*, as "[the angels of] the two eternities," which could be taken to refer to the succession of day and night in the trad., "Angels of the night and angels of the day come and go successively among you" (Bukhārī, *Mawāqīt al-ṣalāh*, 16; Muslim, *Masājid*, 210; *et al.*).

[160] Or, possibly: "the revelation of an essence" (but *cf.* n. 158).

We perceived also the partnership of [the Prophets' and the Apostles'] Followers (*mushārakat atbāʿi-him*) with them in these two [modes of] Revelation (*al-tanzīlān*),[161] albeit [only] through their mediation (*bi-wāsiṭati-him*),[162] not personally (*lā bi-l-ʿayn*)—except in the case of *this* Community (*al-ummah*) [*sci.*, the Ṣūfīs],[163] of which it is said that it is the best Community of people ever to emerge.[164] For, indeed, they take [their knowledge] from [the Muḥammadan Reality] without any mediation (*wāsiṭah*) or obscurity (*iltibās*),[165] just as [some of the] Apostles sent-forth [*rasūl mursal*] and Prophets sent-down (*nabī munzal*)[166] previously took [their knowledge directly] from Him,[167]—even though the sending-down of the [eschatological] Angel [of Doom] (*tanzīl al-malak*)[168] might at any time come upon them unawares,[169] as [God] has included them also in the [terrible] Encounter [with Him] (*al-ilqā'*)[170] at the appointed Time (*al-ajal al-musammá*).[171]

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[161] Q2 has the fem., *al-tanzīlatān.*

[162] Instead of this, E, D, Q2 and the margin of W have *bi-wisāṭati-him*, meaning the same.

[163] Ibn al-ʿArabī's ref. is to the Ṣūfī brotherhood—and, specifically, the élite among them—although the trad. expression, *ummat al-nabī*, applies to all Muslims (for *ḥadīths* describing the Prophet's community as the best, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 47b.; *cf.* also Arberry, tr., *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, pp. 1*sq.*).

[164] *Khayru ummat^{in} ukhrijat li-l-nāsi.*

[165] It would appear that, *ex hypothesi*, this was only true of Ṣūfīs who came *before* Ibn al-ʿArabī, however, since, as the special, Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood, he closed the direct line to the Reality of Muḥammad, and became himself its mediator to the world (see pp. 55–60 of the intro.). E and W have *wisāṭah* in place of *wāsiṭah*, as before. M omits *wa-lā ltibās^{in}*.

[166] *Munzal* normally means "revealed" and is more aptly applied to the message than the messenger, but here there is probably a playful allusion to the "sending down" (*tanzīl*) of the eschatological leader (Gabriel?—or the Mahdī as apocalyptic prophet-king [*malik*]?) in the next clause.

[167] Regardless of which apostles and prophets this may apply to, the ref. cannot include Muḥammad, at least, inasmuch as he received the Qur'ān through angelic mediation (despite the fact that the effective source of all revelation is the Spirit of Muḥammad). For M's attempt to explicate this passage, see App. I.

[168] *Sci.*, Isrāfīl (Serafiel), the archangel who stands ready to blow the trumpet at the command of God, when all creation will be devastated (see *Qur.* 39: 68), after which he will be commanded to give a second blast (at the sacred rock in Jerusalem) which will awaken the dead for the final Judgment (but *cf.* 36: 49–51). The angel may be regarded as either the subj. or the obj. of the "sending-down" (*tanzīl*); and in the former case could be understood as a kind of revelation. V and Q2 have *tanazzul* (abasement, coming-down) in place of *tanzīl*. Instead of *al-malak*, W reads as *al-malik*, "the king" (= the Mahdī, who, indeed, will be "sent down" at an appointed time).

[169] *Qad yufāji'u-hum waqt^{an} mā.*

[170] See *Qur.* 29: 5, *et al.*

[171] *Cf. Qur.* 16: 61, *et al.* The expression is always w/o arts. in the Qur'ān.

As for him who was created a disbeliever (*jāḥid*) and disposed by nature to be a heretic (*mulḥid*):[172] When the Muḥammadan Light shot Its Ray (*shuʿāʿu-hu*) into the earth and its lowlands and its highlands were torn asunder,[173] a *Heat* (*ḥarārah*) was generated (*tawalladat*) between them, which assumed concrete form (*tajassadat*) in the vegetation.[174] From [the vegetal Heat, then] a Spark (*sharārah*) was produced,[175] and in that Spark the *Jinn* were brought forth in two classes—[one] exalted, [the other] debased[176]—since that Heat was a product (*nitāj*)[177] of Light and Earth.[178] Hence, God (Exalted be He!) has declared: "The *Jinn* (*al-jānn*) He created from a mixture (*mārij*) of Fire"[179]—alluding to the mixing (*ikhtilāṭ*) of Earth with the Lights. [The *Jinnī*] in whom the Light predominates in that "product" is of those who adhere to the [Divine] Lights, while those in whom the Earth prevails therein attach themselves to [the abode of] **51** Perdition (*al-bawār*),[180] for the Subtle-Rays descend upon him who is by nature disposed to be an infidel[181] in the channels (*anābīb*) of that "Satanic" Fire (*al-nār al-shayṭānī*),[182] even though his [ultimate] origin is from the Sovereign Light (*al-nūr al-sulṭānī*).

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[172] M speculates that this came to pass when erring mankind failed to answer "Yes" (*balá*) to God's query, "Am I not your Lord?" in the pre-eternal covenant.

[173] I read this as: *wa-ḥumiʾat qīʿānu-hu wa-yafāʿu-hu*, although none of the ss. actually have the last as ويفاعه (see Dozy, *s.v.*, who cites Ibn Khaldūn's usage), but rather as ويقاعه (?) in the early mss., C and E; and وبقاعه (and its low-lying plains [s., *buqʿah*]) in the rest. The latter is not consonant with the prep. phrase, "between them", however. Rather, the point is apparently that vegetation is viable only in the region between the marshy lowland and barren heights. (The poss. pron. must actually refer to the Muḥammadan Light, not the earth, which is fem.).

[174] Vegetation, of course, will be dependent on precipitation, a product of thermo- and hydro-dynamic forces. Inasmuch as the "lowlands" can be associated with the oceans and the "highlands" with the aery atmosphere, the dynamic interaction between the two can, indeed, be conceived to produce land-precipitation and, hence, vegetation.

[175] That is, from the friction of combustible wood, as in the case of the "fire-sticks" (*zandān*) mentioned earlier (p. 324 at nn. 43–44). The point is that the "fire" from which the *jinn* were created (see *infra*) is not a species of the superior element, fire, but is of the debased element, earth.

[176] The *jinn*, or "genii", are intelligent beings created of fire, as man and the angels are made of clay and light, respectively. Also, like mankind, some of the *jinn* are believers and others are not (see D.B. Macdonald's art., "Djinn," in *E.I.* 1).

[177] *Nitāj*: "brood, litter, offspring".

[178] That is, the Light of Muḥammad and the natural element, earth (in the form of combustible wood).

[179] *Qur.* 55: 15. Both edns. have the conj. at the beginning of the verse (as in the Qur'ān), but all of the mss. are w/o it. On *mārij*, see Lane, *s.v.*

[180] *Dār al-bawār* is a name of Hell in *Qur.* 14: 28. Q2 is wanting this clause.

[181] *Man ṭubiʿa kāfirᵃⁿ*.

[182] The *shayāṭīn* ("satans", devils) in such verses as *Qur.* 21: 82 and 6: 71 are evi-

As for [those who are *not* thus disposed to be] the disobedient (*al-ʿuṣāh*),[183] their Subtle-Rays come down by the mediation of that of which we just spoke[184] in reference to the Heat—not through the B,30 mediacy of the Spark. For the Subtle-Ray of [Muḥammad] (*raqīqatu-hu*) (May God bless and keep Him!) is a Source (*aṣl*) for all of the Subtle-Rays in the cycle of the mortal Kingdom (*dawrat al-mulk al-hālik*),[185] on and on forever, while His Essence (*ḥaqīqatu-hu*) extends (*mumiddah*) at all times[186] to all of the [other] Essences, since He (May God bless and keep Him!) is the Giver of Increase (*al-mumidd*) to the whole World[187] from the Beginning of its creation unto Eternity, without termination—a Perfect, Noble Substance (*māddah sharīfah mukammalah*)[188] without equal![189]

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dently a class of mischievous *jinn* (see Jeffery, *s.v. Shayṭān* and *Iblīs*). While "Satan" (< Gr., *Satanas*), like Iblīs (< *Diabolos*), is a name for the personification of evil, in *Qur.* 18: 50 the latter is also said to be one of the *jinn*. On the term, *anābīb*, see Gloss., *s.v. unbūb*.

[183] It seems to me that the neg. is needed to make sense of this line, both in respect to the paragraph preceding and what comes after. That is, whereas the disbelieving *jinn* are more inclined to the "spark"/earthy element of their compound nature, the believing ones cleave to the light of the Muḥammadan ray (see *supra*) as their better part.

[184] At this point my primary source, B, resumes (on f. 30) after a hiatus of seven pages of the Arabic text (see above, p. 403, n. 147).

[185] See the section on the ninth "pearl", above, pp. 420–23. *Cf. Matt.* 5: 45. Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-mālik* (reigning, owning); while B2 and Q omit the adj. altogether.

[186] The earliest ss. read *awān*, while V and both edns. read *zamān*, meaning the same.

[187] *Li-jamīʿi l-ʿālami*. Instead of the latter, C, D, V and Q2 have the plur., *al-ʿawālim*, but this does not accord with the foll. phrase.

[188] The "Giver of increase" gives of Himself to the world (see *infra*). Compare this notion of a salvific substance with the Christian teaching of Jesus as the "bread of life" (in *John 6*).

[189] At this point, the text of D (= *Ms. Chester Beatty 5495/9*) terminates on f. 83.

VII. [*The Ten Microcosmic "Jewels"*]

The Jewel of the First Pearl:[1]
[*The Perfect Knowledge* (*al-ʿilm al-kāmil*)]:

Man's portion (*ḥaẓẓ al-insān*) therein[2] is his being extracted (*insilākhu-hu*) from his absolute Essence (*ḥaqīqatu-hu l-mujarradah*)[3] in the vision of the essential Reality of Him Who created him (*mushāhadatu ḥaqīqati man awjada-hu*).[4] For [Man] passes away from his [own] self (*faniya* C,57b *ʿan nafsi-hi*)[5] when the light of [the Divine, immanent] Sun encompasses him in the Presence of His Holiness (*ḥaḍrat qudsi-hi*)[6] and the comprehensiveness of Universal Knowledge (*al-iḥāṭah bi-l-ʿilm al-kullī*)[7] comes to him by [God's] foreordaining (*taqdīr*^{an}), while the effect of the [providential] Decree (*taʾthīr al-ḥukm*) remains with him (*baqiya la-hu*) by [His] perpetuation of motion (*takwīr*^{an}).[8]

The Master of this Station [of the First "Jewel"] (*ṣāḥib hādhā l-maqām*) is not incapable of [answering] anything an inquirer might ask. How could it be otherwise with one who comprehends the Perfect Knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-kāmil*)? since his attainment of Knowledge occurs with the asking (*ʿinda l-suʾāl*)[9]—this being the difference between him and the Most-High (*al-Mutaʿālī*),[10] even as the distinction between him and the World of subjection and force (*ʿālam al-dhill wa-l-ʿizz*) is the absence of restriction and weakness (*ʿadam al-ḥaṣr wa-l-ʿajz*).[11] [The Master of this Perfect Knowledge] may [either] inquire of his heart or look [outwardly][12]—so that he might come to know [all] that dwells in the night and the day or that stirs in mankind,[13] as this is an attribute (*naʿt*) of him who attains unto this Clearest Unveiling (*al-kashf al-ajlá*)[14] and highest, Sublime Station (*al-maqām al-sanī al-aʿlá*).[15] So do not deceive yourself by your self, nor leave the clouds[16] B,30b [covering] your Sun, lest he demand rain of you whose land is in drought[17]—his lawful share [of water rights] (*farḍu-hu*) obstructed to him and his due portion (*baʿḍu-hu*) wiped out. Rather, give him to drink of your rain-cloud (*muznu-ka*) so that he will regard you as bright and sunny,[18] and that he might learn that all that he seeks is *in you.*[19] Then slacken the reins, [freeing the way of Eye-witnessing (*sabīl al-ʿiyān*)][20] and tell the wind:[21] "Blow [the clouds] away mightily until they disclose the Sun [of Truth] to clear view!"[22]

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[1] *Marjānatu l-luʾluʾati l-ūlá.* The *marjānah* was generally specified as a small (but, sometimes, a large) pearl; and, otherwise, it was frequently identified as a bead of coral or any other semiprecious jewel. I have tr. it as "jewel" here simply to distinguish it from *luʾluʾah* as "pearl" in the preceding section. On *marjānah,* see above, p. 388, n. 3, where Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that the ten "jewels" treated here are the microcosmic, or human counterparts (*naẓāʾir*) of the cosmic principles represented by the ten "pearls."

[2] *Min-hā.* M supposes that the pron. refers to the *marjānah* (jewel) of the section-heading, but I think that it signifies the "perfect, noble substance" (*māddah sharīfah mukammalah*)—*sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality—which closed the preceding section. The proper subj. of this "jewel" is the microcosm's participation in the absolute omniscience of God.

[3] The poss. pron. evidently refers to man (*al-insān*) himself, whose extraction (*insilākhu-hu*) from his own abstract essence is the same as his "annihilation" (*fanāʾ*) from his *nafs* with the rising of the inner "sun" of intuition in the foll. sentence.

[4] That is, in man's encounter with his Lord in pre-eternity on the *yawm al-mīthāq* (see above, pp. 247–48, n. 18).

[5] Q2 has *nufá* (? he was expelled) for the verb

[6] "[His sun] causes him to pass away (*afnā-hu*) so that he is not conscious of himself (*fa-lam yashʿur bi-nafsi-hi*)—this being the station of "passing away" (*maqām al-fanāʾ*) because of the intensity of his absorption, . . . in the jargon of [the Ṣūfīs]" (M).

[7] *Al-iḥāṭah* (comprehensiveness; encompassing) here reflects the cognate verb (*aḥāṭa*) in the preceding clause.

[8] See *Wörterbuch, s.v. kawwara* (where al-Ḥarīrī is quoted as calling God *Mukawwiru l-duhūri wa-Mukarriru-hā*) and *kawr* (a single revolution of a star; see Gloss., *s.v.*). *Takwīr*^{an} could also be taken to suggest the sense of "as a covering" or "as an addition" (see Lane, *s.v. kawwara; cf.* also *Qur.* 81: 1, which gives the title of the *sūrah*). *Fanāʾ*, then, is described here as an effect of the Divine *taqdīr,* accomplished *before* the human entity appears, while *baqāʾ* is the product of God's *takwīr,* causing man to enter upon a new *revolutio* after the term of its proper cycle. For M's interesting (but irrelevant) comm. on this clause, see App. I.

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[9] *Wa-taḥṣīlu l-ʿilmi ʿinda-hu ʿinda l-suʾāli.* I would suggest that this is the real meaning of the "Socratic inquiry" as practiced in recent times by J. Krishnamurti. M's comm. is more scholastic: "If inquiry is made concerning some judgment (*ḥukm*), God casts knowledge of that into man's heart . . . by means of emanation and inspiration (*al-fayḍ wa-l-ilhām*), that he might give expression to the springs of Divine wisdom (*yanābīʿ al-ḥikmah al-rabbānīyah*)." Ṣūfī saints were regarded as being *mujāb al-daʿwah* (answered in their petitions).

[10] This is a name of God on the basis of *Qur.* 13: 9. All of the ss. spell it: *al-Mutaʿāli*—with the long *yāʾ* at the end written defectively (to rhyme with *ʿinda l-suʾāli*; see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* [vol. I, p. 10A], who notes this as a typical feature of *Maghribī* orthography).

[11] As the *tertium quid* (*dhū l-nisbatayn*) between a wholly transcendent Deity and utterly conditioned creation, man is uniquely qualified (both as ideal subj. and as obj.) for the epistemic relation: Unlike the latter, man may have perfect knowledge; but, unlike the former, his knowledge is acquired.

[12] *Wa-qad yasʾalu nafsa-hu aw yará* (*cf.* above, p. 394 at n. 54). That is, true knowledge may be acquired either by introspection or extroversion. To use the language of Kant, valid synthetic judgments may be made on the basis of rational concepts, the direct objects of understanding (in which case they are *a priori*), or with reference to further observation of sense evidence (when they are empirical, or *a posteriori*). All moral, mathematical and truly scientific knowledge is of the former sort, but practical and artistic knowledge, as well as wisdom, requires also the second. Al-Maqābirī quotes a trad. reported by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in the *Musnad* (IV, 228) and al-Dārimī in his *Sunan* (*Buyūʿ*, 2), in which the Prophet advises a woman to seek her own heart's counsel (*istaftī nafsā-ki* [or *qalba-ki*]), "as if to say: Sometimes he consults his heart concerning the sciences and sometimes he beholds things with his own eyes (? *yará l-ashyāʾa raʾya l-ʿayni*)" (M).

[13] *Aw taḥarraka fī l-wará.* The verb in the preceding clause is *sakana* (to be still; to dwell), the ant. of *taḥarraka* in its primary signification. That which subsists in a static condition in the external world (= empirical impressions, or percepts) exists in a dynamic mode in the rational ideas, or mental concepts of man.

[14] Instead of the last, E has *al-aḥlá* (? sweetest); and B could be read the same.

[15] For M's comm., see App. I.

[16] C has the sing., *al-ghamām*, instead of *al-ghamāʾim*; and M reads *al-ʿazāʾim* (the resolutions).

Should man fully comprehend this description (*al-wasf*) and verify this Unveiling (*al-kashf*), [he will learn that] behind [the descriptive veil] there is neither Non-being (*ʿadam*) nor Being (*wujūd*), neither worshipper (*ʿābid*) nor Worshipped (*maʿbūd*)—there being no "behind" **52**
(*warāʾ*) and no subjective views (*ārāʾ*)[23]—for he will have attained unto the "Two [modes of] Being" (*al-wujūdān*)[24] and verified the "Two [modes of] Non-being" (*al-ʿadamān*).[25] [As for] the "*Third* Non-Being (*al-ʿadam al-thālith*),"[26] [which is] divided into two parts (*faṣlān*), nothing remaining to it of Knowledge (*al-ʿilm* [= ع + ل + م]) except

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[17] V, W, M and Q2 have garbled the verb. *Istasqá*: "to ask for water; to draw knowledge from s.o". In the present context, *istisqāʾ* can be compared to *istiftāʾ* (requesting a legal opinion, or *fatwá*).

[18] *Ḥatta yastaṣḥī-ka* (to rhyme with *fī-ka* in the foll. clause, although the correct reading would be *yastasfiya-ka* in the subj.). Instead of the last, C, B2 and both printed edns. have *yastaṣhaba-ka* ([so that] he will be your companion).

[19] *Fa-yaʿlama anna jamīʿa maṭālibi-hi fī-ka.*

[20] *Wa-ṭliq sabīla l-ʿiyāni.* This phrase is found only in C, V, B2 and the printed edns., and, indeed, it is redundant (with *al-ʿiyān* closing the foll. line, also).

[21] M explains the wind as "set in motion by love and desire," and the clouds as symbolizing "the attributes of the lower soul."

[22] That is to say, trust in your own personal view of reality (figured in the perspective through the clouds) to enlighten your fellow man, whose existential need may be specifically for your particular delineation thereof. But then be sure to remove your overshadowing of him by means of self-criticism (symbolized by the dispersing winds) so that the free light of truth may finish his education.

[23] Foll. B, W and Z, which read thus (s., *raʾy*: "view, opinion; notion, concept; subjective judgment in Islamic law"), in preference to *izāʾa* (before) in C, E, V, B2, M and Q. That makes sense, but it does not provide a suitable rhyme with *warāʾ*.

[24] Instead of this, C and Q2 read *al-mawjūdān*, "the two beings (= existents)".

[25] The "two [modes] of being" are the necessary (*i.e.*, God) and the contingent (creation), while the "two [modes of] non-being" are, again, absolute (such as pure privation) and relative (*e.g.*, the *aʿyān thābitah* as latent potencies, or *maʿdūmāt bi-l-imkān* [see *Muʿjam, no.* 439]). As al-Ḥakīm observes, in his concept of *ʿadam* Ibn al-ʿArabī "follows the Muʿtazilites who taught that the 'non-existent' (*maʿdūm*) is a thing (*shay*ʾ), a substance and an essence, with characteristics and attributes" (*ibid.; cf. Fut.* II, 232 [12]).

[26] This is presumably the synthesis of being and non-being—*i.e.*, becoming—which, by its very nature, is dual, made up of "two parts"—spirit (represented by the letter, *ʿayn*) and matter (= *lām* and *mīm*), as explained below.

for the letter, *ʿAyn* (ع), while the material Substance (*al-māddah*) is specialized in the [letter] *Mīm* (م), and the *Lām* (ل)[27] in the Grace of the Eternal (*luṭf al-Qadīm*)[28]—there is naught in that Station but an abstract/absolute Knowledge (*ʿilm mujarrad*) and a Realization [both] ancient/pre-existent and renewed/extended (*taḥqīq qadīm wa-mujaddad*).[29]

The Jewel of the Second Pearl: [*The Primary Inspirations* (*al-khawāṭir al-uwal*)]:[30]

Likewise,[31] some of the Primary Inspirations [proceeding from God to Man] (*al-khawāṭir al-uwal*)[32] [and] extending to Eternity (*al-azal*) are not properly described by either Being or Non-being;[33] neither does a [Divine] Tablet (*lawḥ*)[34] contain them, nor a Pen (*qalam*)[35] design them; nor are they contained in germ (*mujmalat*^{an}) in the [Cosmic] Inkwell (*al-dawāh*)[36] like the fruit in [its] pit.[37] [These Divine Inspirations] are not distinguished by place (*al-ayn*), [since] they cease not recurring from essential Wellspring (*al-ʿayn*) to Wellspring.—Hence, the resemblance and co-operation (*al-shibh wa-l-ishtirāk*) between these "Inspirations" and the Wellsprings of the angelic Regents (*ʿuyūn al-amlāk*) before the creation of the Throne (*khalq al-ʿarsh*)[38] and the separation-off of the Carpet (*fatq al-farsh*) [therefrom],[39] for the comparison (*al-muqābalah*) [between them] had already been made firm, and the correspondence (*al-mumāthalah*) beheld.[40]

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[27] The *ʿayn* of the intelligible (spiritual) world (*ʿālam bi-l-ʿilm*) separates off to become an absolute essence (= *ʿayn thābitah*), leaving the *mīm* as the gross sediment of the unintelligible, material (physical) world, and the *lām* as the subtle (psychic) link between the two. It is perhaps not without significance that the numerical value of *ʿayn* (70) equals that of the two other letters (30 + 40). Also, al-Maqābirī, noting that the *mīm* and the *lām* of علم have been reversed in the text, supposes the point to be that "knowledge" has been turned into "action, practice" (عمل), offering *Qur.* 51: 56 as a prooftext: "I created the *jinn* and mankind only that they might worship [as opposed to *know*] Me."

[28] The *Qadīm al-ayyām* (Ancient of days) is an epithet of God in theology. Here, however, *al-qadīm* may denote the eternal, primeval substance of the Muḥammadan Reality as the qabalistic Adam Kadmon (*cf.* above, p. 406, n. 173).

[29] I take the "abstract/absolute knowledge" to be represented by the *ʿayn*, and the "pre-existent [= psychic] and extended [= physical]" realization, or substantiation, to be figured in the *lām* and the *mīm*, respectively.

[30] These primary, eternal intimations in man may be correlated with the cosmic "wellsprings of the spirits" (*ʿuyūn al-arwāḥ*), mentioned in the section on the second "pearl" (p. 392, above), as we learn *infra.*

[31] *Ka-dhālika.* Each of the remaining *marjānah*-sections, exc. for the last, begin with this expression. The meaning is, presumably, *ditto* to the opening phrase of the first *marjānah*: "man's portion in [the Muḥammadan Reality]."

[32] The *khāṭir al-awwal* is an "incoming idea, thought or inclination", which is attributable to Divine agency and is called *Rabbānī* (Lordly), as opposed to three other types of *khawāṭir*, which proceed from angels, the self, or the devil, and are styled *ilhām*, *hājis*, and *waswās*, respectively (see *Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*; and *Muʿjam, no.* 234, which latter cites ss. in the *Futūḥāt*). The point is that even as man's inherent knowledge is rooted in the Divine omniscience (as we saw in the first "jewel"), so are certain of the extraneous intimations which come to him during the course of his life.

[33] They are neither necessarily existent in themselves, nor are they pure nothingness, but the free, creative acts of God.

[34] *Sci.*, the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* (preserved tablet), standing for universal soul. At this point the important ms., *Rağib Paşa 1453/3* (= R), resumes again (at f. 162) after a hiatus of eleven pages (beginning at p. 41, l. 9, of Q2).

[35] *Sci.*, the first intellect. The eternal *khawāṭir* are not contained in the content of the soul or formed by the categorical imperatives of the intellect, but are objectively transcendental and Divine.

The Jewel of the Third Pearl: [*A Prophetic Legacy* (*wirth nabawī*) *from "One Who Draws Nigh"* (*man danā*) *as the Rising Sun*]:[41] B,31

Likewise, when Man[42] doffs his sandals (*naʿlā-hu*)[43] and denudes himself (*tajarrada*) of his two garments (*thawbā-hu*),[44] withdrawing (*zahada*) from his two existences (*kawnā-hu*),[45] he will take up residence in this

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[36] As receptacle of the "cosmic ink" in an undifferentiated, latent state, the "inkwell" symbolizes the supraqualitative form of Divine manifestation, as the germ of the date hidden in the date-pit stands for the prequantified, or unextended, stage of material development. In Modern Arabic, *dawāh* (or *dawāyah*) has come to signify the receptacle pictured in Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (on pp. 211–12) rather than the "inkwell" (Fr., *ecritoire*) or "inkpot" (*encrier*) proper.

[37] *Ka-l-thamari fī l-nawāti.* Q2 has *ka-l-qamar* (like the moon) instead.

[38] The ref. is to the *ʿuyūn al-arwāḥ* (wellsprings of the spirits) treated in the second "pearl" section (p. 392 at n. 43), which preceded the creation of the throne (in the third "pearl"). On *amlāk*, see Gloss., *s.v.*

[39] *Cf. Qur.* 21: 30, 51: 48 and 2: 22, *etc.* The Divine throne represents the highest sphere, or empyrean, while the "mat, or carpet", spread before the throne may be taken as the lowest sphere, the earth (called a *firāsh*, "bedspread", in the last-cited verse). The saying, *min al-ʿarsh ilá l-farsh*, means "from the highest sphere to the lowest."

[40] The ref. is to the "comparison and correspondence" between the microcosmic *khawāṭir* and the external-cosmic *ʿuyūn al-amlāk*, above.

[41] This *marjānah* is evidently the one referred to by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *R. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn* (in *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 19), p. 18.

[42] Instead of *al-insān*, Q2 alone has *al-rajul*, meaning much the same.

[43] In *Qur.* 20: 12, God commands Moses (from the burning bush) to remove his sandals (*fa-khlaʿ naʿlay-ka*) because of the sanctity of the valley in which he stood (named *Ṭuwá*). *Khalʿ al-Naʿlayn* is also the title of the well-known treatise of the Algarvean Ṣūfī rebel, Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151), upon which Ibn al-ʿArabī later composed a long comm. (Yahia, *no.* 681).

[44] M glosses these as either "pride and vanity or greed and expectation." Rather, the ref. may be to the body and the lower soul (*nafs*), the vehicles of consciousness in the waking and the sleeping states.

[45] That is, his existence in this world and the next, acc. to M, who adds: "We worship You not out of fear of Your Fire nor greed for Your Paradise, but pur-

Sublimest Place (*al-maḥall al-asná*),[46] as, just "two Bows' length or even nearer (*qābu qawsayni aw adná*)"[47] to him, the One who "drew nigh" (*man danā* [*sci.*, the Angel Gabriel])[48] becomes a "Prophetic Legacy" (*wirth nabawī*)—each Bow's length commensurate with [the strength of] its marksman (*rāmī-hā*) and the difference in its goals (*marāmī-hā*).[49] This is the Station of the Sitting [upon the Throne] (*maqām al-istiwā'*)[50] and the Presence of the Singular One of Informing (*ḥaḍrat witr al-inbā'*)[51] in which the intimate [Divine] Colloquys (*mukhāṭabāt al-ta'nīs*) and the establishing Precepts (*qawāʿid al-ta'sīs*) come to him in the Wellspring of Unification (*ʿayn al-ittiḥād*) without any deviation (*ilḥād*).[52] Hence, [Man's] Essence (*ḏhātu-hu*) sways[53] in

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suant to Your service (*ʿubūdīyatu-ka*), for this is the real essence of asceticism (*ḥaqīqat al-zuhd*)." *Cf. Qur.* 51: 49.

[46] That is, the microcosmic station corresponding to the Divine throne of the third macrocosmic "pearl". The throne (unlike the "footstool" and all that lies below it) is characterized by essential unity and unicity.

[47] *Qur.* 53: 9. The verse describes the angel Gabriel's appearance to Muḥammad. On the significance of the image of the "two bows' length," see *Seal,* 172.

[48] *Cf. Qur.* 53: 8, where the verb, *danā*, is used. See the end of the third "pearl" section (p. 394 at n. 64), where the Divine throne is identified with the place of "coming-nigh" (*tadānī*), *etc.* It is important to note that though the imagery here ostensibly relates to the angel Gabriel of the Qur'ān, this figure actually signifies the Seal/Mahdī as the inner sun of mystic illumination (see below).

[49] Or possibly: "the variance in its ranges." The "bow's length" (*qaws*) is commensurate with the capability of the agent and the instrument itself.

[50] See *Qur.* 13: 2: "God is the One Who raised the heavens without supports, then mounted the throne (*istawá ʿalá l-ʿarsh*)." *Cf.* also 20: 5. In *Qur.* 28: 14, the verb, *istawá*, describes Moses's coming to maturity in order to receive wisdom and knowledge. On the usage of *istiwā'* by Ibn al-ʿArabī, see S. al-Ḥakīm's very useful account in *Muʿjam, no.* 360.

[51] As voc. in C, R and W. Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-anbiyā'* (the prophets). *Al-Witr* (the Unequalled) is an extra-Qur'ānic name of God. As *watar* is also a "*bow-*string", there may be a pun on the *qāb qawsayn* mentioned above. M glosses *witr al-inbā'* as the Seal of the saints. I concur, but the latter is in his guise here as the "messenger of inspiration" (= Gabriel). *Witr: fard.*

[52] *Bi-ʿayni l-ittiḥādi min ghayri ilḥād*^{in}. This could be rendered: "in the real unification without heresy"; and, in view of the fact that *ittiḥād* (= false-associationism with God) is the perennial bugaboo of Muslim theologians (and the sin most often ascribed to Ibn al-ʿArabī by his detractors), this may well be taken as the intended sense. In any case, the allusion is to the same mystic union between the author and the Seal/Mahdī that was described in Pt. I (see, esp., the chap., "Purest Sealed Wine," pp. 281–87). Instead of the last, B2 and M, read *iltiḥād*, meaning the same and making a better rhyme.

[53] *Fa-tatamāyala*, in all ss. (though it is voc. as ind. in W) exc. for M and Q2, which have the perf. I take the subj. to be the *insān* mentioned in the first line. "That light" in what follows must refer to the "rising sun" of the appearance of the "singular-one of informing"—Gabriel, described as the "shining of a clear dawn" (*ishrāq ṣubḥ mubīn*) in Pt. I, p. 257 (see also pp. 277*sq.*).

that light [of the inner Sun] like the flickering of the wick-flame (*tamāyul al-sirāj*)[54] with the in-coming of [the breezes of] pleasure and delight (*wārid al-surūr wa-l-ibtihāj*), as if it were a drunkard (*nashwān*) who gets his comfort therefrom,[55] seeking gratification and finding no release.[56] For he gives ear to [the intimate Addresses] from Him [*viz.*, the "One who drew nigh" as the dawning Light],[57] and a part of him makes a plaint of his love for Him,[58] but [Man is both] a Lover of himself (*ʿashshāq li-nafsi-hi*)[59] [and] one who longs for [the rising of] his Sun (*ṭawwāq li-shamsi-hi*). Then [his Sun] rose upon him[60] from his heart (*min fiʾādi-hi*) and illuminated the land of his [own] country (*arḍ bilādi-hi*), so that a part of it might grace [another] part[61] when his "sky" poured rain upon his "earth".[62]

The Jewel of the Fourth Pearl: [*The Mystical Resurrection and Judgment in the Interval of Intervals* (*barzakh al-barāzikh*)]: 53

Likewise, when Man acquires from his Essence (*dhātu-hu*) in the Interval of invervals (*barzakh al-barāzikh*)[63] the Station of proud Splendor and lofty Honor (*maqām al-majd al-shāmikh wa-l-ʿizz al-bādhikh*)—in which will occur the "Night of his Decree" (*laylat qadri-hi*)[64] and the

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[54] The *sirāj* (lamp, torch) is a metonym for the sun in *Qur.* 25: 61, *et al.* (but in 33: 46 it represents the Prophet Muḥammad), and Ibn al-ʿArabī uses the term to signify the "external" light (*al-nūr al-ẓāhir*), as al-Ḥakīm notes (see *Muʿjam, no.* 330). *Cf.* also below, p. 454 at n. 77, where the light of gnosis is assimilated to a *sirāj*.

[55] *Fa-ka-anna-hu nashwān*^{un} *akhadha min-hu l-rāḥa*. B and C both gloss *nashwān* as *sakrān* (a drunkard). *Rāḥ* (wine) = *irtiyāḥ* (gratification, delight).

[56] The wavering candle-flame is likened to the swaying back and forth of the winebibber, intoxicated by the winds of pleasure. This peculiar metaphor, again, harks back to the chap., "Purest Sealed Wine."

[57] *Fa-samiʿa min-hu ilay-hi*. This may, rather, mean: "Part of him gave ear to him" (*cf.* next note).

[58] *Fa-tawājada baʿḍu-hu ʿalay-hi*. For some of the various usages of this verb, inc. one from the *Dīwān* of ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ, see Dozy, *s.v.* In what follows we see that Ibn al-ʿArabī has in mind here a kind of mystical solipsis, or narcissism (*à la* the marriage-theme of Pt. I, pp. 315–17).

[59] This is sometimes specified as the pejorative sense of "lover".

[60] This and the preceding clause are written in the margin of C.

[61] *Fa-tunaʿʿima baʿḍu-hu fī baʿḍi-hi* (the verb is garbled in Q2).

[62] As in the macrocosm at the level below the unitary Divine throne, where Heaven and Earth are separated, so in the microcosm, man—his superior nature (symbolized by the "sun" and "sky") becomes differentiated from his lower-self (= his *nafs*, or "earth") at the level below the present "jewel". In psychology, this stage corresponds to the first formation of separate ego-consciousness.

[63] *Cf. Qur.* 23: 100, 25: 53, and 55: 20. In the latter two verses, the *barzakh* is an "isthmus, or barrier" between the "two seas" (see Jeffrey, *s.v.; Muʿjam, no.* 74; and *Path,* 14, *et al.* [see ind.]).

[64] I take the pron. to refer to man, not God. *Cf. Qur.* 97: 1, the origin of the

"Completion of his Full-Moon" (*kamāl badri-hi*)—he shall distinguish therein between [all] things, separating the dead and the living, and he will appear [as the Full-Moon] unto [both] the people of Affliction and of Favor (*ahl al-balā' wa-l-naʿmā'*). [And] therein he will surpass his Companions in the "Two Books" (*ṣaḥābatu-hu bi-l-kitābayn*)—of the Left-hand and the Right:[65]

> These here, by their names and their lineages,[66] in an Exalted Record (*fī ʿillīyīn*); and these, similarly, in a Debased Record (*fī sijjīn*). . . .[67] B,31b

[That is] after the Exalted Self-Manifestation (*al-tajallī l-ʿālī*) shall have come upon him in [the Interval of intervals] from the Presence of the Most-High (*al-Mutaʿālī*) by means of [the dictum]: "These are for Paradise and I don't mind; and these are for Hell-fire, and I don't care!"[68] The "Discrimination" (*al-furqān*) shall be sent down *from* [that Station of the Interval] and the "Recitation" (*al-qur'ān*) sent down *to* it,[69] while the Balance (*al-mīzān*)[70] will be suspended there*in*,

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trad. of the *laylat al-qadr*, "when the angels and the spirit descend," thought to be one of the last nights of the holy month of Ramaḍān, when the Prophet received the first verses of the Revelation (*cf.* p. 19, nn. 41 and 44).

[65] See *Qur.* 69: 19–25*sq.*, where the blessed are described as receiving the "record" (*kitāb*) of their deeds in their right-hands on the day of Judgment (*cf.* also 17: 71, 56: 27 & 38, *et al.*), while those of the left-hand (56: 41) are the damned. There is no Scriptural precedent for referring to these as "two books", however.

[66] *Bi-asmā'i-him wa-ansābi-him*: "by their given names and their surnames (*nisab*)." One printing of Q2 has *bi-asmā'i-hā*.

[67] See *Qur.* 83: 7–11 & 18–20, where these appear to be the names of the written records (s., *kitāb marqūm*) of the deeds/names of the blessed and the damned. Acc. to a common view, however, they were taken as designating the ***places*** where those books were kept (see Jeffery, *s.v.* *ʿillīyūn* and *sijjīn*). This parenthetical declaration may be compared with the trad. quoted (for the second time) in the next line.

[68] On this putative *ḥadīth qudsī*, see above, p. 343, n. 35.

[69] The verb is *unzila* in both clauses. Acc. to this passage, the *Furqān* may be said to originate in the interworld of the *barzakh al-barāzikh*, while the Qur'ān is sent down thither from above. The precise meaning of the former word in the Scripture was much debated (see Jeffery, *s.v.*; and *Muʿjam*, *no.* 521), but it was most commonly taken to signify "the separator (*fāriq*) between truth and falsehood, or the lawful and the forbidden". It is frequently understood simply to denote the Qur'ān (in 2: 185 and 25: 1, *et al.*), but is apparently an epithet for the Torah in 2: 53 and 21: 48), and has an evident eschatological sense in 8: 41. In the *Taʿrīfāt*, *furqān* is "detailed knowledge distinguishing between truth and falsehood"—as distinct from the Qur'ān as "comprehensive esoteric knowledge containing all of the essential realities" (*s.v.*). See also Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore*, pp. 141–42 (n. 52).

[70] *Qur.* 21: 47: "We shall set up the just balances (*al-mawāzīn al-qisṭ*) for the day of Resurrection so that no soul is wronged in anything. Even if it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, We shall produce it," *etc.* Books recording each man's actions will be placed in the balance, and those laden with good deeds will be

and the Records of the [deeds of the] Left and the Right (*ṣuḥuf al-shamā'il wa-l-aymān*)[71] shall fly [to their respective sides of the Balance].[72]

In this Station [of the Interval] the Resurrection special to [Man's] Essence (*qiyāmatu-hu l-khāṣṣah bi-dhāti-hi*) will take place,[73] and the probative Inquisition (*musā'alat al-ʿadl*)[74] concerning his names and his attributes[75] will come to pass. Then [their very] limbs (*al-jawāriḥ*) shall speak to some of the Gnostics, the shameful acts (*al-faḍā'iḥ*) becoming apparent to the people of Instability (*ahl al-talwīn*) and the good ones (*al-maṣāliḥ*) to the people of Establishment (*ahl al-tamkīn*).[76] Therein their sins (*sayyi'ātu-hum*) will be converted to good deeds (*ḥasanāt*) and their saintly "miracles" (*karāmātu-hum*) to prophetic Signs (*āyāt*);[77] and therein the Informative Inheritance (*al-wirth al-inbā'ī*)[78] and the Specialized Station (*al-maqām al-ikhtiṣāṣī*) shall accrue

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found weightier than those with evil (as in the conception of the Zoroastrians, but contrary to that of the ancient Egyptians). *Cf. Qur.* 57: 25, 55: 7–9 and 42: 17, *et al.*, where the law contained in the Scripture may be intended. On *mīzān*, see *Muʿjam, no.* 693. In the margin, E has *al-nīrān* (the fires) instead.

[71] For this sense of the word, *ṣuḥuf*, see Lane (*s.v. ṣaḥīfah* and *raqq*), who gives a quote defining the *ṣaḥā'if* as those pieces of paper or skin "that will be produced to the sons of Adam on the day of Resurrection." *Cf.* Jeffery, *s.v. ṣuḥuf.* C and Q2 have the variant plur., *ṣaḥā'if.* On the significance of the left and right hands, see above, n. 65.

[72] *Wa-tataṭāyaru,* in all ss. exc. for B2 and Q, which have the masc. of the verb; and C, which has the perf. From the beginning of this section has been one interminable sentence (made up of a series of fut. ind. verbals), which, moreover, does not really end at this point, but comprises also the next two clauses.

[73] That is, I think, his "second arising" (*qiyāmah*) as the specially-initiated Seal/Mahdī in the fullness of his time.

[74] Instead of the first, Q2 has *masā'il* (questions).

[75] *Fī asmā'i-hi wa-ṣifāti-hi.* First his essence is "resurrected," then his properties determined. It is important to understand, however, that the real events evoked in this section are not the trad. eschaton but the mystical *initiation* (or self-realization) of the Ṣūfī aspirant.

[76] In the inquisition preceding Divine Judgment, each limb will be asked to recount what actions it performed. In the context of the mystical process, the Ṣūfī is shown to profit from this detailed "self-analysis," eradicating the undesireable traits through his ability to adapt, and adopting the good ones by consolidation. On the trad. distinction made between *talwīn* and *tamkīn,* which is apparently subscribed to here, see both al-Qāshānī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah, s.v.*, and *Muʿjam, no.* 567. But *cf.* Gloss., *s.v. tamkīn.*

[77] The *karāmāt,* of course, are the charismatic feats, or wonders, of the saints, as opposed to the probative miracles (*āyāt* = *muʿjizāt*) of the prophets. Even as the "sins" of the *ahl al-talwīn* are transformed (*tubaddalu*) into the "good deeds" of the *ahl al-tamkīn* in the Interworld, so, too, will the wondrous works of the saints be elevated to the status of prophetic miracles therein.

[78] Or: "the prophetic (*nabawī*) heritage." M alludes to the trad. that the religious scholars (*ʿulamā'*) were the true heirs of the Prophet (though he allows that this may not be true of "this age of ours"). Rather, the *wirth al-Muḥammadī* is the special her-

to [the Master of the Interval][79] after the accomplishment of his Resurrection (*qiyām qiyāmati-hi*) and the straightening-up of his stature (*istiwāʾ qāmati-hi*). Then in that Special Informing (*al-inbāʾ al-khāṣṣ*) he proclaims:

> O, give up retaliation (*al-qiṣāṣ*),[80] and hasten to the Return [to God] (*al-awbah*)[81]—"There is no time to escape!"[82]

—Then he sets forth at a fast trot, and he is taken possession of as he takes possession [= becomes a "King"—*sci.*, the Seal/Mahdī].[83]

With respect to this Presence [of the Footstool/Interval, then], the Saint shall become a Prophet [therein], and the Prophet a Saint.[84] It is the Presence of the Successor and the Seal (*ḥaḍrat al-khalīfah wa-l-khatm*)[85] and the Locus of Revealing and Concealing (*maḥall al-ifshāʾ wa-l-katm*)—despite the pride of the denier. But, verily, the

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itage of the Muḥammadan Seal of the saints, whose appointment is the real subj. of this passage. Q2 alone has *al-wārith* (the heir) instead of *al-wirth*.

[79] C and Q2 have "to them" (corrected in the margin of the former).

[80] See *Qur.* 2: 178-79 and, esp., 5: 45: "... but whoever foregoes [retaliation], it shall be an expiation (*kaffārah*) for him" (*cf. Matt.* 5: 23–26). At this point the red highlighting in R is discontinued (hence, it no longer affords indication of the divisions of the rhyme-scheme).

[81] *Awbah* = *maʾāb* (see *Qur.* 13: 29 & 36, *et al.*). "That is the return to your original station, or pristine nature (*al-fiṭrah*), the station from which you first descended" (M).

[82] *Qur.* 38: 3 (*cf.* 18: 58). The verse reads: ... *fa-nādaw, wa-lāta ḥīna manāṣ*^{in} (and they called out, [but] there was no time for escape), the first verb corresponding to the broaching of this statement, *fa-nādá* (then he proclaims), above. This incisive proclamation represents the new Seal's inaugural message, admirably summing up his whole doctrine and mission (*cf.* Jesus's first public teaching after his baptism and retreat, in *Matt.* 4: 17).

[83] Foll. B, C and W: *Fa-mubādir*^{un} *wa-mutalaklik*^{un}, *fa-mutamallak*^{un} *wa-mutamallik*^{un} . The "king," of course, is the Mahdī as apocalyptic "prince of peace." Most of the other ss. read the verbal, *fa-tamallaka*, in the second clause. M, which does not do this, yet garbles the first clause, as Q2 does the entire line.

[84] *Wa-min hādhihi l-ḥaḍrati yanqalibu l-walīyu nabīy*^{an} *wa-l-nabīyu walīy*^{an}. Al-Maqābirī's comm. is ingenious, albeit hardly representative of Ibn al-ʿArabī's meaning: "The end of sainthood is the beginning of prophecy. For if the Real wills that His servant be made a prophet He transfers him from the station of the Seal of the saints to the station of prophecy, that the saint might become a prophet—that being [however, only] in the time preceding the appearance of our Prophet (May God bless and keep him!)." After noting that the Shaykh's teaching has been the butt of attack and warning against misunderstanding it, M goes on to explicate the second clause by referring it specifically to Jesus, who formerly had been a prophet, but who, with his return to the earth as Mahdī, will reign in his capacity as universal Seal of the saints rather than as a prophet. For the full comm., see App. I.

[85] M understands both terms to refer to "Jesus, son of Mary, and the élite saints of God who have reached the highest levels of sainthood" (for the remainder of his comm., see App. I).

haughty deviant[86] shall be taken by the fatal Decree of God (*qaḍā' Allāh*) unless he come to the training-ground of Prudence (*miḍmār al-intibāh*)[87] so that his Essence (*ʿaynu-hu*) might be converted[88] and his separateness (*baynu-hu*) connected.[89]—O Presence of Distinction (*yā ḥaḍrata farq*^{in})[90] and Seat of Sureness (*yā maqʿada ṣidq*^{in})[91] which bestows [that conversion and connection], forsooth![92]

The Jewel of the Fifth Pearl:
[*The Meanings of the Times and the Planets and Stars*]:[93]

Likewise, when the Stars of the [cosmic] Intellections (*nujūm al-*
ʿulūm) emerge from the Heavens of the Insights (*samawāt al-fuhūm*), B,32
everything will stand in need of [Man], while *he* needs nothing[94]— **54**
the radiant stars of his attributes (*darārī ṣifāti-hi*) coursing along[95] in the celestial spheres of his essences (*aflāk dhawāti-hi*),[96] through the sun-signs of his mystical states (*burūj maqāmāti-hi*)[97] and the lunar phases of his wondrous works (*manāzil karāmāti-hi*), for the times (*al-ayyām*) are filled up to their measure[98] in their [primary] cycle (*dawratu-hu*), and the [astral] predications (*al-aḥkām*) are established by [the cycle's]

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[86] V and Q2 have *al-qā'il* (the speaker) instead of *al-ʿā'il.*

[87] "Today the training-field, tomorrow the race; and the winner is the one who wins Paradise" (proverb quoted in Lane, *s.v. miḍmār*).

[88] *Fa-yuqallaba ʿaynu-hu* (as voc. in B, E and W): "that he be transubstantiated." R, V and Q2 have the verb in Form VII instead of II.

[89] *Wa-yattaṣila baynu-hu.* B has written in the margin: "Separation and connection (*al-waṣl*) are among the contraries."

[90] Instead of the last, V, B2 and Q2 read *fawq* (above). The ref. is to the notion of *furqān* (discrimination) which is especially associated with the station of the Divine footstool (see n. 69, above).

[91] In *Qur.* 54: 55, the blessed are described as being "in a sure abode (*maqʿad ṣidq*) with a Mighty King."

[92] *Mā aʿṭā-hu bi-ḥaqq*^{in}. The part., *mā*, is evidently syn. with *alladhī* (which), as M suggests. The pron. refers to the accomplishment of the preceding phrases of purpose. R has *al-Ḥaqq* ("the Real," as subj.) in place of *bi-ḥaqq*^{in} (truly, forsooth).

[93] This astrological section corresponds to "the pearl of the [seven] spheres" chap. beginning on p. 400.

[94] Each part of a whole, as such, stands in need of every other part, and, in particular, the principal ones (*e.g.*, the heart or brain of the body). But he in whom Divine insight shines forth from within has no specific need for anything extraneous.

[95] *Wa-sabaḥat* (B2 reads *wa-jamaʿat*). As Lane points out in connection with the animate plurs. of *Qur.* 21: 33 and 36: 40, the precise meaning here is probably "swimming, floating" (*s.v. sabaḥa*). Moreover, as we infer from the last line of this paragraph, the *darār*^{in} are actually the trad. seven "planets" which give their names to the days of the week.

[96] Foll. B, W, B2, Z, M and both edns. The early ss., C, E and R, have the sing., *dhātu-hu*, instead of the plur. (though C amends this in the margin).

[97] Q2 has *burj* instead of the plur.

[98] The verb is *tuḥlaqu* in B and R. All of the other ss. read *tukhlaqu* (they were

recurrence (*karratu-hā*).[99] For seven ["Planets"] float[100] in seven [Spheres], having their "advance" (*iqbāl*) in twenty-eight [days][101] and their "return" (*raj'ah*)[102] divided into twelve loci (s., *mahall*), so that twelve months, sacred and profane (s., *shahr ḥarām wa-ḥill*),[103] come about (as there are four demarcations [of time]—days, weeks, and months comprised in years).[104] Then the round (*al-kawr*)[105] returns and the cycle (*al-dawr*) continues without interruption, for the radiant Stars (*al-darārī* [*sci.*, the seven "planets") constitute] a full week, the Way-stations (*al-manāzil* [= lunar phases]) a month, and the Mansions (*al-burūj* [= solar houses]) a year.

If your [special] day is Sunday, then Idrīs [= Enoch][106] is your companion (*jalīsu-ka*), so bother not with anyone![107] And if [your day] be Monday, then Adam is your companion in the Interval of

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formed), exc. for Q2, which has the perf. *Tuḥlaqu* (either Form I or IV): "they were filled up to the *ḥalq*" (*q.v.*), as a cistern is filled up to its rim (this image could be associated with the idea of a chain of pools which was sometimes used to illustrate the emanation of celestial spheres one to another). The meaning of the verb could also derive from *ḥalqah* (a ring).

[99] I am not sure of my trn. here, but it appears to be borne out by the foll. sentence, where a *dawrah* might correspond to a month of twenty-eight days, and a *karrah* to its repetition twelve times in the year. The latter is evidently the same as *raj'ah* (return, recurrence) in the next line, as well as *kawr* (recycle) in the one foll. that (*cf.* the ref. from al-Harīrī quoted above, in n. 8).

[100] *Sābiḥah* (*cf. Qur.* 79: 3), in all ss. exc. for Q2, which reads the masc. The "seven" are the trad. "planets" (wanderers), which include the sun and moon.

[101] That is, the number of days in a lunar month. A planet will be "exalted" on each fourth day of the month.

[102] See n. 99.

[103] There were four sacred months (*ashhur ḥurum*) from pre-Islamic times: Dhū l-Qa'dah, Dhū l-Ḥijjah, al-Muḥarram and Rajab (the first three consecutive and the fourth separate), during which bloodshed was not allowed (see *Qur.* 9: 36; and *cf.* vv. 5 and 2). The remaining months were *ḥalāl* (= *ḥilāl* or *ḥill*, all imperfect rhymes with *maḥall*), in which warfare was permitted. Al-Maqābirī lists Shawwāl (as marking the beginning of the *iḥrām* period in preparation for the *ḥajj*) in place of al-Muḥarram. There was also a sustained effort during Islamic times to replace Rajab with Ramaḍān.

[104] I have omitted the foll. line from the text as redundant: "For the days are contained in the weeks, and the weeks and the days within the months, and the days and the weeks and the months within the years."

[105] On the distinction between *kawr* and *dawr*, see Gloss., *s.v. kawr*.

[106] This Qur'ānic personage (see 19: 56 and 21: 85) is generally identified with the Biblical Enoch, but is also connected with trads. orig. associated with al-Khaḍir, Elijah, Hermes Trismegistus, and others (see Jeffery, *s.v. Idrīs*). As having lived 365 years (acc. to *Gen.* 5: 20–21), Enoch is a solar figure—hence, his attribution here (*cf.* also *Bezels*, 84). "Your day" probably signifies simply the day under consideration. On the correspondences of the days and the prophets, see also *Mawāqi'*, 157–58.

[107] That is, be like Enoch "in his withdrawing (*infirād*) from creation to the Real for the vision of His Beauty in the highest station" (M).

the Two Worlds (*barzakh al-nashʾatayn*).[108] If your day be Tuesday, then Aaron (Hārūn) is your companion, so adhere to right Guidance (*al-ihtidāʾ*);[109] and John the Baptist (Yaḥyá) will be your intimate (*anīsu-ka*), so cleave to purity and contentment (*al-ʿafāf wa-l-iktifāʾ*).[110] If it is Wednesday, Jesus is your companion,[111] so hold fast to the Holy Life (*al-ḥayāh al-qudsīyah*) and persevere in the desert (*baydāʾ*).[112] If it be Thursday, then it is Moses:[113] For deception (*al-talbīs*) is quite lifted away,[114] and you are addressed in the manner of a revelation,[115] not [by] any man or fire (*lā* [*ʿalá*] *ins wa-lā anīs*);[116] and, indeed, the Angel rejoiced [at the mention of God's Name], while the Devil (*Iblīs*) withdrew.[117] And if your day is Friday (*al-ʿArūbah*),[118] then Joseph, possessor of the beloved, empassionating qualities (*al-ṣifāt al-maʿshūqah al-maḥbūbah*) is your companion.[119] And if Saturday, then B,32b it is Abraham,[120] so hasten to the honoring of your Guest before [He] vanishes![121] These, then, are the Days of the Gnostics (*ayyām al-ʿārifīn*) and the radiant Stars of the Spheres of the Wayfarers (*darārī aflāk al-sāʾirīn*)!

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[108] Acc. to M, the ref. is to "this world" and the "afterworld", or existence and non-existence, or knowledge and action (*al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*). As vicegerent of God among men (*khalīfat Allāh*), Adam may be said to represent each to the other.

[109] Tuesday was considered an inauspicious day (as it was in the West, also) due to its association with Mars, the planet of war; and perhaps partly in this light it is related to the somewhat dubious prophethood of Aaron (see *Qur.* 20: 86–98; and *cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's ingenious explication in the *Fuṣūṣ* [*cf. Bezels*, 243–45]).

[110] *ʿAfāf*: "chastity, abstinence, purity" (= *zakāh*, in *Qur.* 19: 13). *Iktifāʾ* = *zuhd*. As older cousin of Jesus, John may be compared to Aaron, the elder brother of Moses.

[111] Wednesday is the day of Woden, or Odin, the 'hanged god' of Norse mythology.

[112] *Cf. Matt.* 14: 13, and *Luke* 4: 41–42 and 9: 10.

[113] The resemblance between Jupiter, Thor and Moses in their connection with the earth-shaking fire is patent. Consonant with the Muslim stereotype of Mosaic prophethood, M characterizes it as "the struggle (*al-mujāhadah*) against the 'enemies of God' among the attributes of your lower-soul and their immersion in the sea of sense-perception (*al-mushāhadah*)."

[114] *Fa-qad irtafaʿa l-talbīsu.* M interprets this metathetically as "the expulsion of the accursed Devil" (*ṭard al-malʿūn, Iblīs*), and glosses *talbīs* as "the veil of your lower-soul" (*ḥijāb nafsi-ka*). As *talbīs* also means "dressing, or covering s.th.", the ref. here may be to Moses's removing his sandals when addressed by God in *Qur.* 20: 12, *et seq.* (*cf.* also *Exo.* 33: 22–23).

[115] *Wa-kullimta ʿalá kashf*^{in} (as voc. in B and W). Instead of the first, E, V and Q2 have *wa-kamalta* (and you were completed).

[116] The last word rhymes with *Iblīs* in the foll. clause, although the correct form is *anīsah* (see Lane, *s.v. anīs* [end]). Moses was known as the prophet who had spoken directly to God (*kalīm Allāh*; see *Qur.* 4: 164, *et al.*; and *cf. Exo.* 33: 11) w/o angelic mediation. Even the "fire" (*al-nār* = the burning bush) which Moses *saw* in *Qur.* 20: 10 is not to be regarded as a medium through which God spoke. V, B2 and Q have *ʿalá l-kashf al-anīs* (by the intimate unveiling) and omit the foll. clause altogether.

[117] *Wa-qad istabshara l-malaku wa-khanasa Iblīsu.* On the name, Iblīs, see Jeffery, *s.v. al-Khannās* (the one who withdraws [at the mention of God's name]) is an epithet of the Devil (*cf. Qur.* 114: 4).

[118] This is the pre-Islamic name for Friday. V, B2 and Q prefix to it the more common name for the day, *al-Jumʿah*.

[119] The proverbial beauty of Joseph, son of Jacob, was said in legend to have

[As for the Gnostics'] Months, they are [each of] four Weeks, so listen, O traveller (*al-sālik*), and follow! The Revelation of their first Week is of the [Preserved] Tablet (*lawḥīyah*),[122] while the second [Week] is of the Pen (*qalamīyah*),[123] the third is of the Right-Hand [of God] (*yamīnīyah*),[124] and the fourth of the [Divine] Name (*ʿalamīyah*).[125]

Their Year [then, is made up of] "twelve Months according to the Record of God (*kitāb Allāh*)[126] on the Day of the creation of the Heavens and Earth,"[127] so take note: [Al-]Muḥarram, [the month of] sanctification and coming-forward (*al-taḥrīm wa-l-tabarrī*);[128] Ṣafar, of renunciation, aspiration and denudation (*al-takhallī wa-l-taḥarrī wa-l-taʿarrī*);[129]

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driven the women of Egypt to distraction. As dedicated to Venus by the Greco-Romans, Friday was the day of love.

[120] Abraham may well have been associated with Saturn by virtue of his being the "father of many" (see *Gen.* 17: 4–5), but also, perhaps, on account of his apparent paedocidal proclivities.

[121] For the story of Abraham's reception of his angelic guests, see *Qur.* 51: 24–30, and 11: 69–73, *et al.* (and *cf. Gen.* 18: 1–15). Christian exegetes interpreted the three mysterious guests as a kind of prefigure of the Trinity.

[122] *Fa-kashfu jumʿati-himi l-ūlá lawḥīyat*^{un}. Strictly speaking, the adj. modifies *kashf*, and so should be masc. It is perhaps with this difficulty in mind that some of the ss. (inc. B ?) do not have the points indicating the fem. marker, ة, in this and each of the three foll. clauses (hence, reading here *lawḥīyu-hu*, "its *lawḥī* aspect").

[123] *Sci.*, the *qalam al-aʿlá*, emblemizing the first intellect, as the "preserved tablet" does the universal soul.

[124] M glosses this as "the right-hand of [God's] throne" (*yamīn al-ʿarsh*). Rather, it is the "right, or *writing*-Hand (of God)", which holds (and so precedes) the Divine pen.

[125] To rhyme with *qalamīyah*. W and M read *ʿilmīyah* (of the [Divine] foreknowledge), but this ignores the fact that both the "pen" and the "right-Hand" already signify God's omniscience. Rather, *ʿalam* (a proper name) perhaps refers to the "greatest name"—and, thus, the ultimate identity—of God.

[126] This is not the Scripture, of course, but, rather, the "heavenly book" as a kind of continuous register (*kitāb*) of God's decrees—hence, a calendar.

[127] *Qur.* 9: 36.

[128] *Al-muḥarram* means "the sanctified" in the sense of being inviolable, for this was one of the four sacred months in which raiding was forbidden (*ḥarām*). *Al-tabarrī* here refers to its being the first month of the year. In a letter that may have been written around the time of the composition of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, Ibn al-ʿArabī includes a passage on the significance of the twelve months which can be compared with our present paragraph (*e.g.*, *al-Muḥarram* is called the "station of beginning" [*maqām al-ibtidāʾ*]; see *Kutub*, 32). *Cf.* also *Mawāqiʿ*, 158–59.

[129] Foll. B and C (in the first of which *al-taʿarrī* is added by the orig. copyist, who may have intended to abrogate *al-taḥarrī*). The later ss. have badly garbled this phrase. In *Kutub*, 32, Ibn al-ʿArabī writes of Ṣafar that "its earth relinquishes

Rabī‘ [al-Awwal] of Customary practice (*al-‘urf*)[130] and Rabī‘ [al-Thānī] of Revelation (*al-kashf*);[131] the First Jumādá and the Last;[132] Rajab of the loftiest Shrine (*al-mashhad al-ashmakh*),[133] and Sha‘bān, the Interval (*al-barzakh*);[134] then Ramaḍān, the Everlasting (*al-ṣamadīyah*),[135] and Shawwāl, the Wellspring of quiddity (*‘ayn al-māhīyah*);[136] Dhū l-Qa‘dah,[137] the [earthly] Expanse (*al-bisāṭ*),[138] and Dhū l-Ḥijjah,

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(*takhallā*) the plants of evil deeds (*nabāt al-sayyi’āt*).” Otherwise, the month was considered most inauspicious, as it was believed that Adam lost Paradise then. The name may be cognate with *ṣifr* (zero, naught) and the verb, *ṣafira* (to become empty, denuded)—hence, its association here with *ta‘arr*^{in} (becoming naked).

[130] As voc. by E, W and M, though the correct reading may be *al-‘arf* ([spring] fragrance), which would make a better rhyme with *al-kashf* in the foll. phrase. (Regarding *‘arf*, see Lane, *s.v.*, who points out that some read *Qur.* 77: 1 as *wa-l-mursalāti ‘arf*^{an} [instead of *‘urf*^{an}], “by the winds sent forth with fragrance”). M equates *al-‘urf* with “gnosis, or mystic perception” (*al-‘irfān*), which is rather far-fetched. In *Kutub*, 32, Ibn al-‘Arabī associates the first Rabī‘ with “[mutual social] relations” (*al-mu‘āmalāt*) and the second with “[mystical] perceptions” (*al-mulāḥaẓāt*).

[131] This and the preceding were probably the first and second months of the spring season (*rabī‘*) before the intercalary month of the pre-Islamic period was dropped (*cf. Qur.* 9: 37) and the Islamic calendar became ambulatory.

[132] “The last”: *al-ākhirah*. The texts of my ss. here are surprisingly various, some reading one or other of these adjs. as masc.

[133] In *Jāhilīyah* times, Rajab was the preferred month of the *‘umrah* (lesser pilgrimage) to Mecca, a custom which survived for centuries after the advent of Islam (the “holy month” *par excellence* mentioned in *Qur.* 5: 2 may be Rajab). Later, the Prophet’s “night-flight” from Mecca to the *Masjid al-Aqsá* (the “furthest mosque”, in Jerusalem) was believed to have taken place in Rajab, so the “loftiest shrine” here may actually be (the heavenly) Jerusalem.

[134] This month is said to be so-named from *tasha‘‘aba* (to part company, separate), since it fell orig. at the time of year when the Bedouin tribes divided to search for water. Also, Sha‘bān could be conceived as the “interval” between the sacred months of Rajab and Ramaḍān. In *Kutub*, 32, Rajab is associated with the “proliferation of Divine inspirations” (*tarjīb al-wāridāt*), and Sha‘bān with “their ramification in the things of the Interworld” (*tash‘ību-hā fī l-barzakhīyāt*).

[135] Ramaḍān, of course, is the month of the fast (*ṣawm*), which is one of the canonical pillars of Islam. *Al-Ṣamad* is a name of God (on the basis of *Qur.* 112: 2), tr. by Arberry as “the everlasting Refuge” (*cf.* above, p. 337, n. 87). The word also means “solid, not hollow” (*mā lā jawf la-hu*) and is applied to s.o. who takes no nourishment, or “who neither thirsts nor hungers in war” (Lane, *s.v.*), a sense which evidently applies here. Instead of *al-ṣamadīyah*, Q2 has *al-ṣamadānīyah*, meaning the same (but in any event the adj. should be masc.).

[136] Whatever the meaning of this ref., Shawwāl is the month of the great festival of the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān (*‘īd al-fiṭr* occurs on the first day of this month).

[137] —The month of truce, or restraint (*qu‘ūd*), from warfare, in preparation for the foll. month, that of the pilgrimage. Here (and in the next clause) the name is in the gen. case, indicating that it is *al-muḍāf ilay-hi*, governed by *shahr*.

[138] *Cf. Qur.* 71: 19, where the earth is described as a broad “carpet” (*bisāṭ*) created by God, “that thereof you may tread the valleyways.”

the [spiritual] Expansiveness (*al-inbisāṭ*).[139]—These are [the Gnostics'] **55**
Months, and thus, too, are their Ages (*duhūru-hum*).

[Now, regarding the "Planets" of the Gnostics as they correlate with the seven cardinal Attributes]:[140] Their Sun[141] is their Life, and their Venus (*al-Zuharah* [the "Bright One"]) their Sight;[142] while Mercury (*al-Kātib* [the "Scribe"])[143] is their Speech, and the Moon their Knowledge; Saturn (*al-Muqātil* [the "Slayer"])[144] their Power, Jupiter (*al-Mushtarī* [145] [the "Merchant"]) their Will, and Mars (*al-Mirrīkh* [the "Fiery One"])[146] their Hearing.

[Moreover, the Gnostics'] Sun is their spirit (*rūḥu-hum*), their Moon is their soul (*nafsu-hum*),[147] and the [five] Planets (*al-khunnas*)[148] their senses (*ḥawāssu-hum*); while [the Planets'] transit [through the Zodiac] (*tarḥīlu-hum*) is [as the Gnostics'] procession through the [several mystic] states (*sayru-hum fī l-maqāmāt*), and [the Planets'] influence (*taʾthīru-hum*) is [as] those wondrous works (*al-karāmāt*) which [the Gnostics] manifest.[149] [Similarly] the return of [the Planets'] orbits is their arrival at the beginnings after the endings. . . .[150]—That is to say,

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[139] Dhū l-Ḥijjah is the last month of the year, that of the great pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥijjah, ḥajj*), which takes place on the seventh through the 10th days, culminating in the *ʿīd al-aḍḥá* (feast of the sacrifice)—the spiritual benefit of which is the apparent source of the "expansiveness," or joy.

[140] These are *ḥayāh* (life), *baṣar* (sight), *kalām* (speech), *ʿilm* (knowledge), *qudrah* (power), *irādah* (will), and *samʿ* (hearing).

[141] That is, the astrological sun, the "planet-star" of the fourth sphere, or heaven.

[142] C and Q2 have *naẓaru-hum* (their sight; insight) instead of *baṣaru-hum*, but the former amends this in the margin. B2 has *baṣīratu-hum* (their insight). Venus is the planet of the third heaven. Its being the bright 'morning star' perhaps accounts for its association here with "sight."

[143] *ʿUṭārid* was the more common name for the 'star of the scribes' and the second heaven.

[144] *Zuḥal* (the retrograder) was the more common name for the greater malefic, Saturn, regent of the seventh sphere.

[145] The "greater benefic" was ever the patron of caravan merchant-speculators (*mushtar*^{in} means both "buyer" and "seller"). Jupiter was the planet of the sixth heaven, as Mars was of the fifth.

[146] *Al-Mirrīkh*, as a name for the fiery planet, may be related to *markh*, a type of wood used for starting fire (see above, p. 324, n. 44). In alchemy the word stands for the metal, iron. Q2 has, instead, the Per. name for Saturn, *Kayvān* (see *Wörterbuch, s.v.*)—indicating that *al-Muqātil*, above, was mistaken for the warrior-planet, Mars.

[147] Or, possibly: "their breath" (*nafasu-hum*).

[148] See *Qur.* 81: 15, where the five planets are thought to be so designated. The term, *khunnas* (those who hold back, retrograders), may have to do with observations of the planets' apparent epicycles (but *cf.* n. 150, below).

[149] The miracles of the saints (*karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*) are assimilated to astrological influence.

[150] *Wa-rujūʿu dawrāti-him nuzūlu-hum ilá l-bidāyāti baʿda l-nihāyāti.* This is the precise

[a new beginning] for *another* Arising (*nash'ah ukhrá*)[151] on a Day of
Great Upheaval (*yawmu ṭāmmat^{in} kubrá*).[152] For the Southern [aster-
isms] (*yamānīyah*) and the Northern (*shamālīyah*)[153] are set in motion
(*fī l-tarḥīl*), [their] progressive advance (*al-taraqqī*)[154] being through
the Names of Creation applied to God (*asmā'u khalq^{in} li-Ḥaqq^{in}*)[155] and
the Names of Reality applied to God[156]—in accordance with what
is forbidden and what permitted [in the Law].[157] An eclipse (*kusūf*)
shall come upon One made complete (*mukmal*)[158] who had recov- B,33
ered;[159] one lower (*adná*), passing through as an eclipse, becoming
higher (*aʿlá*),[160] so that witnessing (*shahādah*) might take possession of
what is hidden (*mā khafiya*). And an increase (*ziyādah*) [shall occur]
in the Moon of the soul (*qamar al-nafs*),[161] as well as a decrease (*naqṣ*)—

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meaning of the generic term, *al-khunnas* (*takhnusu* = *tarjiʿu*), acc. to a def. quoted by Lane (*s.v. khānis*): "When you see a star . . . in the end of a sign of the zodiac, it returns to the beginning of it."

[151] See *Qur.* 53: 47; and *cf.* 56: 62 and 29: 20, the latter of which reads: "Journey in the land (*sīrū fī l-arḍ*) and behold how He has originated creation; then God causes the *second growth* (*al-nash'ah al-ākhirah*) to grow" (Arberry's trn.). The "other, second, or last" arising is the "new creation" (*khalq jadīd*), or resurrection of the body from the dead, on the day of Judgment. B2 has *al-nash'ah al-ukhrá* (as in *Qur.* 53: 47); and R and Q2 are wanting the prep., *li-* (for).

[152] See *Qur.* 79: 34-35, where this is described as "the day when man will call to mind that for which he has striven."

[153] If the ref. is to the constellations south and north of the zodiacal belt, these are listed in al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm li-Awā'il Ṣināʿat al-Tanjīm*, pp. 71–72, *et seq.* Otherwise, the southern signs of the zodiac itself are Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces, while the northern are the others (see *ibid.*, p. 227). If my interpretation is valid, the 'motion' refers to the precession of the equinoxes.

[154] B, C, R and W have *fa-l-taraqqī*, while most of the other, later ss. have *wa-* (indicating conj. with *al-tarḥīl*) rather than *fa-* (indicating separation). Q2 has *bi-* (in).

[155] As in B(?), E, R, W, Z and the margin of C. All of the other ss. have garbled this and the next clause. Examples of creaturely names applied to God are the "Relenting" (*al-Tawwāb*), the "Avenging" (*al-Muntaqim*) and the "Responsive" (*al-Mujīb*), *etc.*

[156] *E.g.*, *al-Quddūs* (the Holy One), *al-Ḥayy* (the Living) and *al-Wāḥid* (the Unique), *etc. Cf.* preceding note.

[157] *ʿAlá l-taḥrīmi wa-l-taḥlīli.* That is, acc. to what is or is not sanctioned in scripture as to the application of anthropomorphic terminology to God.

[158] Voc. as *mukmil* (one who perfects) by W. I follow B in reading *kusūf* at the beginning of this line in the nom. (rather than gen., as in W).

[159] Foll. B in reading this as *qad barī* (for *bari'a*), to rhyme with *yaʿtarī*. The image here is assimilated to the waning and waxing moon (see *infra*).

[160] *Wa-adná yaksifu aʿlá.* E and many of the later ss. have garbled this phrase. I am not certain of my trn. of this very elliptical passage, which could easily be read otherwise.

[161] Foll. B, which reads *ziyādah* in the nom. The moon is associated with the

that being because of the bending of the bow (*taʿwīj al-qaws*)[162]—for [we note both] a “coming-out” (*khurūj*) from the Presence of the Real and a “going-in” (*dukhūl*), a waning (*maḥāq*) and an increase (*ufūl*).[163] [But] nothing more than [the element] Earth (*al-turāb*) can cause an eclipse[164]—and:

> “God will relent”
> towards “one who repents,”[165]

—[even as] the moon will eclipse the sun in her apogee (*awju-hā*) when he alights in her house (*burju-hā*).[166]

C,58 Were it not for the need to be concise, we would [go on to] clarify of the secrets here[167] That in which is a lesson (*ʿibrah*) for those with insights (*ūlū l-abṣār*). So, contemplate this Model (*al-unmūdhaj*) in yourself, and strive to set in motion your Moon and your Sun![168] God it is Who guides unto the Straightest Path (*al-ṭarīq al-aqwam*)[169] and Most-ancient Way (*al-sabīl al-aqdam*).

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nafs, above, at n. 147. The “increase” here is complementary to the “eclipse” of the preceding sentence.

[162] The “bow” presumably emblemizes the crescent moon of the soul, and probably does not signify Sagittarius (*al-Qaws*), which happens to be the lowest of the “descending signs” (*burūj hābiṭah*).

[163] We have already had occasion to note that Ibn al-ʿArabī appears to use the word, *ufūl*, in the sense of a star’s condition of greatest brightness (see p. 272, n. 4; and Gloss., *s.v.*, for refs.). I have suggested the trn., “increase,” here on the basis of Blachère’s association of *afala* with *ḥafala*, ‘to superabound’ (see *s.v. afala* and *affala*).

[164] W reads the verb in the pass. voice, but the whole point seems to be that it is the ***passive*** element which effects change, as in the case of the sinner whose repentance appears to precede God’s relenting towards him. (On the trans. sense of *kasafa*, see *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*).

[165] *Wa-yatūbu Llāhu ʿalá man tāba* (*cf. Qur.* 9: 27 and 5: 39, *et al.*). M notes that this is in conformity with the conclusions of orthodox theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) as against the doctrines of both the Muʿtazilites and the Khārijites—hyper-rationalists and hyper-moralists.

[166] *Idhā ḥalla fī burji-hā* (Q2 has garbled this phrase). It might have been better in our trn. to reverse the complementary genders of sun and moon in Arabic—not only to match English usage, but also to better convey the point of the metaphor that the (apparently) weaker may move the stronger.

[167] The early ss., E and R, omit “here.”

[168] “Strive”: *ijtahid*. Q2 alone has “your moon *in* your sun.” The “moon” and “sun” here are man’s soul and spirit (see above, at n. 147).

[169] B2 adds: “whom He wills” (*cf. Qur.* 2: 213; and also 17: 9 and 46: 30, *et al.*).

The Jewel of the Sixth Pearl: [*Human Correlations with the Four Elements* (*al-ʿanāṣir al-ṭabīʿīyah*)]:[1]

Likewise, when Man is in the Station of [spiritual] Struggle (*maqām al-mujāhadah*)[2] and Volatility (*ʿadam al-qarār*),[3] his element is Fire (*al-nār*). If his Essence is secretly disclosed by subtle Signaling (*bi-kashf al-īmāʾ*) and he "passes away" from the influence of desires and the sway of passions (*taʾthīr al-irādāt wa-sulṭān al-ahwāʾ*), then his element is Air (*al-hawāʾ*);[4] while if he is in the Station of Realization through the Names (*maqām al-taḥaqquq bi-l-asmāʾ*)[5] after the Night-Journey [to the "Furthest Mosque"] (*al-isrāʾ*) and the Descent from Heaven (*al-nuzūl min al-samāʾ*), then his element is Water;[6] but if he is Silent while Speaking (*mutakallim*), and Innocent of knowledge but Instructing (*muʿallim*), treating equally relatives and peers and embracing with the Message of Guidance (*khiṭāb al-hidāyah*) [both] enemies and friends, then his element is Earth.[7]

The Jewel of the Seventh Pearl: 56
[*Human Existence—A Mirage and an "Image"* (*sarāb wa-mithl*)]:[8]

Likewise, when Man comes to know that his existence, apart B,33b
from the Being of the Bestower [of Existence] (*wujūd al-Wahhāb*), is a Mirage (*sarāb*) "—which the thirsty believes to be water, until, when he reaches it, *he finds it to be nothing*."[9] Were it not for the elation of

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[1] Compare this chap. to the sixth macrocosmic "pearl" (pp. 403–06).

[2] M glosses this as the "holy struggle" (*mujāhadah—jihād*) against man's own lower-soul, and "the improvement of his morals, the elevation of his aspiration (*himmatu-hu*) and his patience in the [various] kinds of obedience."

[3] That is, in the sense of imponderability, subtlety, rarity, dynamism, *etc.*

[4] If the Ṣūfī calms the storms of his desires, personified(?) as the "sultan of passions" (*cf. Eph.* 2: 2), then he becomes the master of the element, air.

[5] Instead of the second, E and R have *al-taḥqīq* (verification); and Q2, *al-Ḥaqq*.

[6] That is, the Ṣūfī's subtle spirit, or "astral body," rises to heaven by sublimation, as when water evaporates, and descends therefrom by condensation, as it precipitates in rain.

[7] As the base-level and lowest common denominator, the element, earth, is the great leveller among men. B2 ungallantly omits "[both] enemies and."

[8] In n. 39 on p. 82 of the intro. I suggested that Jesus is both the "mirage" and the "image" described in what I have denominated the "extra pearl" foll. the seventh, above (pp. 411–13). In that case, the *extra* seventh "pearl" will correspond precisely to the present, seventh "jewel", which treats of hylomorphic man as having both a material (= phenomenal, illusory) and a noumenal, *numinous* nature as the veritable *imago Dei.* Thus, the "smoke/mist" (*al-dukhān*) of the seventh "pearl" is the *hylē*, or material nature, while the proper subj. of the *extra* "pearl" is the mystery, or secret, of man's real, spiritual identity as God's only-begotten "likeness" (*mithl*). On *sarāb*, see *Muʿjam, no.* 329.

[9] From *Qur.* 24: 39, which continues: ". . . and there he finds God, Who pays

pretension (*nafkhat al-daʿwá*), [the self-induced illusion of the thirsty] would not have resembled water.[10] But if [Man] ascends from that [mere] semblance [of Reality] (*al-shikl*),[11] then his Mirage [becomes] the [Divine] “Image” (*al-mithl*)[12]—that being when the Real reveals Himself (*tajallá*) to [Man's] Heart in the hidden Content of His Transcendence (*maknūn ghaybi-hi*),[13] so that His Lights shine forth in the Theophany (*al-tajallī*). And the “seizing” of [the Transcendent, Divine Reality] (*al-ẓafar bi-hi*)[14] [by the mind] *appeared* to take place (*takhayyala*)[15] in that “Coming-down” (*al-tadallī*), so that place (*al-ayn*) was found to encompass Him, the eye (*al-ʿayn*) to behold Him, nature (*al-kayf*) to qualify Him, and rationality [hobbled] in Anthropomorphism (*al-ʿaql fī l-tashbīh*) to hold Him in contempt.[16] But after the mystical Annihilation (*al-fanāʾ*),[17] [Man] shall revert to weakness (*al-ʿajz*),[18] and he will learn that [the Real] is “behind” the Veil of Glory (*ḥijāb al-ʿizz*). At that time[19] he will find God *with him*;[20] and God will grant him [his full share in] His Covenant (*ʿahdu-hu*).[21] So, verify [the Truth, and] *you will be well-guided*![22]

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him his due” (on this verse, see *An Ocean without Shore*, pp. 40–41). The last phrase of the quote (*italicized*) functions as the apodosis of the cond.

[10] Desire subtly shapes perception, the subjective form superimposed upon the objective content.

[11] *Shikl* (see Lane, *s.v. shakl* [end], who describes these as syns. of *mithl*, “like”): properly, this word denotes a woman's amorous or coquettish gesture or behavior.

[12] *Fa-in irtaqá ʿan* [Q2 has *ʿalá*] *hādhā l-shikli, fa-sarābu-hu ʿibārat^{un} ʿani l-mithli.* On the *imago Dei*, see also above, pp. 325 (n. 57), 344 (n. 41), 374 (n. 21), and 468 (n. 57), *et al.*

[13] The referent of the pron. could, rather, be man's own transcendent being in the Divine, which is the core of his heart and the locus of Theophany. Similarly, the “lights” in the foll. clause could be man's innermost intellections (*i.e.*, the “sun of his own inner Maghrib”).

[14] I understand the pron. to refer, again, to God (*al-Ḥaqq*). Below, however, this Divine subj. seems to merge imperceptibly into the transcendent human “image”—whence conditioned man (the “mirage”).

[15] That is, “It became the object of imagination, fancy, delusion.” Instead of this, Q2 has *fa-taḥayyala* (employed artful means); and the margin of W, *fa-taḥayyara* (became bewildered).

[16] *Fa-wujida l-aynu yaḥṣuru-hu, wa-l-ʿaynu yabṣuru-hu; wa-l-kayfu yanʿatu-hu, wa-l-ʿaqlu . . . yamqutu-hu.* Q2 has garbled this line. *Cf. Isa.* 53: 2–3. My interpretation of this sentence is merely conjectural.

[17] Both printed edns. read *al-ghanāʾ* (the sufficiency) instead.

[18] From this point, the Divine image becomes anthropopathic in the “fallen” or “incarnate”, *mirage*-form of man.

[19] *Fa-ḥīna-idh^{in}* (wanting in Q2).

[20] *ʿInda-hu* = Gr., *pros ton Theon* (in *John* 1: 1).

[21] “His covenant”: the primordial *mīthāq* of *Qur.* 7: 172. Man's “full share,” then, would be his own inseparable being in the Divine Essence, as it was in pre-eternity.

[22] *Fa-tuḥaqqiq, turshad,* in B, C, W(?), Z and M (the same expression is used below,

The Jewel of the Eighth Pearl: [*Concerning the Difference between the Prophet and the Saint* (*al-nabī wa-l-walī*)]:

Likewise, he whose Heart contains the Real[23] has already made his External and his Inner conditions (*shahādatu-hu wa-ghaybu-hu*) equivalent[24]—his "Jacynths" (*yawāqītu-hu*) adhering and his "temporal qualities" (*mawāqītu-hu*) disappearing[25]—[since] the *Real* [that is, God Himself] here is the One-Who-Goes-forth-by-Night (*al-Sārī*) to His Servant[26] as a Mercy from Him—this being the difference between the Prophet and the Saint, the native of the Tihāmah and of Najd.[27] For, indeed, the *Prophet* goes by night to the Most-High Creator

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at n. 63). The other ss. have *rushda-hu* (acc.) instead of the last, reading this as the obj. of the preceding verb. See App. I for M's comm.

[23] C alone has *Allāh* (God) instead of *al-Ḥaqq*. The verb is *wasiʿa* (to be large enough to contain s.th.), calling to mind the well-known Ṣūfī *ḥadīth qudsī*: "My Heaven and my Earth do not contain Me (*mā wasiʿa-nī*); the Heart of My faithful servant contains Me" (see below, p. 470 at n. 81).

[24] The verb is *istawá*. *Cf.* Arberry's trn. of *Qur.* 53: 6, describing Gabriel's appearance to Muḥammad, "standing poised" (*istawá*) on the horizon. W, B2, Z, M and Q read *shahādah*, w/o the pron. (also, B has been amended but it is unclear here); and Z and Q have *ghaybah* instead of the last.

[25] *Wa-ltaḥamat yawāqītu-hu wa-nʿadamat mawāqītu-hu*. *Cf.* the subj.-heading of the eighth "pearl", above, p. 413, *et seq.*, where the "jacynths" were the topaz and the ruby (and the emerald ?), standing for the particular and the universal Seals of the saints (and their synthesis?), respectively. In the previous passage, however, the "times" (*mawāqīt*) had been described as "ordered" [*intaẓamat*], not "negated" (*inʿadamat*); but *cf.* the language at n. 111 (on p. 419), where the external "accidents" (*aghyār*) were said to vanish (*ʿudimat*). I can think of nothing more plausible than M's comm. on the "disappearance" of man's "temporal qualities": "For he has no moment (*waqt*) that is not [conditioned by] encumbrance or thought (*wizr aw fikr*)." Be that as it may, the purport of this cryptic line is evidently as follows: If God wills, man (*sci.*, the saint, or *walī*) is made ready to receive the Divine revelation rather by an arrangement, or harmonization, of *interior*, psychological factors than by external conditions or circumstances (such as an encounter with an angelic messenger or a teacher).

[26] That is, God Himself comes to His favored *walī* (saint), not *vice versa*, as in the case of the prophet (see n. 28, below).

[27] The *Tihāmah* is the "lowland" (glossed by B as *al-munkhafiḍ*), the western littoral of the Arabian peninsula, the seaboard extending from Yemen along the Red Sea to the region northwest of Medina (the description in the Eng. trn. of Wehr's dictionary is incorrect). Hence, it includes Mecca, and is, indeed, a name for the latter, acc. to Lane (*s.v.*). *Najd* is the central "highland" (*al-murtafiʿ*) of Arabia, historically the homeland of wild nomadic tribes. The coastal region, by contrast, was always relatively sedentary, or, at least, commercial. Here, of course, the "prophet" is being associated with the Tihāmah region, and the "saint" with Najd (as M also concludes, although the copyist has crossed this out and glossed *al-Tihāmī* with "the élite" and *al-Najdī* with "the commonality"). In his *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa-l-Aʿlāq*, p. 200, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself explains the word, *Najd* (in *Turjumān, no.* 37, v. 1), as "God-given knowledge" (*ʿulūm wahbīyah*)—interestingly, using an adj. cognate with *Wahhābīyah* (the name of the extreme iconoclastic ideology that has dominated Arabia throughout most of the modern period).

(*al-Khāliq al-ʿAlī*),[28] whereas the Real [Himself] goes to the Saint,[29] since [the latter] lacks the capability for the journey (*al-surá*)[30] because of the strength of his attachment to mankind (*al-wará*)[31] and his firm grounding in the Earth (*al-thará*). But he whose Spirituality (*ruḥānīyatu-hu*) predominates over him and whose Lordliness (*rabbānīyatu-hu*) masters him, the Journey of the Prophet (*sayr al-nabī*) extends to him[32] in the manner of the "Praxic Burāq" (*al-Burāq al-ʿamalī*)[33] [as it is written in the Scripture]:

> Unto Him goodly Words (*al-kalim al-ṭayyib*) ascend, and the righteous Work (*al-ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*) He exalts![34]

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[28] The verb is *yasrī ilá,* a ref. to the "night-journey" (*al-isrāʾ*) of the Prophet Muḥammad to the *Masjid al-Aqsá* in Jerusalem, and thence to God through the several heavens. M's distinction makes too fine a point: "Among [the prophets] only ours (May God bless and keep him!) travels by night in his essence (*bi-dhāti-hi,* "with his own proper identity"); the others do so only in their spirits [*bi-rūḥi-him*]." Rather, Muḥammad's distinction from all others was held by Muslims to be in his having *once* made the night-flight *in his physical body* (*bi-jismi-hi*)—and, ergo, his *dhat*—whereas on 33 other occasions his journey was "in the spirit," as with the other saints (see *Fut.* III, 342 [31]–343 [5], *et seq.; cf. 2 Cor.* 12: 2: 4). But at least Idrīs-Enoch and Jesus were believed to have ascended bodily into the heavens, and Abraham was said by some to have also ridden the fabulous mount, *al-Burāq,* on occasion. Q2 has *al-Ḥaqq* instead of *al-Khāliq*; and, indeed, it might seem peculiar that the "Creator" should be the obj. here, whereas *al-Ḥaqq* is the subj. of the next clause. The allusion could be to some such verse as *Qur.* 25: 59, where God is described as creating the worlds in six days, then mounting the throne—an image reminiscent of the ancient Jewish *hekhalōt* theme, involving a mystical ascent through the "heavenly halls or palaces . . ., in the seventh and last of which there rises the throne of Divine glory" (G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism,* p. 45).

[29] At this point, M adverts to his oft-repeated warning against taking the Shaykh's words to imply any superiority of the saint over the prophet.

[30] Voc. thus by B, W and M. This is garbled in Q2.

[31] *Li-qūwati mtizāji-hi bi-l-wará. Imtizāj*: "mingling, blending". Perhaps this refers to the profound sophistication of such as our author with his deep roots in the ground of Arabic literary culture. The Prophet Muḥammad, on the contrary (like Abraham, Moses, *etc.*, but perhaps in some ways rather *unlike* the quietistic Jesus), was militantly critical of fundamental features of the religious society in which he lived.

[32] *Sará ilay-hi*: "it flowed, or extended to him" in the manner of an underground stream. That is to say, the *isrāʾ* of the prophet is also true of the saint in a special, spiritual way.

[33] That is, the special mount provided by Gabriel for the Prophet's ascension to the seventh heaven, which is here presented as a symbol for mystical praxis—the "righteous work" (*al-ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ*), as we learn *infra*. Al-Burāq was early conceived as a shining white mare resembling a mule, or "less than the mule but greater than the ass" (see Lane, *s.v.*; and *E.I.* 1, *s.v.*), but later was depicted, esp. in India, as a phantastic creature with a woman's head and peacock's tail. Q2 has *al-ʿalī* (exalted) for the adj.

[34] *Qur.* 35: 10.

—the Real dividing and combining it.[35] Whoever would like to have B,34
an exhaustive explanation of this “Jewel” and its [corresponding cos-
mic] “Pearl”, let him look among our works at THE BOOK OF THE
NIGHT JOURNEY (*Kitāb al-Isrāʾ*).[36] Therein shall his Station (*manzilatu-
hu*) be discovered and his Rank (*martabatu-hu*) revealed.[37]

The Jewel of the Ninth Pearl:

[*Concerning the Dual Nature of Man, Corporeal and Spiritual*]:

Likewise, the World of sense experience (*ʿālam al-shahādah*)[38] is the
consummation of [all of] the Worlds (*tamām al-ʿawālim*), while the
Epitome of the World (*nuktat al-ʿālam*) [*sci.*, Man as the Microcosm],[39]
is the [very] Gathering-place of the Secrets and the Ascents of the
Lights (*mujtamaʿ al-asrār wa-maṭāliʿ al-anwār*),[40] to which [all] Honor **57**
(*al-majd*) is permissible and Majesty (*al-jadd*) accrues. If [Man] should
declare: “I am the Lord of the World (*sayyid al-ʿālam*)!”[41]—he has the

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[35] *Yafruqu-hu wa-yajmaʿu-hu.* The obj. of the verbs appears to be the *ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* of the Qurʾānic verse, which, in turn, is embodied in al-Burāq. If this is the case, we might speculate that, as a composite creature of the *barzakh*, or imaginal world (see *Fut.* III, 340 [34]), al-Burāq is here referred to as being dissected and recombined in the hybrid form willed by God. But I think, rather, that the ref. would best be taken to the mystic traveller (*sālik*) himself, whose composite nature (*tarkīb*) is “dissolved” in the ascent through the consecutive heavens in the manner described by James Morris in his excellent study of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *miʿrāj*-theme (in *J.A.O.S.*, 107 [1987], p. 639b), then is reconstituted in a new form upon his return to the world. Thus, *tafrīq* (= *taḥlīl*) and *tajmīʿ* (= *tarkīb*) correspond to the old alchemical operations of *solve* and *coagula*. (For a further discussion of *al-jamʿ wa-l-farq* in Ṣūfism, see M.M. al-Ghurāb's miscellany, *Sharḥ Kalimāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, [1982], pp. 246–50).

[36] This is the *K. al-Isrā ilá l-Maqām al-Asrá*, ed. by S. al-Ḥakīm (1988; *cf.*, also *Rasāʾil, r.* 13). It was written in Fez in 594/1197, probably a year or two before the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see Yaḥia, *no.* 313). Q2 has *al-asrār* (the secrets) instead of *al-isrāʾ*, causing Yahia to have missed this ref. On the subj. of the mystical ascent in general, see Chap. 10 of Chodkiewicz's *Seal.*

[37] Again we have the problem of the identity of the referent. As the prons. are masc., it is not, as one would expect, the “jewel” (*al-marjānah*), or microcosmic corollary of the cosmic *Burāq*, but it may be taken to signify the microcosmic vehicle itself.

[38] The world of sense-testimony, the “present world,” as opposed to the transcendent *ʿālam al-ghayb.* Here we may do best to understand the expression in the sense of *shuhūd* or *mushāhadah*, denoting “mystical vision, or witnessing” (see *Path*, 225–28).

[39] V, B2, Z, M and Q have *wa-huwa* (instead of *huwa*) after this, implying that the preceding *wa-* should be read as a simple conj. within the predicate rather than as an equivalent for *bayna-mā* (while), as I have done.

[40] For M's comm., in which this is mistaken for the present world (*ʿālam al-shahādah*), see App. I.

[41] The Prophet Muḥammad's saying, “I am the Lord of mankind (*sayyid al-nās*)

right to say so, since the Intellect (*al-ʿaql*) does not acquire knowledge until after [its] occultation and setting (*al-maghīb wa-l-ufūl*)[42] in this [human] body (*al-jasad*).[43] But should he say, rather: "'I am a human being (*bashar*) just like you,'[44] nothing more (*dūna ziyādah*)"—indeed, partnership (*al-ishtirāk*) [is still inherent] in Worship (*al-ʿibādah*).[45] Man, *quā* Man, comprises *two* "Transcriptions" (*nuskhatān*),[46] for which reason, when he fasts, he has two joys (*farḥatān*): The Transcript of his senses takes joy in its breaking of the fast (*bi-fiṭri-hā*),[47] while that of his Intellect rejoices in the Reunion with its Lord (*liqāʾ Rabbi-hā*).[48] The one is an "example" (*mithāl*) and the other a "Model" (*timthāl*)[49]—the King/Possessor of the Spirit (*malik al-rūḥ* [*sci.*, Spiritual Man])[50] being already existent (*mawjūd*), while the world of the Kingdom

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on the day of Resurrection" (see Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, 3; and Muslim, *Īmān*, 327–28, *et al.*), is not, of course, the same that is intended here. Rather, we have s.th. akin to Pharaoh's hubristic proclamation: "I am your Highest Lord" (*Qur.* 79: 24).

[42] Foll. C, V, B2 and Q, which have the last (to rhyme with *an yaqūl* in the preceding clause). Instead of this, B has والاول, which is crossed out, but no correction is visible in my microfilm. Q2 has الاقول, as it does regularly for الافول; and E, R, W, Z and M omit the word altogether. For the meaning of this peculiar term, see Gloss., *s.v. ufūl.*

[43] Inasmuch as the human body is a condition of knowledge of all things, *homo sapiens* may be regarded as the lord, or master of the world.

[44] *Qur.* 18: 110. *Cf.* above, p. 421 at n. 133. Q2 omits *inna-mā* after *qāla.*

[45] That is, the Worshipped necessitates the worshipper (*al-ʿābid*), the Lord requires the servant (*al-ʿabd*). C, E(?), V, W, B2, Z and both edns. all have *fa-lā shtirāk* (for there is *no* partnership) [in worship]) instead of *fa-l-ishtirāk*, as in B, R and M. The latter, however, misconstrues the meaning, commenting: "Even if the perfect [man] (*al-kāmil*) should reach the highest perfections of humanity (*kamālāt al-insānīyah*), yet he [remains] a participant with [mankind] (*mushārik la-hum*) in worship and other things, such as sleeping and eating and drinking," *etc.*

[46] M styles these the human (*basharīyah*) and the angelic (*malakīyah*) "versions" of humankind, "for in the station of the angelic form he says 'I am the lord of the children of Adam' [see Ibn Mājah, *Zuhd*, 37, *et al.*], while in the station of humanity he says 'I am a man like you' [*Qur.* 18: 110]." Rather, the two modes are the psychic-corporeal and pneumatic, or spiritual-intellectual—or sensual and supersensual—as we see in what follows.

[47] The *fiṭr*, or *ifṭār*, is the great feast foll. the month of fasting, Ramaḍān, and is the most joyous festival in Islamic countries.

[48] For citations of numerous *ḥadīth*s upon which this sentence is based, see *Concordance, s.v. farḥah.* Most of the trads. specifically relate these "two joys" to this world and the hereafter. The "reunion with its Lord" is an allusion to the day, *A-lastu bi-Rabbi-kum?* (Am I not your Lord?), of *Qur.* 7: 171, which is the context in which the remainder of this paragraph must be understood.

[49] See p. 421 (at n. 134), where men are said to be the "examples" (s., *mithāl*, "instantiation") to the Muḥammadan Reality's *timthāl* (= prototype).

[50] W voc. this as "the angel (*malak*) of the spirit." M, who reads as I have tr., understands the ref. to be to the Muḥammadan Reality as source of [all] spirits (*aṣl al-arwāḥ*). It seems to me, however, that the spirit of man (as *dhū l-rūḥ*) is

(*ʿālam al-mulk* [Corporeal Man]) was yet absent (*mafqūd*).[51] But [the Former] supervises [the latter's development] in the phases of its transmigration through the loins (*aṭwār tanaqquli-hi min al-aṣlāb*)[52] until the time of its being sloughed off and shed therefrom (*al-insilākh min-hā wa-l-insilāb*).[53]

For he who is cast off from his [Progenitor's] loins (*ṣulbu-hu*)[54] has already obtained the joy of [his Lord's] Proximity (*ladhdhat qurbi-hi*), and he whose Spirit takes precedence over his sense[55] has already traversed through[56] the Presence of His Holiness (*ḥaḍrat qudsi-hi*); while the One Who orders His Kingdom (*mulku-hu*) in the World of the Transcendent (*ʿālam al-ghayb*) clears it of defect and suspicion[57] when it comes into existence. He who is Adamite as to Foundation (*Ādamī al-waḍʿ*) [and] Muḥammadan in [his mystic] Ascension (*Muḥammadī al-isrāʾ*)[58] has already attained unto the Stations (*al-maqāmāt*) in full—the Almighty (*al-Jabbār*)[59] having spoken to him [as with Moses] through the mediation of "the exigency of the Fire" (*bi-wisāṭat al-iftiqār ilá l-nār*)[60] as regards the accidental properties (*fī* B,34b
ḥaqqi l-aghyār).[61] Thus, he who walks in the propriety of another than

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intended, *al-mulk* in the foll. clause standing for the body.

[51] I take what I call the "spiritual man" to be the "Adam" of *Qur.* 7: 172, and the "corporeal man" to be his progeny from men's loins (*min ẓuhūri-him*), still in their dormant seed-potencies (*dhurrīyatu-hum*), and, thus, "non-existent" (*mafqūd*).

[52] *Aṣlāb* (s., *ṣulb*) "is used in poetry in a sing. sense, as though every part of the صلب ["backbone, vertebrae", the lumbar region of which was thought to be the source of the male sperm] were regarded as a *ṣulb* in itself" (Lane, *s.v.*). Hence, "the phases of its transmigration" might be intended to signify its progression down the successive vertebrae, as it were.

[53] That is, at the term of its gestation period. The idea of the sperm's ejaculation is apparently suggested.

[54] *Ṣulb* = *ḥasab* (rank or quality, *etc.*).

[55] Q2 has *ḥasabu-hu* (his noble descent) instead of *ḥissu-hu* (his sense).

[56] All of the later ss. read *ḥāza* (possessed) for the verb instead of (*jāza*). The prodigal son has traversed through (passed beyond) his father's domain, but has now returned; while his elder brother was ever in the presence of his father, but is now alienated (see *Luke* 15: 11–32). I take these two arcs of the incarnation cycle to represent "corporeal man," and the foll. clause to describe "spiritual man," the "father" in the above-cited parable.

[57] E and Q2 repeat *al-ghayb* (absence; transcendence) instead of *al-ʿayb* (defect); and B2 is wanting this altogether.

[58] That is, like Adam in his descent, or fall from Heaven, and Muḥammad in his ascent (= *isrāʾ* as *miʿrāj*). *Cf. 1 Cor.* 15: 21–22 & 35–50.

[59] This is a Divine name, on the basis of *Qur.* 59: 23. Otherwise, even in the Scripture the word usually denotes an oppressor, or perverse ingrate.

[60] Moses "needed" the intermediary form of the fire (= the "burning bush" of *Exo.* 3: 2–6) in order to communicate with God (see *Qur.* 27: 7–8 and 28: 29–30).

[61] On this apparent sense of the term, *aghyār* (as meaning *ghiyar*), see above,

he (*fī ḥaqqi ghayri-hi* [*sci.*, according to the Law of a former Prophet]) takes in the entirety of its benefit (*jamīʿ khayri-hi*); but if he walks in the Propriety of the Real (*ḥaqq al-Ḥaqq*), he is "in a Sure Abode" (*maqʿad ṣadq*).[62] So, verify [the Truth], and you will be well-guided![63]

The Jewel of the Tenth Pearl: [*The Light of Gnosis* (*nūr al-maʿrifah*) *Like the Light of a Lamp* (*nūr sirāj*)]:

When the command of the Gnostic is such as to be obeyed (*matbūʿ*) and his speech heeded (*masmūʿ*), he attains unto the Transcendent Assemblies (*al-mashāhid al-ghaybīyah*)[64] and takes possession of the Polar Rank (*al-martabah al-quṭbīyah*), while the secrets yearn[65] for him and the lights shine forth from behind the veils, his substance (*māddatu-hu*) like the sun in its Source of increase (*fī māddati-hā*)[66]—each essence (*dhāt*) receiving [of it] in accordance with [the capacity of] its own essential Reality (*alá ḥasab ḥaqīqati-hā*). Whenever any change (*taghyīr*) takes place in the [sun's] light, that is attributable to the locus of the "Wrapping-up [of the sun]" (*maḥall al-takwīr*);[67] for just as the

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p. 419, n. 111. It is primarily the plur. of *ghayr* (other), however, to which allusion is made in the foll. sentence.

[62] *Qur.* 54: 55. The first are those who follow in the footsteps of the lawgiving prophets; and the second, the saints (*awliyāʾ*), who, although they obey the prophets' laws, seek the truth further on their own. M, who has garbled this sentence, thinks that the ref. is to "the infidels and disobedient . . ., all of whose advantage is lost because of their turning to another [than God]." All of the ss. (exc. for Q2) have the last, w/o the art. (as in the verse cited above), even though *al-ṣadq* accords better with the rhyme-scheme.

[63] *Fa-tuḥaqqiq, turshad* (the same expression is used above, at n. 22). This is as much as to say: "Be like the Ṣūfīs, or *awliyāʾ*, not content simply to follow the dictates of exoteric religion."

[64] Instead of the first, V, B2, M and both edns. have *al-mushāhadah* (the vision).

[65] Q2 has *sāqat* (they send) for the verb (rather than *tāqat*).

[66] *Māddah*: "continuous increase, replenishment, source; substance, material (philos.)". *Māddatu baḥr^{in}*: "the source of a great river". Lane also cites a well-known phrase from a trad.: *Al-aʿrābu māddatu l-islāmi*, "The Arabs of the desert are the means of . . . increasing [the Muslim] armies" (*s.v.*).

[67] That is, the "folding or rolling-up" (= darkening) of the sun in the eschaton (see the first verse of *Sūrah 81*, entitled *Al-Takwīr*) in one or other of the senses discussed by Lane (*s.v. kawwara*). J. Penrice points out that *Heb.* 1: 12 has a parallel to the sense of *kuwwirat* in *Qur.* 81: 1: ". . . and as a garment You will fold up [the earth and the heavens]" (see *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Korʾān, s.v. kāra*). *Cf.* also *Psalms* 102: 26. Interestingly, these Biblical passages also use the metaphor of the changing (= *taghyīr*) of an old garment. Whatever the precise significance of the expression, here Ibn al-ʿArabī probably means that the light in itself is unvarying until "the end of time," and that any variation in its manifestation upon bodies is due to the difference in receptivity of the objects themselves.

receptivity (*qabūl*) to light of the polished body is not the same as
that of the dirty one[68] though the emanation (*al-fayḍ*) be the same,
so are the Way-stations of the hearts (*manāzil al-qulūb*)[69] [also, various]
at the [spiritual] Inundation of the Witness (*ʿinda fayḍ al-shāhid*).[70] For
the Pole (*al-quṭb* [*sci.*, the mystic Hierarch symbolized as the Sun])
sends forth his light [freely],[71] while Existence (*al-kawn*)[72] has in it
That whose covering shall be removed and whose veils will be let
down—as the deficiency (*al-ʿayb*)[73] is with the existence of the lower-soul
(*kawn al-nafs*),[74] not the Source/Wellspring of the sun (*ʿayn
al-shams*).[75] And the Imparting [of the light] (*al-imdād*) is simplex **58**
(*witrī*), whereas the reception (*al-qabūl*) is both simplex and duplex
(*shafʿī*).[76]

The Light of Gnosis (*nūr al-maʿrifah*) is like a glass lamp in quality (*ka-l-sirāj fī l-ṣifah*):[77] For, as with the light of a lamp, when it approaches the wick (*al-fatīl*) it becomes less bright and subsides,[78] while, as it distances itself therefrom and ascends, its candescence increases and it gives off more light—so, too, the Light of Gnosis, that part of it that mingles (*imtazaja*) with the World of sense-experience (*ʿālam al-shahādah*), diminishes in brightness as [the World's] clouds accumulate and its tempests gather.[79] For the [material] locus (*al-maḥall*) is gross (*kathīf*), while the Light of Gnosis is subtle (*laṭīf*), and that part of it that is connected with Intellect and Spirit shines forth like B,35 the very essence of the Sun (*dhāt Yūḥ*),[80] abiding in the clarity (*al-jalāʾ*) of its Source when the gloom (*al-ʿamāʾ*) is stripped away.[81]

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[68] Such as an unpolished mirror. R has *al-badan* (the body) rather than *al-darin* (s.th. dirty).

[69] That is, the distinct "ranks or grades" (*manzilāt*) of the individual hearts.

[70] On the precise significance of the term, *shāhid*, in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *Muʿjam, no.* 375.

[71] Recall that this chap. corresponds to the tenth "pearl", above (pp. 423–27), in which the Muḥammadan Reality is described as the source of the "subtle-rays" (*raqāʾiq*) connecting all entities, good and evil alike.

[72] Or: "the universe" (but *cf.* what follows).

[73] Instead of this, Q2 has *al-ghayb*. *ʿAyb*: "fault, imperfection, weakness".

[74] That is, "the soul that incites to evil" (*al-nafs al-ammārah bi-l-sūʾ* [*cf. Qur.* 12: 53], which we may take as the embodiment of concupiscence).

[75] As Lane notes (*s.v.*), *ʿayn* is a homonym applied to many different things—among them, the sun. It also denotes the "essence" of a thing, whether semantic or substantial, formal or material. Hence, *ʿayn al-shams* is identical to *māddat al-shams*, above (at n. 66). M understands this as the origin (*aṣl*), or pristine nature (*fiṭrah*), of creation. Q2 garbles this expression.

[76] *Witrī* means "odd, singular"; and *shafʿī*, "even, dual". *Cf. Qur.* 89: 3 (and, for the various interpretations of this verse, see Lane, *s.v. shafʿ*). M suggests that the first should be applied to the action of the pole, and the second to that of the angelic intermediaries between God and creation. Rather, the ref. is probably to the *ʿayn* (= spirit) and the *nafs* (= soul).

[77] *Sirāj* (= *miṣbāḥ*): "a torch or lighted wick"; later, "a vessel of glass [*zujājah*] having in its bottom a small glass tube into which the . . . wick [*fatīlah*] is inserted" (Lane, *s.v.*). The sun is referred to three times in the Qurʾān by this word, and the Prophet once (33: 46). Earlier (p. 434 at n. 54), man's *dhāt* was likened to a *sirāj* (*cf.* also *Muʿjam, no.* 330). For an interesting correspondence to the lamp-flame imagery employed here, see App. I for a quotation from the *Zohar*, tr. by C.D. Ginsburg in his early study of the Qabalah.

[78] Q2 has garbled the verb (*wa-ghāra*).

[But] as the smoke (*al-dukhān*) from the end of the wick directs its course [upwards] toward[82] the light of the lamp, cleaving to it,[83] the light [then] flowing [downwards] in the "channel" (*unbūb*) of the smoke until it alights at the end of the wick, so that it might burn into the distance[84]—what, then, do you think [will be the case with] the Light of Gnosis? Thus, when the heart of the Gnostic burns with [spiritual] Desire (*al-shawq*),[85] and his concentrated Aspiration (*himmatu-hu*) ascends unto the Heights (*al-fawq*) and unites with the Light of the Gnosis of the Good (*nūr maʿrifat al-maʿrūf*),[86] [God] returns [his Aspiration][87] to the heart of the Gnostic by a Most-Sublime Kindness (*bi-asná maʿrufⁱⁿ*), that he might live by it for a time and illuminate with it [all] beings.[88] As when the sun appears, the brightness of a lamp cannot sustain itself,[89] so it is with the Light of Gnosis in the Gnostic: When the Real manifests Himself to the [Fixed] Essences (*al-aʿyān*)[90] and causes His Holiness to appear, He lights up [all of] Being (*al-wujūd*) in His Self-Manifestation (*tajallī-hi*); and with that Self-Manifestation He illuminates the Gnostic ([also],[91] going beyond the other [*viz.*, Being])[92] in what He has deposited in *him*. For [the Gnostic] shall be illuminated by two Lights, and he will bear witness to the Real in two regards:[93] Even as the light of a lamp always [rises] in an upward direction, so is the Light of Gnosis ever joined to the Real.

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[79] The "mingling" (*imtizāj*) of the Divine light with the world is exemplified in the fire's burning the wick. The observation of the lack of luminosity in the part of the flame closest to the wick is here reasonably mistaken for an adulteration of the "spiritual" fire in contact with the wick's materiality. Only in fairly recent times was it understood that the incandescent shell of the candle-flame is produced by the combustion of gases sufficiently mixed with oxygen from the surrounding atmosphere. Moreover, far from being the "purest" part of the flame, the luminous glow is largely due to the burning of minute carbon particles from the candle.

[80] *Yūḥ* is a proper name for the sun, as we have had occasion to note. B2 has *Nūḥ* (Noah) instead. It is worth noting that Ibn al-ʿArabī associates Noah with the sphere of the sun in the *Fuṣūṣ* (see *Bezels*, 81).

[81] Lit., "when it is stripped away from the gloom." *Cf. Qur.* 36: 37, where it is the day which is stripped away from the night.

[82] *Musāmit^{un} li-*. For this trn., see Dozy (*s.v. sāmata*), who applies what Lane gives for *tasammata li-* to the IIIrd form.

[83] *Lāṣiq^{un} bi-hi*: "sticking to it (like glue)" (see *Wörterbuch, s.v. laṣiqa*).

[84] As experimental observation became more advanced in the medieval period, it was noticed that when a candle-light was suddenly extinguished a trail of smoke always appeared where the flame had been (this is actually caused by the rapid cooling of the candle-gasses), and that this smoke can then be ignited to relight the flame. This observation lead to the theory that fire is burning smoke (Isaac Newton was among those who held that view). Apropos of this, our author apparently means that the lingering smoke of an extinguished candle-flame ascends in the direction of the vanished light (upward), and that the converse of this motion can be observed when the smoke is reignited and the fire appears to pass down the pathway (*unbūb*) of the smoke to the wick. Then, although the source of the light is located in the burning candle, its effulgence is visible for a great distance. (This last line is *fa-tattaqida ʿalá buʿd^{in}*, with the *fatīlah* (wick) as the subj.; C, B2 and Q give the verb in the masc., taking the "light" as subj.; and Q2 has *fa-yaqida*, meaning the same).

Now when a breeze passes over a lamp, [its flame][94] wavers like

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[85] *Shawq* is "the inclination of the heart toward the reunion with the Beloved (*liqāʾ al-maḥbūb*)" (*Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*).

[86] *Maʿrūf*: "In the law (*al-sharʿ*), everything that is good/suitable" (*ibid., s.v.*). It would be tempting to tr. *al-maʿrūf* here as "the Intelligible" (= the Divine as the proper obj. of *maʿrifah*, Ṣūfī gnosis), since God is evidently the subj. of the foll. clause.

[87] That is, the gnostic's own "aspiration," illuminated by the light of gnosis. *Cf. Rev.* 8: 4, where the prayers of the saints are assimilated to the smoke of incense ascending to God. *Ḥimmah*: "a faculty firmly rooted in the soul, seeking high things and fleeing from base things" (Lane, *s.v.*). See also *Muʿjam, no.* 655; and *Path, s.v. himma* (in the ind.).

[88] *Akwān*. The *himmah* of the Ṣūfī corresponds to the rising smoke of the preceding metaphor, which is returned to the wick when the trail of smoke is relit from above (see n. 84). Then many may live and walk by the light for as long as it lasts (*cf. John* 5: 35, *et al.*).

[89] *Lam yataʿadda ḍawʾu-hu nafsa-hu.* Q2 has garbled this phrase.

[90] M thinks that the ref. is either to the "eyes of insight" (*aʿyān al-baṣīrah* [*sic*]) or to the "spiritual élite" (= *al-aʿyān*). Instead of the verb, *tajallá*, Q has *ẓuhira*, meaning much the same.

[91] By omitting the final letter from *anāra* (He illuminates), R and W read this clause parenthetically: "—and *I* (*anā*) am the knower of that [Divine] self-manifestation."

[92] *Wa-zāda ʿalá l-ghayri.* V, B2 and Q have the trans., *zāda-hu.*

[93] *Wa-yashhadu l-Ḥaqqa min jihatayni*: lit., "from two directions," an apparent allusion to the "rising" and "return" of the preceding paragraph; or, as M suggests, the ascent (*ʿarūj*) of the Ṣūfī's spirit and the descent (*tanazzul*) of God's inspiration. The "two lights" are presumably the sensible light of the sun (and the lamp), on the one hand, and the supersensible "light of gnosis," on the other.

[94] The *sirāj* is, properly, the torch, or wick (in our text, the *fatīlah*), while the glass receptacle of the light is the lamp, or *qandīl.*

the swaying of a drunkard (*tamāyul al-nashwān*);[95] and if the breeze
grows brisk upon it, [the flame] disappears from view (*ʿudima min al-*
ʿiyān).[96] Similarly with the Light of the Gnosis of the Gnostic: If any
connection with engendered existents (*taʿalluq bi-l-akwān*) becomes
involved in it, [the flame-light] wavers from left to right.[97] For if it
becomes attached to the [existents] in love (*taʿashshuq*^{an}), it is lost to the
Eye of Witnessing (*ʿayn al-mushāhadah*) in certainty (*taḥaqquq*^{an}); and
just as the wind will extinguish whatever light of the lamp it comes
in contact with, while that which is not touched remains shining,[98]
so, too, the Light of Gnosis does not vanish completely,[99] but [only] B,35b
that part of it which is connected with Creation, while the part
devoted to the Real abides. And even as the blowing [of the wind]
might come suddenly upon [the flame] and extinguish it, so the
[sense-] engrossed thought (*al-khaṭrah al-mustaghriqah*)[100] will not pre-
serve the Light of Gnosis,[101] but put it out [as it were]. But if some
smoke remains—that being the mystic Aspiration (*al-himmah*)[102]—its
Light will, indeed, return to it, seated [thereupon] (*jālis*);[103] whereas if
no smoke remains, it will certainly become the "Courier of Insight" **59**
(*al-furāniq al-fāris*).[104]

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[95] The same simile was used above (pp. 433–34), with ref. to man's *dhāt* (essence) under the sway of passion.

[96] For M's comm., see App. I.

[97] *Tamāyala ʿani l-shamāʾili wa-l-aymāni.* Q2 alone adds *al-nashwān* (the drunkard) as subj.

[98] *Yuṭfiʾu min-hu l-hawāʾu mā luḥiqa, wa-yabqá min-hu nayyir*^{an} *mā lam yulḥaq.* This line is garbled in Q2.

[99] *Laysa yadhhabu dhahāb*^{an} *kullīy*^{an}. *Dhahāb* = *fanāʾ* (the mystical "annihilation" of temporal qualities).

[100] As in all mss. (the noun is garbled in both printed edns.). *Khaṭrah*: "a thought or notion occurring to the mind as if from the outside", so that the *khaṭarāt al-shayāṭīn* are "the suggestions/insinuations of evil spirits" (*cf.* p. 431, n. 32, above).

[101] *Lā takla'u-hu.* Q2 has the verb in the masc.

[102] See n. 87, above.

[103] On the hypothesis that a flame is burning smoke, the "light of the smoke" will return when it is reignited in the manner described above (n. 84). Blachère records a usage of *jallās* denoting a kind of lamp (*s.v.*). M thinks that *jālis* means "devoted to religious service" (*mulāzim li-l-ʿibādah*). Q omits the poss. pron. from *nūru-hu.*

[104] On *furāniq*, see my note on the earlier occurrence of this rare lexeme in Pt. I of our trn. (pp. 229–30, n. 17), and the Gloss., *s.v.* While in the earlier passage Q had *ghirnīq* instead of *furāniq*, here he reads *al-gharāniq* [*sic*]. C (who writes in a *Maghribī* hand) correctly glosses *al-furāniq* as *al-raqqāṣ*, the western designation for a "courier, messenger; or one who conducts travellers"—called a *sā*^{ʿin} in the East (see Dozy, *s.v. raqqāṣ*). *Fāris* (rhyming with *jālis*) has a wide range of meanings, inc. "one who possesses *firāsah* (insight)". As for the actual purport of this line, it would be difficult

As the [light of the] lamp (*al-sirāj*) goes out when not replenished by oil (*al-duhn*), so the Light of Gnosis is lacking if not supported by Piety (*al-taqwá*); and as with the lamp-light, if it is not connected to a body (*jism*), an essence (*ʿayn*) will not be found for it[105]—so, too, [is the case with] the Light of Gnosis and the World (*al-kawn*).[106] And even as the brightness of the lamp (*ḍawʾ al-sirāj*) is not revealing (*kāshif*) except where there is darkness (*al-ẓalām*), so it is with the Light of Gnosis regarding bodies (*al-ajsām*); and just as no one can be illuminated by the lamp-light but he who is near it (*yalī-hi*),[107] so, too, no one can seek Illumination (*yastaḍīʾu*) in the Light of the Gnosis of the Knower [of God] (*al-ʿārif*)[108] save the one whom [the Ṣūfī-Master][109] chooses and brings close (*yaṣṭafī-hi wa-yudnī-hi*)—no one receiving light from a lamp who is far away, just as no one could seek Illumination in the Light of Gnosis who repudiated [it].[110]

Even as the light of a lamp can be detected by the distant as well as the near (*al-baʿīd wa-l-qarīb*),[111] so the Light of Gnosis is experi-

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to substantiate any particular interpretation. The "courier of insight" apparently signifies a purer, more *miraculous* form of heavenly communication, untainted by any subjectivism (suggested by the imagery of the "smoke" of *himmah*, or personal "ardor")—perhaps the same as is symbolized by the *ʿanqāʾ mughrib* itself. In fact, Ibn al-ʿArabī, unlike many Ṣūfīs—at least in his later thought (see ref. below)—viewed *maʿrifah* as a lesser form of knowledge than *ʿilm*; and, further, he explicitly associated *himmah* with the former but not the latter (see my trn. of *Fut.* I, 112 (28–35)/*Fut.-Y.*, II, 192, in "*Ḥamd al-Ḥamd*: The Paradox of Praise in Ibn al-ʿArabī's Doctrine of Oneness," in *Praise* (S. Hirtenstein, ed., 1998), pp. 91–92. The verbs in this and the preceding clause are fut.

[105] *Lam yūjad la-hu ʿayn*^{un}, in the margins of B and C (as well as most of the later ss.). The former, indeed, has this entire clause and part of the one preceding inscribed in the margin by the orig. copyist. Instead of *yūjad*, C and Q2 have *yabqa*; and E and R, *yuẓhar* (all in the juss.), signifying much the same. M's contention that an essence cannot subsist (*lam yūjad*) w/o a body, on the grounds that the former is an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) which needs a cause or "locus of manifestation" (*maḥall*), is absurd. Rather, even as the flame needs the lamp in order to appear, so the essence requires a body in order to become individuated, or manifest.

[106] The universe is itself the manifestation of the Divine Light.

[107] Though the lamp itself can be seen for a great distance, it cannot light up other things in the distance.

[108] C, V and Q omit this (but C adds it in the margin).

[109] That is, the "gnostic," or "knower" (*al-ʿārif*), just mentioned, whose gnosis is the subj. of this chap.

[110] *Man jaḥada*, as voc. in B. W voc. this as *min juhd*^{in} (from paucity of good), and the preceding clause as *min buʿd*^{in} (rather than *man baʿuda*).

[111] W and the margin of C add "in the acts," anticipating the foll. clause. The verb is *yakshafu-hu* (it can lay bare, show it).

enced[112] by one who is distant in the [Divine] Acts (*al-afʿāl*) and by the near[113] in His wondrous Attribution (*wasfu-hu l-ʿajīb*);[114] and just as he who comes into the glow of the lamp-light[115] is rendered blind and cannot detect what is remote from him, so, too, with the Light of Gnosis—whoever approaches it will not be cognizant of anything besides.[116] And even as the people of the earth take fire from the light of a lamp and its substance (*dhātu-hu*) is not [thereby] diminished, so it is with the Light of Gnosis when its attributes (*ṣifātu-hu*) are made real.[117] [Finally] as that part of the [flame] that comes in contact with the wick expands (*ittasaʿa*) [laterally], while that part that remains distant from it is effused in a conic shape, rising upwards (*saṭaʿa*),[118] so, too, with the Light of Gnosis: If it becomes attached B,36
to the [Divine] Acts, it extends with their extension (*ittisāʿu-hā*); whereas, when it remains connected with the [Essence of the] Real, it becomes straitened and attenuated (*ḍāqa wa-raqqa*) because of its incapacity (*ʿajzu-hu*) in the realm of [the Divine Acts].[119] [Thus, you see] in consideration of the lamp,[120] there is no limit to the list [of observations] concerning it (*al-dīwān ʿan-hu*), nor is any [irreducible] essence (*kunh*)[121] for it ever reached. So how could it be otherwise, then, if we consider the sun in this way, or the moon in its waxing and waning or fullness,[122] or any [other] existent thing? Time is too C,58b
short to bring forth [all of] its secrets (*sarāʾiru-hu*) to view.

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[112] *Yashhadu-hu.* R, W, B2, Z and M lack the dir. obj.; and Q2 has *yashhadu la-hu* (is acknowledged).

[113] *Al-qarīb* = *al-walī* (the saint).

[114] *Sci.*, the Divine attributes (*ṣifāt*).

[115] *Ḍawʾ al-sirāj.* Q2 has *ḍawʾu-hu.*

[116] M omits most of this sentence and part of the next by lapsus.

[117] *Ḥuqqiqat*, in all ss. exc. for E and R, which have *taḥaqqaqat*, meaning the same.

[118] This is simply an observation of the distinctive, tapered flame-shape of the lamp (or candle)-light. "Conic-shape": *makhrūṭ al-shakl.*

[119] *Li-ʿajzi-hi bi-makāni-hā. Ḍayq* (limitation, restriction) is an ant. of *ittisāʿ* (expansion, extension).

[120] *Wa-fī l-sirāji mina l-iʿtibāri.* Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-aghyār* (the others).

[121] *Kunh* (= *faṣṣ*): "quintessence, the ultimate element to which s.th. can be reduced" (see Lane, *s.v. faṣṣ*). Read in pausal form, *kunh*^{un} may be intended to form an imperfect rhyme with *ʿan-hu,* above. Q2 has garbled this.

[122] *Awi l-qamaru fī ḥāli naqṣay-hi wa-l-tamāmi*, in B, E(?) and the margin of W. Most of the other ss. (exc. Q2, which has garbled this line) have the sing., *naqṣu-hu* (its waning, or deficiency) in place of the dual, evidently denoting the moon's condition of incompleteness before and after its fullness (*i.e.*, waxing and waning). "Or any other existent thing": *aw . . . kawn*^{un} *mina l-akwāni.*

Now, then, let that suffice which we have mentioned, and from this may what we have left [unsaid] be inferred—that being the portion of Man (*ḥaẓẓ al-insān*) as to the Tenth [cosmic] Pearl. Some of it has been stated quite expressly,[123] while, when its wording (*lafẓu-hu*) falls short of [that], the underlying meaning (*maʿnā-hu*) has been summarized. God shows the way to the Truth (*al-ḥaqq*)[124] and to a Straight Path (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm*)![125]

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[123] *Qad dhukira baʿḍu-hu.* Q2 reads "we have mentioned."

[124] *Cf. Qur.* 10: 35, which, however, has *li-* instead of *ilá* (see next note).

[125] *Wa-Llāhu yahdī ilá l-ḥaqqi wa-ilá ṣirāṭ*^{in} *mustaqīm*^{in}, in B and most of the later ss. All of the other early ss., C, E, R and Z (as well as Q2), have, instead of *ṣirāṭ*, *ṭarīq* (meaning the same), as in *Qur.* 46: 30. Indeed, with the latter variant and exc. for the significant difference in the subj., this is an exact quotation of that verse, which is a declaration of the *jinn* concerning the Qur'ān.

THE FABULOUS GRYPHON

PART THREE

As for the Seal of the Saints with regard to Man, it is actually an expression for the Station at which you will end up and before which you shall be brought to stand—it being each Mystic Traveller wherever he may arrive, his Station wherever he comes to alight. For there is no specific Place at which to stop, but only the place one reaches—the Gnostic himself disclosing to us its limit. But the Seal of all of the Stations is none other than the Testimony that GOD IS ONE *(al-tawḥīd), while the Secrets of Existence are in superabundance (fī mazīd)!*

I. The Proof of the Imāmate (*ithbāt al-imāmah*),[1] *Absolutely, without False Attribution*[2]

KNOW that the Imāmate (*al-imāmah*) is the mystic Station (*al-manzilah*) in which the dweller[3] therein becomes worthy of being followed (*matbūʿ*) and his speech heeded (*masmūʿ*)—his Covenant unannulled and his saber not blunted.[4] If he intends [something] (*hamma*),[5] he accomplishes [it] (*amḍā*), and there is no one to resist that which he decrees (*qaḍā*). His sword is drawn, his speech silent.[6] The adversary (*al-muʿtariḍ*) finds no entry unto him; and if he fancies opposition, he is punished.

[God] (Praised be He!) has established [the true Imāmate] as [both] great, even Greatest (*akbar*), and lesser, even Least (*aṣghar*),[7] as every station (*manzilah*) that there is either becomes less or greater, more sublime or less so (*jallat am qallat*).[8] But, verily, obedience (*al-ṭāʿah*) on the part of him who is subject to the Imām (*al-maʾmūm*) is one and the same [in the case of both "Greatest" and "Least"],[9] contradiction (*al-mukhālafah*) thereto being [always] wrong; for equivalence (*al-tasāwī*) [between them] is achieved on the Path (*al-ṭarīqah*), and partnership (*al-ishtirāk*) as to the Divine Statute and Truth (*al-ḥadd wa-l-ḥaqīqah*).[10] For the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Imām is of two types inasmuch as he is [in effect] *two* Imāms:[11] One Articulating (*nāṭiq*) and [another esoterically] *implying* Articulation (*muḍammin nuṭq*^{an}),[12] One Truthful (*ṣādiq*) and another *entrusted with* Truth (*mūdaʿ ṣidq*^{an})—like the "Imām" that is the veritable Record (*al-kitāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*)[13] which frankly gives decisive information concerning [one].[14] For the "Record" will impose on him that which [God] wills in the manner that He wills, for which reason the Chosen, Truthful One (*al-ṣādiq al-mukhtār* [the Prophet Muḥammad]) declared: ". . . until the Record (*al-kitāb*) should overtake him . . . and he enters Hell-fire."[15]

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[1] The *imām* is pre-eminently the leader in prayer whose ritual actions are followed (*matbūʿ*), as it were, by the faithful congregation in worship. M suggests that for the Ṣūfīs the imāmate stands for the office of the "pole of the saints." While this is no doubt the case, here the ref. is primarily to the *heart* of the Ṣūfī, as we shall see, and, secondarily, to the Seal/Mahdī as *khalīfat Allāh.* M.M. al-Ghurāb has inc. uncited passages from this part of the *ʿAnqāʾ* in the chap. on *imāmah* in his *Al-Fiqh ʿinda al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (1981), pp. 383–91. See also Chodkiewicz's art., "The Esoteric Foundations of Political Legitimacy in Ibn ʿArabī," in *Com. Vol.*, 190–98.

[2] *Min ghayri khtilāq*^{in}. Instead of the last, V, M and Q2 have *ikhtilāf* (difference). C glosses *ikhtilāq* as *iftirāʾ* (falsehood).

[3] *Al-nāzil.* E and M have *al-munāzil,* meaning the same.

[4] *Wa-gharbu muhannadi-hi lā yufallu*: lit., "the edge of his Indian sword is not blunted." Q2 has garbled this clause.

[5] That is, if he exercises *himmah*, psychic concentration of energy on a desired obj.

[6] *Ḥusāmu-hu muṣlat*^{un} *wa-kalāmu-hu muṣmat*^{un}.

[7] As we learn below (pp. 467–71), the "greatest imām" is the heart of mystic man. The "lesser imāmate," then, may be considered the external, political office of the caliphate, or worldly leadership in general, but I think that, more revealingly, it signifies *post facto* prophecy (*nubūwah*) as opposed to the immediate inspiration of the *awliyāʾ*.

[8] Every office, inc. the imāmate, can be viewed in either an externally-significant (= macrocosmic) aspect, or else in its internal, more spiritual (microcosmic) significance. Thus, I understand this passage to refer to the typical Gnostic dichotomy of reality, but Ibn al-ʿArabī's rhetoric allows for a reading of *four* modes here, as al-Maqābirī proposes, rather fancifully explaining the "great" imāmate as being that of the prophets (*al-anbiyāʾ*), the "greatest" as that of the apostles (*al-rusul*), the "lesser" as that of the pole (*al-quṭb*) of the Ṣūfīs, while the "least" is the latter's minister (*wazīr*).

[9] *Fa-inna l-ṭāʿata fī-hā mina l-maʾmūmi wāḥidat*^{un} (W reads *mani l-maʾmūmu*).

[Now] every domain (*mulk*) that has no Leader who is followed

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[10] That is, the correlation between the two modes of spiritual authority is realized on the Ṣūfī path (*al-ṭarīqah*) in terms of both the "exoteric" law (*al-ḥadd = al-sharīʿah*) and the "esoteric" truth (*al-ḥaqīqah*).

[11] On this general notion, see the short treatise by Ibn al-ʿArabī, *R. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn* (Yahia, *no.* 585, in *Rasāʾil, r.* 19), which cites the *ʿAnqāʾ* on the last page (see above, p. 432, n. 41), and, so, was composed after the present passage.

[12] This expression could be tr. in a number of ways (see Lane, *s.v. ḍammana* and *muḍamman*), all suggesting that the second (type of imām)—*viz.*, the Seal/Mahdī (= *walī*) as opposed to the prophet (= *nabī*)—stands as esoteric surety (*ḍamān*) to, or confirmation (*muṣaddiq*) of, the exoteric revelation of the latter. Note that these terms can be applied in different ways to the relation between Moses and Aaron. M understands the *nāṭiq/ muḍammin nuṭq*-dichotomy more literally to refer to the apostle, prophet or saint, on the one hand, and the written revelation, on the other (see App. I).

[13] *Ṣaḥīḥ*: "right, proper; real, genuine; credible; valid". The *imām al-muslimīn* (guide of the Muslims) is the Qur'ān; and the *imām mubīn* of *Qur.* 36: 12, the heavenly prototype of the Scripture (sometimes identified with the *umm al-kitāb* of 13: 39 and 3: 7). *Ṣaḥīḥ*, of course, is a term applied to sound *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet. Here, however, the ref. is to the record[s] of men's deeds, which is the probable sense of the term in 17: 71: "On the Day when We shall call all people with their Record (*bi-imāmi-him*)." Like the personified *imām*, who is divided, so to speak, into two imāms, so the "book" of deeds can appear in either of two forms (*i.e.*, of the right or left -hands), depending on whether the subj. of its account is destined to be blessed or damned (see *infra*).

[14] Lane cites *Qur.* 46: 10 as giving this sense of *shahida ʿalá*. "Frankly": *bi-l-taṣrīḥ*. It is not indicated who is the obj. of the prep., but I take the ref. to apply to any given individual.

[15] Variations of this *ḥadīth* (typically inc. in chaps. on *qadar*) are cited in *Concordance, s.v. sabaqa*. The version in Muslim, *Qadar*, 1, tells how an angel brings four words to each newborn in records of his fortune, his appointed time of death, his actions, and his preordained happiness or misery, and how, even should he do such good works that he is on the verge of entering Paradise, if and when the decree (*al-kitāb*) that he must be damned overtakes him, then he will forthwith enter Hell-fire.

(*imām muttabaʿ*) within it, that domain will fall to ruin forthwith and be split asunder.[16] For this reason the propagandists (*dawāʿ*^{in})[17] for the adoption of Imāms proliferate in each community/nation (*ummah*)—and such, too, is the way of Divine Wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-ilāhīyah*) and Lordly Upbringing (*al-nash'ah al-rabbānīyah*),[18] as the All-Wise, the All-Aware (*al-Ḥakīm al-Khabīr*)[19] has declared:

> There is not a community/nation but a Warner (*nadhīr*) has passed among them,[20]

—every community in accordance with what its own essential Reality (*ḥaqīqatu-hā*) bestows and its Subtle-Ray (*raqīqatu-hā*) receives. God (Be He Exalted!) says [also]: "... And there is no bird flying with its two wings but they are 'nations' (*umam*) like you"[21]—for He admitted [all of the supposedly "dumb"] animals (*al-bahā'im*) into nations/communities. That was His Command, and it was universal.[22]

Every [such] "nation" is endowed with speech at its own level (*fī ufqi-hā*),[23] in passionate attachment (*ʿāshiqah*) [to its own genius] in its height (*fī awji-hā*),[24] as there is no inorganic body or animal in existence that does not speak in some language—the language of [its own proper] Essence (*lisānu dhāt*^{in}), not [simply a silent] "voice of [its] condition" (*lisānu ḥāl*^{in})[25]—and whoever says otherwise speaks an absurdity (*muḥāl*). For the [phenomenal] veils [preventing clairvoyance] are heavy and the noumena (*maʿān*^{in}) are subtle; but were the integument [of the senses] (*al-ghiṭā'*) to be removed and [your]

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[16] *Wa-yanṣadaʿ[u]* (rhyming with *muttabaʿ*$^{[un]}$ in pause form). The Form V verb cognate with this is used in *Qur.* 30: 43 to denote the division of mankind into two groups, the blessed and the damned, on Judgment Day (*cf.* also 59: 21). C, E, V(?) and Q2 have the Vth form rather than the VIIth, meaning much the same.

[17] Plur. of *dāʿiyah* (*q.v.* in Dozy and Kazimirski, *s.v.*).

[18] "For God sends (*yuqayyidu*) at the beginning of each one-hundred years an *imām* who reforms the world" (M). The philos. terms, *al-ḥikmah* and *al-nash'ah*, suggest s.th. akin to politics and ethics.

[19] See *Qur.* 34: 1 and 6: 18 & 73, *et al.* Ibn al-ʿArabī has chosen these epithets to provide a rhyme with the foll. verse, ending with *nadhīr* (a warner). Instead of the first, E has *al-Ḥalīm* (the Gentle).

[20] *Qur.* 35: 24.

[21] *Qur.* 6: 38.

[22] *Wa-ḥakama bi-dhālika wa-ʿamma.* Note that the latter must be read in pausal form (*ʿamm*) in order to make a rhyme with the preceding *umam* (nations).

[23] *Ufq* (pl., *āfāq*): properly, "a horizon; distant country; remote region" (see *Qur.* 41: 53). Blachère (*s.v.*) tr. *ufq al-ḥayawān* as "the level [rank] of animals."

[24] As *ufq/āfāq* signifies the "lateral regions; breadth; or provinces", of each "nation," so the Per., *awj*, denotes the "height, or apogee (of the sun)" in relation to it.

[25] On this expression, *cf.* *Wörterbuch, s.v. lisān* (p. 621b).

slowness [to perceive] (*al-istibṭā'*) to cease,[26] you would see every Essence praising [God] in its genus (*jinsu-hā*), enunciating [its praise] B,37
in its self (*nafs-hā*),[27] [as it is written in Scripture]: "There is nothing that does not sing His praise,"[28] fulfilling its Covenant. Do you **61**
not see how [*all* within] the range of his voice (*madá ṣawti-hi*) will testify for the Caller-to-Prayer (*al-mu'adhdhin*) [on the Day of Judgment]?[29]—for this will surely have apprised us of the true quality of his character (*ḥaqīqat na'ti-hi*)?[30] And the words of the dead are audible to all animals other than Humans and the *Jinn*.

[Thus, indeed] to each of these "nations" there is a Warner which is of its species (*jinsu-hā*) in accordance with its nature (*nafsu-hā*), [for] it is incumbent [upon them] to imitate the obeyed Leader (*al-imām al-muttaba'*) concerning the thing brought before him [for his adjudication], as he is [worthy of being] followed.[31] If another challenges him, he is destroyed, and the former remains in control of his authority (*'alá mā malaka*)—unless there appear in him some deficiency (*naqṣ*) in the conditions of the Imāmate (*shurūṭ al-imāmah*),[32] or should the distinguishing Mark [thereof] (*al-'alāmah*) not be authenticated in him.[33] [If he *does* lack any of the requirements for the Imāmate] then let him be removed from his tenure before he becomes odious,[34] and let [another] be advanced to that Station who meets the conditions in accordance with the Fixed Covenant (*al-ʿaqd al-marbūṭ*). For the Imām of all imāms[35] [might be either] their true Guide (*hādī-hā*) or their Deceiver (*muḍillu-hā*),[36] [as God has declared in the Scripture:] "If there were 'Gods' besides God therein, then, verily, they [both] would have been corrupted"[37]—in which He linked corruption (*al-fasād*) with the association [of false-partners with God] (*al-ishtirāk*),[38] and He declared that by them[39] came destruction (*al-halāk*).[40] Hence, the Oneness [of the Imām] (*ittiḥādu-hu*)[41] is necessary in the government of his land (*ḥukm bilādi-hi*); for there is no contending with him (*munāzaʿatu-hu*), no way to bring suit against him (*muṭālabatu-hu*)—save only as I have told you, respecting the completion and fulfilment of the conditions [regarding the Imāmate], and the redemption of its claims and their execution (*ḥuqūqu-hā wa-ādāʾu-hā*).

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[26] *Cf. Qur.* 17: 44, where it is stated that everything in Heaven and Earth praise God (quoted *infra*), "but you do not understand their praise."

[27] Or: "in its soul." I tr. *jins* and *nafs* as "species" and "nature" in the next paragraph.

[28] *Qur.* 17: 44.

[29] Acc. to a trad., "There is neither man, nor *jinn*, nor anything at all (*wa-lā shay'*^{un}) in range of the caller-to-prayer's voice that shall not testify for him on the day of Resurrection" (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, 5; and Mālik b. Anas, *Al-Muwaṭṭa'*, *Nidā'*, 5, *et al.*).

[30] In place of the last, R and Q2 have *lughatu-hu* (his language). *Na't*: "an epithet whereby s.th. is described; any excellent quality". The idea, apparently, is that even supposedly *inanimate* objects within the range of our speech will bear testimony regarding us in the Judgment. Hence, they also have speech (as well as hearing). In the foll. sentence, even the dead are vocal and can be heard by animals (as cat-owners may have occasion to observe).

[31] I defer to all of the ss. (exc. for Q, which has *wa-l-tab'* [and the succession]) in reading *wa-ttubi'*, in pausal form (as voc. by B, W and M[?]), although the rhyme with *al-muttaba'* is imperfect and the sense redundant.

[32] These are (acc. to al-Māwardī) that the caliph be a male adult, sane and free, with no physical or mental defect, learned, powerful and just, an energetic defender of the faith, and a member of the Quraysh tribe.

[33] This is probably an allusion to the so-called "seal of prophecy", which was a protuberance on the Prophet's back between his shoulder-blades (see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 160a, for refs. of trads.), which was said to have vanished at his death, and which is called the *'alāmah* in *Musnad*, V, 82. (Ibn al-'Arabī himself evidently claimed to have such a feature on his back in an

The Prayer-Leader (*imām al-ṣalāh*) is a leader therein as to its fundamental observances and its forms (*arkānu-hā wa-mabānī-hā*),[42] so "bow when he bows, and fall prostrate when he falls prostrate,"[43] while he who raises [his head] before the Prayer-Leader does, his forelock is in the hand of a Devil.[44] Similarly, the Judge (*al-qāḍī*) is an imām regarding those matters which are put under his jurisdiction,

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apparently authentic passage inscribed in *Ms. John Rylands 106*, f. 159; see also *Dīwān*, 332, v. 7). Otherwise, the *ʿalāmāt al-nubūwah* were the evidentiary miracles of the prophets (*āyāt, muʿjizāt*). The specific "signs" (*aʿlām*) of the Mahdī were not well established even in the late-classical period.

[34] *Fa-l-yuʿzal min waqti-hi qabla maqti-hi.* In place of the last, E seems to read *ḥaqqu-hu* (his right). P has *bal* (rather) instead of *qabla*; and one printing of Q2 omits the latter altogether.

[35] *Imām al-aʾimmah* is a standard epithet of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[36] *Al-Hādī* is a name of God in *Qur.* 22: 54, *et al.*; and the Devil is called a *muḍill mubīn* in 28: 15 (but *cf.* 7: 186).

[37] *Qur.* 21: 22. "They both" are the heavens and earth in the orig. Qurʾānic context; but here it is possible to understand the ref. as to the pretender "gods." Ibn al-ʿArabī's point is that unless the "leader" is truly a Divinely-established *khalīfah*, any pretense to government is, by its nature, polytheistic and necessarily corrupt.

[38] *Ishtirāk* = *shirk* (polytheism, idolatry). *Cf. Qur.* 30: 40–43, where *fasād* is associated with polytheism.

[39] *Bi-hā* in all ss. The pron. must refer to the "gods" (*ālihah*) of the verse quoted.

[40] *E.g.*, in *Qur.* 2: 205.

[41] Instead of this, C, E, V and Q have *ittikhādhu-hu* (the adoption/imitation of him).

[42] *Arkān*: "the essential parts of s.th." (see Lane, *s.v. rukn* [end]).

[43] Bukhārī, *Ṣalāh*, 18, *et al.*

[44] *Shayṭān* (w/o the art., exc. in Q2). *Cf. Qur.* 96: 9–16. "His forelock": *nāṣiyatu-hu*.

and the Commandant (*al-qā'id*)[45] is an imām in that which is delivered over to him. [As the Prophet has said:] "Each of you is a Shepherd, and each of you is responsible for his flock"[46]—for every Man is an imām in his own house and home (*baytu-hu wa-binyatu-hu*).[47] B,37b

[But] the Greatest Imām [*sci.*, the Heart of Man][48] is more comprehensive (*ajma'*)—he who is Followed [by all] (*al-muttaba'*), the End and the Source (*al-nihāyah wa-l-marji'*),[49] the affairs of the nation being knit together through him.[50] For none of the [lesser] imāms oppose his leadership once his distinguishing Mark (*'alāmatu-hu*) is made manifest—the whole [World] (*al-kull*) being an "Imām"[51] under the authority of this Great Imām, even as he is subject to the Almighty All-Subduing (*al-Qāhir al-Qadīr*).[52] He is the Receiver [of all things] from the Real (*al-ākhidh 'an al-Ḥaqq*) and the Bestower [of the same to the World], by all rights, in truth (*al-mu'ṭī bi-ḥaqq^{in} fī ḥaqq^{in}*); so do not forsake him, but aid him, and reverence and honor him![53] Indeed, to this Noble Station (*al-manzilah al-sharīfah*) is the reference in the Word [of God] (Be He Praised!):

> Verily, I am placing in the earth a Vicegerent (*khalīfah* [*sci.*, Man]).[54]

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[45] In place of this, Q2 has *al-qā'im*, apparently intending an administrative official (*al-qā'im* as "the one who arises [at the end of times]", of course, is also a standard epithet of the Mahdī). W glosses *al-qā'id* as "a commander (*amīr*), or 'bey' (*bak*) in Turkish."

[46] For citations of this common trad., see above, p. 241, n. 42, where it is also quoted. The variation in Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, 1, refers specifically to the imām. "His flock": *ra'īyatu-hu* (this means also "his subjects, or citizens").

[47] M glosses the former as "his wife, his children and his servant," and the latter as "the make-up (*tarkīb*) of his inner and outer senses." *Binyah* means, primarily, "physical make-up, constitution", and the temple of the body may, indeed, be alluded to here.

[48] See *infra.* Here it seems to me that mystic man is assimilated to the quasi-Divine Muḥammadan Reality (and the semi-deified Seal/Mahdī).

[49] Instead of the last, V, B2 and Q2 have the rare word, *al-murtaja'*, which could be taken as meaning the same, and would suit the rhyme better. *Marji'* is a "source" in the sense of "that to which s.th. is taken back, or attributed".

[50] *Wa-tan'aqidu 'alay-hi umūru l-ummati.* That is, all of the duties and prerogatives of such lesser officials as the *qāḍī* and the *qā'id* are brought together under the all-comprehensive (*ajma'*) aegis of "the greatest imām," just as the function of all physical organs are coördinated in the brain and psychic energies in the heart.

[51] V, W, B2 and both edns. have *wa-kullu imām^{in}* (each [lesser] *imām*) rather than *wa-l-kullu imām^{un}*.

[52] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 17 & 18, *et al.*

[53] *Fa-lā takhdhulū-hu wa-nṣurū-hu, wa-waqqarū-hu wa-'azzarū-hu.* On the latter verb, see Lane, *s.v.* (end).

[54] *Qur.* 2: 30. The Qur'ānic caliphate of man (*khilāfat Ādam*) is assimilated by Ibn

When opposition to him occurs, the antagonists are rendered prostrate (*sujjad*^{an}) before him, while he who refused to bow down [*viz.*, Iblīs][55] when the one who obeyed the command rushed to do so—he shall be marked by eternal disgrace.[56]

That [alone] should suffice to establish the nobility of [the Perfect] **62**
Man (*sharaf*^{an} *li-l-insān*). What, then, if we add to this [Man's] being "in the Image of the Merciful" (*ʿalá ṣūrat al-Raḥmān*)?[57] [Hence, Man] has priority over all of existence by virtue of [both] the Image [of God] and the adoration [of the Angels] (*bi-l-ṣūrah wa-l-sujūd*): For in the Image He is justified [to receive] the Imāmate, and by adoration the Mark [of distinction] (*al-ʿalāmah*) came to Him[58] when the Real testified on His behalf that he was Most-knowing (*ʿallāmah*).[59] The matter being ordered thus [by God], and [Divine] Wisdom (*al-ḥikmah*) granting [Man] this precedence,[60] so this Human Configuration (*al-nashʾah al-insānīyah*) and Lordly Epitome (*al-nuktah al-rabbānīyah*) has [various subordinate] "imāms" within him,[61] even as he has [various] "nations" (*umam*)—nation upon nation.[62] For [Supernal Man] is [none other than] the "Original of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*)[63] and

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al-ʿArabī to the imāmate—both of which I take to signify the station of the Seal/Mahdī. For M's comm., see App. I.

[55] *Man abá ʿani l-sujūdi.* The subj. is the Devil (see next note).

[56] *Khazá l-abad.* This is a ref. to Iblīs, who, in *Qur.* 2: 34, *et al.*, refused to bow down before Adam when all of the other angels obeyed God's command to do so. *Cf. Phil.* 2: 10. At this point, Q inserts the foll. line (from p. 384, *supra*): "This is a synopsis (*nuktah*): Know its measure and verify its matter, for it is the essence of the affair (*zubdat al-amr*) and the secret of the inner heart (*khafī al-sirr*)."

[57] On the putative *ḥadīth* referred to, see above, p. 344 (n. 41), and p. 447 (n. 12) for numerous refs. in the *ʿAnqāʾ*. For M's comm., see App. I.

[58] It would be natural to take this to be the distinctive mark on the forehead, called the *sajjādah*, which is caused by frequent prostration in prayer and is regarded as a stamp of pious distinction. In what follows, however, we learn that the *ʿalāmah* is occasioned by the *angel's* prostration, not Adam's (see *Qur.* 2: 31–34).

[59] That is, that Adam knew the names of God/all things, as is stated in *Qur.* 2: 31, after which testimony the angels were commanded to bow down to him, thus conferring upon him the distinction of the *ʿalāmah*, the sign (of his imāmate). Q2 has *yashhadu* (will testify) instead of the perf.

[60] Q2 has *al-taqrīb* (= proximity), instead of *al-taqdīm* (precedence), and interpolates *ʿalá* after *al-ḥikmah.*

[61] "Such as hearing, sight, the tongue, spirit, intellect, the hands and feet, and, the greatest among them, the heart—for each of them is an *imām* to that for which it was created" (M). Below, the "*imāms*" are the several cognitive faculties, inc. the senses. On the general subj. of the "human kingdom," see Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhīyah.*

[62] The spheres of the cognitive and sensual faculties are arranged hierarchically, below.

[63] More than just the *Urtext*, this denotes the supernal record written by God

the Presence of the Quintessence [of Revelation] (*ḥaḍrat al-lubāb*);[64] while the Reflective spirit (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*)[65] is an imām [subordinated to him], as the Intellective spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ʿaqlī*)[66] is another, and the
Formative (*al-muṣawwir*),[67] the Imaginative (*al-khayālī*),[68] and the B,38
Instinctive [spirits] (*al-wahmī*),[69] as well as the senses (*al-ḥawāss*)[70]—are [all] "imāms", to each of which belongs a "nation".[71]

[But] the Greatest Imām and the Most-splendrous Light (*al-nūr*

Himself, which is the orig. form of the Scripture (see *Qur.* 13: 39 and 43: 4; but *cf.* 3: 7, which is inevitably interpreted differently [*cf.* Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Korʾān, s.v. amma*]). Ibn al-ʿArabī's point in this passage is to show how the cognate terms, *imām*, *ummah* and *umm*, are related. *Umm*: "an origin, principle, foundation; a capital, place of abode" (see *Qur.* 6: 92 and 42: 7).

[64] *Lubāb*: "the heart, marrow, choicest part of s.th.; substance, essence", *etc.*

[65] *Fikr* (reflective, or discursive thought) is described as a kind of probative "affliction" (*balāʾ*) which God has imposed on man in *Fut.-Y.*, II, 253. Also, in that passage and elsewhere, the reflective faculty is explicitly subordinated to the intellective faculty (*al-qūwah al-ʿaqlīyah*), from which we must infer that the present list is not in proper order (nor does it appear to be complete; *cf.* Chittick's trn. of a comparable text [from *ibid.*, 231–32] in *Illuminations*, 88–89). This is borne out by what we read below, on p. 492.

[66] Contrary to the evidence in the second passage from the *Futūḥāt* cited in the preceding note, the first one (as well as *Fut.-Y.*, II, 245–46) presents the "intellective (*ʿaqlīyah*) faculty" as the highest cognitive power of the rational soul. I doubt that we should insist on a real distinction between "spirit" (*rūḥ*) and "faculty" (*qūwah*) in this context.

[67] Ibn al-ʿArabī is not consistent in his usage of this term, which is clearly applied to a higher (human) "conceptive" faculty (ranking below *fikr*) in the last passage cited in the preceding note, but as a lower (animal) "formative" power in *ibid.*, 253. The latter is more in line with the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, who included *taṣwīr* (formation) among the seven powers of the vegetal soul.

[68] *Khayāl* is "imaginal thought, or phantasy", the concrete development of the more abstract "formative" faculty just mentioned.

[69] Of the three passages of the *Futūḥāt* cited in the preceding notes, the first does not mention the faculty of *wahm*, and the other two place it above *khayāl* rather than below, as here. Indeed, the present arrangement would seem to be the earliest conception of *wahm* in Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, which, later, under ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (if not sooner), underwent the development observed by R.A. Nicholson: "*Wahm* is generally defined as the 'bodily' faculty which perceives the qualities of a sensible object and forms a judgment concerning it—*e.g.*, that the sheep runs away from the wolf. Al-Jīlī regards it as the faculty whereby things are judged intuitively to be what they really are: he says that by means of *wahm* God made His creatures to worship Him as their Lord" (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 117, n. 1). Thus, the power by which newly-hatched chicks unerringly know to flee the shadow of the hawk (*viz.*, "instinct") was later rationalized by anti-rationalists to demonstrate the infallible quality of mystical "intuition", or gnosis (*maʿrifah*). See Gloss., *s.v. wahm.*

[70] Each of the five senses is an "imām" corresponding externally, no doubt, to the five "spirits," or inner powers, just listed. One printing of Q2 omits the *wa-* before *al-ḥawāss.*

[71] The "nation" is, of course, the special purview of each faculty or sense.

al-azhar) is the [human] Heart,[72] Guardian (*al-qalb al-muqaddam*) over the Worlds of [both] the Seen and the Unseen (*ʿālam al-shahādah wa-l-ghayb*).[73] It is the Holy Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-qudusī*) and the Subtle Imām (*al-imām al-nadusī*),[74] to which [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!)[75] alluded in his saying: "In the body (*al-jasad*) is a [certain] small Organ (*biḍʿah*)[76] which, if it is sound, the [whole] body does well, but if unsound, the body is corrupted; and, lo, this is the Heart."[77] If it is sound, then it is a Holy Spirit (*rūḥ qudsī*); but if otherwise, then is it a deviant Devil (*shayṭān ghawī*).[78] And [its] subjects (*al-raʿīyah*) are of the Religion of the Imām,[79] whether in the [subtle] World of simple elements (*ʿālam al-basāʾiṭ*) or the World of [compound physical] bodies.[80] But the [true] Leader of Mankind (*imām al-insān*) is the One concerning which the Merciful declared:

> Neither My Earth nor My Heaven can contain Me; [but] the Heart of My [faithful] Servant comprehends Me . . .[81]

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[72] Q2 adds a *wa-* before *al-qalb.*

[73] This could also be rendered: "preferred over the world of," *etc.*

[74] Instead of the last, Q has *al-nafsī* ; and Z and Q2, *al-qudsī.* It is voc. thus (to rhyme with *al-qudusī*) in B, C and W, all of which gloss the word with *al-rafīʿ* (sublime; fine, subtle). But Kazimirski (the only western dictionary to adequately treat of *nadasa*) gives only: *nads*, "one who hears the least noise; habile à saisir le mot dit tout bas; intelligent"; and *nadis/nadus*, "endowed with wisdom". M has *al-ʿādil al-matbūʿ* (just [and] worthy of being followed).

[75] The early ss., C, E and R, do not have *wa-sallama* of the usual formula, thus concluding with *ʿalay-hi.*

[76] Foll. B, R, Z and M, reading thus in preference to *muḍghah* (meaning much the same), as in most other ss. (E has *baʿḍu-hu* [a portion of it]). The latter reading also appears in most of the canonical *ḥadīths* (see next note). *Muḍghah*: "a piece of flesh the size of a morsel"; hence, an "embryo" (in *Qur.* 22: 5), but also, by extension, a "heart", *etc.*

[77] *Cf.* Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 39; Muslim, *Musāqāt*, 107; Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 14; and the *Sunan* of al-Dārimī, *Buyūʿ*, 1. The heart, which is the organ of perception, is perhaps the "single eye" of *Luke* 11: 34.

[78] *Ghawī* = *ghāw*^{in} (*cf.* *Qur.* 26: 224, where the plur. of the latter is said by some to refer to the "familiar spirits" of the poets).

[79] *Fa-l-raʿīyatu ʿalá dīni l-imāmi.* Instead of the first, V, B2 and Q have *fa-raghbah* (and the desire).

[80] The point is that, even as in the political world of men the common people will adopt the religion of an effective ruler (but this was not always true in the Middle East!), so it is in the case of the physical *basāʾiṭ*: the dominant element will tend to convert the others to its own nature. The ref., of course, is to the *biḍʿah*, or "heart," of the *ḥadīth* just quoted (at n. 77, above).

[81] On this well-known *ḥadīth qudsī*, see *Muʿjam*, pp. 1265–66, trad. *no.* 30; and *An Ocean without Shore*, p. 139, n. 32. Here our author omits the adj., *al-muʾmin* (the faithful), in order to make the terminal rhyme of *ʿabd-ī* with *arḍ-ī wa-samāʾ-ī*; but V, B2, M and Q have added it. *Cf.* *Qur.* 2: 255.

—when Earth and Heaven were too straitened to bear [the Divine] Self-Manifestation,[82] and their being distinguished by the [Divine] Names proved impossible.[83] Thus, the Heart of the Gnostic becomes a True Abode (*bayt haqq*)[84] and a Sure Seat (*maqʿad ṣadq*).[85] For the Imām stood firm—a "Gathering up" (*jamʿ*)[86]—and the people came to him,[87] unwillingly or willingly.[88]

Know[89] that the Pledge of allegiance [to the Imām/Caliph on the part of his subjects] (*al-mubāyaʿah*) does not take place except under the stipulated Condition (*al-sharṭ al-mashrūṭ*) and in accordance with the firm, binding Contract (*al-ʿaqd al-wathīq al-marbūṭ*),[90] each one pledging allegiance commensurate with the degree of his own resolution (*qadr ʿazmi-hi*) and the extent of his knowledge (*mablagh ʿilmi-hi*). An individual might [even] be paid homage as the Imām[91] while the Mark [of the Imāmate] appears in *another*, so that the [genuine] Pledge might, rather, be on the basis of the [non-sensible] intelligible attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-maʿqūlah*), not this benighted up-growth (*al-nashʾah al-majhūlah* [*sci.*, the physical body])[92]—the Unknown Caliph (*al-khalīfah al-maṭlūb*)[93] extending *his* hand from the Presence of Holiness (*ḥaḍrat* B,38b *al-quds*) on the occasion of that external-sensible (*ẓāhir al-ḥiss*)[94] pledge made to the imperfect Caliph (*al-khalīfah al-nāqiṣ*).[95] Thus, the [real] Homage-ceremony shall take place in [the Presence of Holiness] without any being able to see it,[96] and for that reason differences of **63** opinion (*ikhtilāf*) may arise as to the Imām who is specified (*al-muʿayyan*), but not concerning the *intelligible* distinction (*al-waṣf al-mutabayyan*).[97] For rare is the Caliph upon whom [all] hearts are agreed, especially when [the external conditions of his being recognized] are not fulfilled.[98]

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[82] A ref. to the *amānah* (trust) which God offered to the heavens, the earth and the mountains, but which they shrank from bearing, after which man assumed it (*ḥamala-hā*; see *Qur.* 33: 72). But note that the verse goes on to chide presumptuous man for his tyranny and folly.

[83] *Wa-staḥāla ʿalay-himā l-ittiṣāfu bi-l-asmāʾi.* See preceding note.

[84] B2, M and Q2 have the def., *al-Ḥaqq* (the Real).

[85] *Cf. Qur.* 54: 55.

[86] I read this: *Fa-qad thabata l-imāmu jam*^{ʿan}. Around the firm axis of the imām an aggregate of people crystallizes. The verb could also be read in the trans. IInd form, with the "gathering" as the obj. thereof.

[87] *Wa-atá l-nāsu ilay-hā*, in all mss., the fem. pron. evidently referring to the imām as caliph (*khalīfah*). Q has the masc., *ilay-hi*; and Q2, the dual, *ilay-himā* (*viz.*, the Earth and Heaven?). M is wanting part of this clause.

[88] *Karh*^{an} *wa-ṭaw*^{ʿan}. *Cf. Qur.* 3: 83, 41: 11, *et al.*, where, however, the advs. are reversed.

[89] The imp. is in the plur. here (whereas the one that opens this chap. is sing.), and it will be noted that these final two paragraphs relate more specifically to the (political) caliphate than to the mystical heart.

[90] *Mubāyaʿah* = *bayʿah*: "the making of a covenant. . . . as though each of the two parties sold what he had to the other [*bāyaʿā*], and gave him his own special property and his obedience. . . ." (Lane, *s.v. bāyaʿa*); also, "a pledge of allegiance to a leader, acknowleging his leadership, making a covenant with him to submit to his judgment", *etc.* Here the term is reminiscent of the so-called *bayʿat al-riḍwān* (referred to in *Qur.* 48: 10 & 18; see also Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 253–54), when, in 6 H., the Prophet's closest companions swore a voluntary oath not to abandon him. Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote a treatise entitled *Mubāyaʿat al-Quṭb* early in his career (it is mentioned in the *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm* [see Yahia, *no.* 487]), but it is apparently lost (but *cf. Fut.* III, 135–40, Chap. 336). Presumably the "condition" is the degree of the contractees "resolution" and "knowledge," mentioned in the foll. clause.

[91] *Fa-qad yubāyaʿu shakhṣ*^{un} *ʿalá l-imāmah.* W reads the verb as act.

But the Pledge of allegiance for the Caliph [*sci.*, the Seal/Mahdī] has, indeed, been effected, and he has [already] attained unto the Noble Standing (*al-rutbah al-sharīfah*). Should any opposition [to him] (*iʿtirāḍ*) arise, there is no way for hearts qualified by diseased conditions[99] [to carry out their intentions] when the Real (Exalted be He!), [Himself] the Supreme Imām (*al-Imām al-Aʿlá*) and the Closest Exemplar (*al-Muttabaʿ al-Awlá*),[100] has declared:

> Lo! those who pledge allegiance to you (O Muḥammad), in truth, they pledge allegiance to God: *The Hand of God is over their hands* ![101]

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[92] *Majhūlah*: "unknown, unintelligible" (ant. of *maʿqūlah*). R omits "not."

[93] *Maṭlūb*: "unknown (quantity in algebra); desired, sought after", *etc.*

[94] In place of the last, Q2 has *al-jins* (the genus).

[95] Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to assimilate the supersensible "Hand of God" (which is "above" the physical hands of the parties to the solemn *mubāyaʿah* in *Qur.* 48: 10, quoted below) with that of the "unknown [*maṭlūb* = *ghāʾib*] Imām", the Seal/Mahdī. W has garbled this line.

[96] *Min ghayri an yanẓura baṣar*^{un} *ilay-hā*, in all mss. (but it is garbled in both edns.).

[97] All are agreed on the theoretical description of the imām, but such agreement is harder to come by in the concrete, socio-political world.

[98] *Fa-qalla khalīfat*^{un} *tujmiʿu l-qulūbu ʿalay-hi, wa-lā siyyamā in ikhtalla mā bayna yaday-hi. Ijmāʿ*: "consensus of the (learned authorities of the) community on a legal question". W reads *tujmaʿu* ([hearts] are gathered [unto him]); and M describes the caliph as "the magnet of hearts (*maghnāṭīs al-qulūb*) and direction-of-prayer for spirits (*qiblat al-arwāḥ*)." Instead of the first, V and B2 have *fa-kullu* (and each).

[99] *Al-qulūb al-manʿūtah bi-l-amrāḍ*. In place of the last, B, W, M and Q2 have بالمراض (?), but this is corrected in the margin of B (by a later hand). R seems to read *al-mafʿūlah* (acted upon, affected) for the adj. "Those in whose heart is a disease" is a common expression in the Qurʾān (*e.g.*, in 5: 52).

[100] Instead of the first, Q has *al-Matbūʿ*, meaning much the same. God is both man's highest Aspiration and his closest "Friend" (*al-Walī*; *cf.* *Qur.* 50: 16).

[101] *Qur.* 48: 10.

After the Prophet [Muḥammad], the Most-great Chosen One [of God] (*al-nabī al-muṣṭafá l-aʿẓam*),[102] no one shall attain unto this Most-significant Station (*al-maqām al-ajsam*), except for the Most-gracious, Most-excellent Seal of the Saints (*khatm al-awliyāʾ al-aṭwal al-akram*).[103] Even if he is not of the Noble House of the Prophet (*bayt al-nabī*), yet [the Seal] shares with [the latter] in the Heavenly Lineage (*al-nasab al-ʿulwī*),[104] for he belongs by right to his *uppermost* House (*baytu-hu l-aʿlá*), not the lowest (*al-adná*).[105]

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[102] Or: "the most-great, Chosen Prophet." Muḥammad was known as *al-Muṣṭafá*, or *muṣṭafā Llāh* (the elect of God). R is wanting this.

[103] M here identifies the Seal of the saints as Jesus, whom he mistakenly calls "the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood," but the latter is actually Ibn al-ʿArabī himself (see pp. 55–60 of the intro.), who may, in any case, be the "most-excellent Seal" in this context.

[104] Were we to amend *bayt al-nabī* at the end of the preceding clause to *al-bayt al-nabawī*, then a superior rhyme could be made here by reading *al-ʿalawī*, meaning the same (but running the risk of being perceived as a pro-ʿĀlid allusion).

[105] *Baytu-hu l-adná*. That is, the Prophet's earthly (*dunyawī*) lineage, the Hāshimite clan of the tribe of Quraysh.

II. An Epitome of Glorious Nobility (*nuktat al-sharaf*) *concerning Chambers* (*ghuraf*) *above Which Are Chambers*[1]

A [certain] Saint (*walī*)[2] (May God grant him a happy outcome!) used to maintain an analogical doctrine (*qawl qiyās*) on the basis of sense-testimony and experience (*shahādat*^{an} *wa-iḥsās*^{an})[3] as to why[4] the Seal [of the Saints] (*al-khatm*) is *not* of [the noble Prophetary] House (*baytu-hu*), nor is he a scion of [the Prophet's] daughter (*mustakhraj min binti-hi*),[5] to the end that the Nobility might be of a *more* perfect lineage (*al-nasab*), more complete and excellent for the Noble Office (*al-manṣib al-sharīf*) [of the Seal]. But were that expounder (*al-qāʾil*) to have blinded his own eye[6] and [really] verified [the Seal's] place (*aynu-hu*), considering how Salmān [al-Fārisī] (May God be pleased with him!) was enrolled among the People of the [Noble] House,[7] then he would have known [better] that the Intended One (*al-murād*) is *not* of the [traditional Noble] House.

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[1] *Sharaf*: "highness, eminence in rank, or of *ḥasab* (grounds of pretension to honor, consisting in personal or ancestral qualities as cause of gloryіng)" (see Lane, *s.v.*). In Modern Arabic, a *sharīf* is a descendant of the Prophet's very extended family, and *sharaf* here does seem to have the sense of Prophetary nobility, the ancestral "house" (*bayt*) of Muḥammad regarded as consisting of many "chambers" hierarchically arranged (*cf. John* 14: 2).

[2] V, B2 and Q have *walī Allāh* (the saint, or friend, of God). The ref. is to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, to whom Ibn al-ʿArabī has already had occasion to refer (see p. 230, at n. 25), the author of the *K. Khatm al-Awliyāʾ*, in which the doctrine of the Seal of the saints, an analogical notion (*qiyās*) to that of the Seal of the prophets (*khātam al-nabīyīn*) of *Qur.* 33: 40, is adumbrated.

[3] *Shahādah*: "a declaration of what one knows, esp. on the basis of personal experience". *Iḥsās*: "perceiving with the senses". Our author's characterization of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's knowledge as essentially *a posteriori* and speculative (*qiyās*, "rational analogy", was a term of opprobrium in Ibn al-ʿArabī's vocabulary), is quite uncomplimentary. This is as much as to say that, for whatever reason, the "inventor" of the *khatm* doctrine never adequately expounded it.

[4] *Li-mā* (missing in Q2).

[5] Namely, Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, wife of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī, and mother of their sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, progenitors of the Shīʿite imāms. Note that while this latter ref. frees the Seal from the restriction imposed on claimants to the imāmate by the Shīʿites, the statement that he is not of the Prophet's *bayt* would also waive the ʿAbbāsid requirement that the supreme religious authority be Hāshimite. The early ss., C and E (as well as W), have *nabtu-hu* (? his stock) instead of *baytu-hu*, but our premier source, B, clearly reads the latter. (Lane quotes a phrase from a trad., however: *ahlu bayt*^{in} *wa-ahlu nabt*^{in} [a people of nobility and a people whose property has grown by their own efforts]). Q2 has *nisbatu-hu* (his relation).

[6] *Wa-law kaḥala hādhā l-qāʾilu ʿayna-nu.* M glosses this expression: "That is, if he clears up (*ajlá*) his inner perception and his thought (*baṣīratu-hu wa-fikru-hu*)," but the verb appears, rather, to have only the secondary sense I have given (specifically, "to burn out the eyes [with fire], or dazzle them [with light]"; see *Wörterbuch, s.v.*, Forms I and II). *Kuḥl* (collyrium) is an ore of antimony (*ithmid, q.v.* in Lane) which was mined esp. in the East (in Iṣfahān). The subj. is the teacher of the "analogical doctrine" (*qawl qiyās*) of the first line. The point is that al-Tirmidhī need not

[*The Seal of the Saints of Glorious Nobility*][8]

Part of the Prophet's Eminence over all existence[9] B,39
is the Saints' ultimate Seal[10] of the ages[11]
Among the lofty Noble House and its dwellers
of the Race venerated in [all of] existence[12]
—My proof [of that], the ideal Essences in their refuge[13]
and testimony of the Grace of God upon him.[14]
But were the House to be without a [protective] Seal,[15]
the thief would surely [break in and] steal the child.[16]

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have depended on sense experience and reasoning, but might have intuited a more revealing doctrine of the *khatm* by turning his gaze inward.

[7] Salmān was a Persian client (*mawlá*) of the Prophet, who later adopted him, and was recorded as averring that "Salmān is one of us, [Quraysh] of the noble house [of Hāshim] (*Salmān min-nā ahl al-bayt*)" (see G. Levi della Vida's art. in *E.I.* 1, *s.v.*; and *cf.* Chap. 29 of the *Futūḥāt* (I, 195–99), and Ibn al-ʿArabī's response to Question 150 of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (in *Fut.* II, 126–27). Q alone adds *al-Fārisī* to the name.

[8] The metre of this poem (inc. in D2, 32–33), is *al-wāfir.*

[9] *Fa-min sharafi l-nabī ʿalá l-wujūdī.* That is, among the things which distinguish the Prophet Muḥammad.

[10] *Khitām al-awliyā'.* In *Qur.* 83: 26, *khitām* is evidently a syn. of *khātam/khātim* (which is, in fact, the reading of ʿAlī), although, as many ss. quoted by Lane attest, it should not necessarily be tr. as "seal" (as by Arberry, Blachère and Paret), exc. in the figurative sense of the "*last* of s.th. (*e.g.*, a draught, taste, aroma)" (see Lane, *s.v.*; and Jeffery, *s.v. khātam*).

[11] *Min al-ʿuqūd*: "of the millenia (tens of centuries)". *ʿUqūd* is also the plur. of *ʿaqd* (contract). How the Seal of sainthood redounds to the credit of the Prophet Muḥammad (see n. 9) is not really made evident here or anywhere else. For M's comm., in which he equates the Seal and the Mahdī, see App. I.

[12] *Al-jinsu l-muʿaẓẓamu fī l-wujūdī.* This is the family of the Prophet in the extended, spiritual sense. Instead of the first, Q2 has *al-jism* (the body).

[13] *Wa-bayyinat-ī l-ḥaqā'iqu fī dharā-hā.* In place of the first, D2 has *tabyīn* (explanation). Regarding the *ḥaqā'iq*, see above, p. 228, n. 8.

[14] *Viz.*, the Seal of the saints.

[15] *Khatm* in the sense of a "lock". Lane notes that, acc. to al-Zajjāj, the proper meaning of *khatm* (and *ṭabʿ*) is "the covering over of a thing, and securing oneself from a thing's entering it" (*s.v. khatama*).

[16] "Were it not for the [appearance] of the Seal at the beginning of each century, . . . the world would fall to corruption and nations would be destroyed. . . . And whenever the human kingdom loses this Seal, the 'thieves' of the lower-souls (*luṣūṣ al-nufūs*) break into the 'inhabited house' (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr*), so that deception and decadence (*al-talbīs wa-l-tankīs*) take place therein" (M). In the margin of M,

So make, my brother, close examination of One
who safeguards from afar the Dwelling of Sainthood![17]
And were it not for That which took form in our
[first] Father,[18]
the Angels' bowing-down to him would not have
been ordered.[19]
That Most-Holy [Spirit][20] is the Imām of my Soul:[21]
As he is *Living*, He is called "the Witness/Martyr,"[22]
Unique in the present moment,[23] without parallel, **64**
singular in Essence, of a peerless Dynasty.[24]
I have, in fact, with my own eyes *seen* him, a Noble Seal,[25]
in his Epiphany,[26] despite the enviers,
As [though] I saw the *Sun*, a "Necklace of Nobility,"[27]
as the throat in relation to "the vein of the neck."[28] C,59

"the thief" is glossed as "Satan". For the verb, one printing of Q2 has *laja'a* (took refuge [in]) instead of *la-jā'a* (will surely perpetrate—).

[17] *Bayt al-walāyah.* The ref. here and in what follows is to the Seal of sainthood as the cosmic vicegerent by whom "God preserves His creation" (see *Bezels*, 51). W amends *al-walāyah* to *al-wilādah* (childbearing).

[18] That is, the knowledge of the (Divine) names bestowed upon Adam in the Qur'ānic passage cited in the next note, but it is hypostatized as the human heart in what follows. Note that this knowledge/heart is said to have taken form or been formed/created (*takawwana*) in the first man. Q2 lacks "what" (*mā*).

[19] See *Qur.* 2: 30–34, *et al.*

[20] *Al-aqdasī.* That is, the "spirit of holiness" (*rūḥ al-qudus*), frequently associated with the story of Jesus (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 2: 87 & 253, and 5: 110; but *cf.* 16: 102).

[21] *Nafs-ī.* M glosses the "*imām* of my soul" as the heart, which preserves (*ḥāfiẓ*) the Divine secret.

[22] *Al-shahīd* (witness; martyr). This is a ref. to *Qur.* 2: 154: "And call not those who are slain in the way of God 'dead'. Rather, they are *living*, though you know it not" (*cf.* also 3: 169).

[23] *Waḥīd al-waqt.* On the meaning of *waqt*, see above, p. 230, n. 22. The 2nd edn. of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān* (Bombay, n.d.) has *al-ʿaṣr* (the age) instead of the last.

[24] *Farīdu l-dhāti min bayt*^{in} *farīdī.* Again, the *bayt* in question is the *higher* "house of sainthood" of which the Seal is the capstone.

[25] *Khatm karīm*, in B and most of the later ss. C, E and R have *ḥatm*^{an} (definitely) instead of *khatm*^{an}; and Q2, *ḥaqq*^{an} (truly). B2 misplaces this verse after the next.

[26] *Bi-mashhadi-hi. Mashhad*: "place of witnessing s.th.; spectacle".

[27] *Shams al-bayt*: lit., "the sun of the (noble) house," an evident ref. to the Mahdī as "sun of the west" and descendent of the Prophet. My reason for tr. as I have is given in the foll. note.

[28] *Ḥabl al-warīd*: "a certain vein . . . in the throat (*ḥalaq*)" (Lane, *s.v. ḥabl*). In *Qur.* 50: 16, God declares that He is closer to man "than the vein of his neck." In my trn. of this verse I follow the early ss. (and also D2) in reading *al-ḥalaq* (the gullet, throat) rather than *al-khalq* (creation), as in the other ss. The idea seems to be that, even as God is nearer (= more immanent) to man than the vein, so the latter is nearer than the neck. This hardly accounts for the incongruous imagery of "the sun of the noble house" (*shams al-bayt*), however, unless we make s.th. of the fact

Were the Light [of this Sun] to dawn forth in its splendor
upon the body hidden in the graveyard,[29]
It surely would wake up—Knowing, Alive, and Speaking,
—with countenance beaming, and trailing its shroud![30]
(Whoever understands the hint, let him safeguard it,
or else he will be joined unto the dust!)[31]
For the Light of the Truth keeps nothing hidden[32] from
the Stars in the "Most-auspicious [Mansion]":[33]
I beheld [this Light][34] without any inattention,
whether it was in descent or whether it was rising;[35]
[And] I uttered the Affair concerning it—*nothing but* [36]
—although therein there is superabundance. . . .[37]

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that the word, *shams*, also connotes "a necklace, collar, or pendant", as I have done in my trn. We might speculate that the *shams al-bayt* is the Mahdī, symbolized as a collar *outside* the neck, while the Seal is the vein *within* the neck, than which nothing is closer to man but God. Q2 alone has *abṣartu-hu* (I saw him), with the dir. obj.

[29] *Luḥūd* is the plur. of *laḥd* (grave, tomb).

[30] A ref. to the apocalyptic function of the "western sun" (the Mahdī); but also, perhaps, we may detect a subtle allusion to Jesus's power to give life to the dead (*à la* Lazarus)—not to mention clay birds—and sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, *etc.* (see *Qur.* 5: 110).

[31] "The dust": *al-ṣaʿīd* (this word also connotes "the grave"). The "hint" which must be kept hidden is the all-consuming significance of the Seal/Mahdī doctrine.

[32] *Laysa bi-hi khafāʾ*^{un}. Instead of the last, Z has *tawwāb* (one who is penitent); Q2 reads *ḥaqq*^{an}; and R, V, B2, M and Q have *la-hu* for the prep. phrase, signifying much the same. "The light of the truth": *nūr al-ḥaqq*. This is apparently the same as the *shams al-bayt* (= light of the Seal/Mahdī) of the preceding verses, though it could just as well be read *nūr al-Ḥaqq*, "the light God, of the Real."

[33] *Saʿd al-suʿūd*: an especially auspicious group of two or three stars making up the 24th "mansion" of the moon, which is part of Capricorn and Aquarius (see Wright's trn. of al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm*, p. 84; and Lane, *s.v.*, for an account of all of the *suʿūd*). Ibn al-ʿArabī uses this motif also in his *Kutub* in a passage which I have quoted in the intro. (pp. 169–70).

[34] *Raʾaytu l-amra. Amr*: "command, order; thing, affair, matter". The dir. obj., which is evidently the "light of the truth [of the Seal/Mahdī]" of the first hemistich, is also the obj. of the verb beginning the next verse, where it has the former connotation.

[35] In view of the foll. verse we might conjecture that the descent (*hubūṭ*) of the *amr* (see preceding note) is its "corporealization" as *sound*, whereas its ascent (*ṣuʿūd*) is its "sublimation" as immediate intelligibility, or meaning. Note that the *amr* here is in the form of light which is perceived by the poet, while in the next verse he *articulates* it. (*Cf.* the prologue to the Gospel acc. to St. John, where the Divine *amr* [= the Aramaic *memrāʾ*, the logos of the *Fiat lux*] is assimilated to both word and light).

[36] *Naṭaqtu bi-hī wa-ʿan-hu wa-laysa illā* (for the latter expression w/o the exception, see Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, vol. II, p. 340 [rem. f]). I am not sure of my understanding (or trn.) of this exceedingly elliptical verse.

[37] *Al-mazīd*. That is, the matter is significant beyond anything that can be expressed or understood. I have introduced the foll. break in the poem.

* * * * * * *

My being in existence is without locality
—proof that I am truly the Martyr's garb [of merit];[38]
For Heaven[39] does not compass the Glory of my Lord, B,39b
and yet He comes to reside in the Heart of the Lover.[40]
I opted for reticence when, from all and sundry,[41]
ignorant rejection was visited upon him
(And would one really fear the [petty back-biting] of jackals
who strode with the lion's mane in the wilderness?),[42]
Making inquiry of the Precious-Pearl of my being,[43]
through the verified Revelation and Vision:[44]
"Should I, after his Revelation to all,[45] continue
to deny? But how would my denial profit me?"
—Whereupon [the Pearl] replied to me most sincerely:
"Abase yourself before the Guardian and true Witness;[46]

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[38] *Thawb al-shahīd.* My trn. is an attempt to bring out the connection in Arabic between *thawb* (garment; outward appearance) and *thawāb* (a reward for good deeds; merit). The ref. is to the Qur'ānic pronouncement that the martyr is alive with God (2: 154 and 3: 169), alluded to earlier (see above, at n. 22).

[39] D2 alone has *al-wujūd* (existence) in place of *al-samā'*.

[40] *Ḥalla fī qalbi l-ʿamīdi* (*cf.* above, p. 228, n. 6). The last word, which denotes a man whose *ʿamūd* (chief artery) of his heart is severed, connoting one smitten by love, is def. as *al-muḥibb* (the lover) in the margin of B. W imprecisely glosses *al-ʿamīd* with *al-maqṣūd* (the intention). Instead of the former, V, Q2 and the margin of E have *al-ʿabīd* (the servants). More importantly, the margins of B (by a later hand?) and W, and the texts of R, V, B2, Z, M and Q substitute *kāna* for *ḥalla*, with the evident intention of avoiding a dangerously "incarnationist" (*ḥulūlī*) association. "The glory of my Lord": *jalāl Rabb-ī.* The verse refers, of course, to the popular sacred *ḥadīth*: "My Heaven and My Earth cannot contain Me; the Heart of My faithful servant contains Me," quoted above (p. 470).

[41] *Min bīḍ^{in} wa-sūd^{in}*: lit., "from whites and blacks," signifying all races of mankind. W, which does not recognize the preceding 18 lines as verses, represents the poem as beginning here.

[42] *Ghafru l-usūdi*: "the mane of lions." Instead of the first, Q2 has *ʿaqr* (wounding?); and D2, *khafr* (guarding). Ibn al-ʿArabī's own leonine character is indicated in the sun-sign of his horoscope.

[43] *Al-nafīsah min wujūd-ī.* In place of the first, C has *al-nafsīyah.* M glosses *al-nafīsah* as "his soul of tranquility" (*nafsu-hu l-muṭma'innah*, with ref. to *Qur.* 89: 27), and, elsewhere, as "his spirituality" (*rūḥānīyatu-hu*). I think that the "precious pearl" of his being is the poet's Lord, Who resides in his heart (see *supra*).

[44] *ʿAlá l-kashfi l-muḥaqqaqi wa-l-shuhūdī.* Instead of the latter, D2 has *al-wujūd* (existence).

[45] *A-baʿda l-kashfi ʿan-hu li-kulli ʿayn^{in}*. I take the "revelation and vision" to be that of the poet *vis-à-vis* the Seal/Mahdī in the 9th verse, above.

[46] *Al-Muhaymin wa-l-Shahīd.* These are names of God on the basis of *Qur.* 59: 23 and 4: 79 & 166, *et al.*

And ask of Him safekeeping as long as it may be,
  and for [your] livelihood in the time of happiness!"[47]
[But] I requested of Thee, O Knower of the Secret:[48]
  "Grant the Lover preservation of his love,[49]
And that Thou wouldst preserve for me the "robe" of my body[50]
  in Thy Sacred House until the Day of Affliction;[51]
And that Thou wouldst conceal my Station in my locus,[52]
  even as Thou hidest Thy Fortitude in iron,[53]
And veil that which of necessity seems [good] in me,[54]
  like Thy veiling of the Light of Thine Essence in Man;[55]
But manifest the testimonies of my failure
  to fulfill the Covenants of the [successive] ages."[56]

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[47] That is, the term of one's life on earth. M has garbled this expression.

[48] *ʿAlīm al-sirr*: *viz.*, God as Knower of man's innermost consciousness and deepest desire (*cf. Qur.* 20: 7 and 25: 6), which is the *amor Dei* (see n. 40, above), as well as sainthood's immanent sealhood.

[49] *Mannī* [for *manni*]/ *ʿiṣām*^{an} *bi-l-mawaddati fī l-wadūdī*: "Awaken in the lover the desire [only] to preserve [his] love." Instead of the last, V, B2 and both edns. have *al-wurūd* (the veins); and Q2 reads *matá* (when) in place of the first.

[50] *Ridāʾ jism-ī*: "the outer wrapping/garment of my body." *Ridāʾ* also signifies a "bier", and has many other conflicting connotations. M's suggestion that this expression is a metonym for the Divine law (*al-sharʿ*) as "the preserver of the physical order and secret of the spiritual" is hardly tenable.

[51] *Bi-Kaʿbati-kum ilá yawmi l-ṣaʿūdī* (*cf. Qur.* 74: 17). Instead of the first, V has *bi-baʿthati-kum* (in Your revival). Q reads: *li-liqāʾi-kum ilá yawmi l-suʿūdi* (for the meeting with You on the day of fortunes). "The day of affliction," of course, is the Judgment (*al-Ṣaʿūd* is also the name of a mountain in Hell); but a cognate inf. is used by Christians to denote the ascension of Jesus, and it may not be irrelevant that Muḥammad was believed to have ascended to the seven heavens from the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. M glosses "Your sacred house" quite reasonably as "the heart, since it is the direction to which the spirits [of men] turn (*qiblat al-arwāḥ*), even as the Kaʿbah is the *qiblah* of [their] corporeal forms (*al-ashbāḥ*)."

[52] *Makān-ī fī makān-ī*: "My [essential, mystic] station in my [existential, worldy] station."

[53] *Cf. Qur.* 57: 25: "We sent down iron (*al-ḥadīd*), in which is mighty Fortitude (*baʾs shadīd*), and [many] uses for man, and so that God might learn who helps Him and His Apostles in the Unseen (*fī l-ghayb*)." Note that the "fortitude, or power", is not attributed to God essentially, but rather through His manifestation (*tanzīl*) of iron. Q2 has *bi-smi-ka* (in Your name) in place of *baʾsu-ka*.

[54] *Mā badā min-nī ḍṭirār*^{an}. The mystic does not take credit for any virtue that may appear in him by God's will—or, rather, His direct action.

[55] *Ka-satri-ka nūra dhāti-ka fī l-ʿabīdī*. Q2 has *dhāt-ī* (*my* essence).

[56] *ʿAjz-ī/ bi-tawfiyat-ī mawāthīqa l-ʿuhūdī*. *Mawāthīq* (plur. of *mīthāq* [*al-azal*], the "[pre-eternal] covenant" of *Qur.* 7: 172?) is used apparently for the sake of the metre. Q2 has garbled this. The last three verses articulate the characteristic *Malāmī* position as to social morality (see also at n. 64, below).

65 [The Seal's] affair (*amru-hu*) will surely be revealed to you and his Secret (*sirru-hu*) become clear to you. But no one can inform you like One All-Informed (*Khabīr* [*sci.*, God),[57] so *assimilate* (*takhallaq*)[58] to the One-Who-Hears [and] Sees (*al-Samīʿ al-Baṣīr*),[59] and become serious (*taḥaqqaq*)[60] about weakness and deficiency!

Now, then, let us speak of your [own] Copy (*nuskhatu-ka*) of this Noble Caliph, the Imām (*al-khalīfah al-baytī al-imām*); and then will I seal your Copy of the Seal of the Noble Saints (*khatm al-awliyāʾ al-kirām*)[61]—and with [that] Seal shall be consummation (*al-tamām*)![62]

The Concluding Piece concerning the Preserved Pearl[63]

When blame of me grew great, my Transcendence overcame[64] B,40
my essence,[65] which it made to be as nothing;[66]

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[57] *Cf. Qur.* 100: 11, *et passim.*

[58] The verb is thus in all ss. exc. C, M and Q2, which have *fa-talḥaqu* (and you shall be joined [with]). The purport is: "Listen and see, and you shall be informed by God, the Knowing One." On the meanings of *takhalluq* (= *tashabbuh*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *Path*, 21–22 and 283–88, *et al.*

[59] See *Qur.* 42: 11, *et al.*

[60] On *taḥaqquq*, see *Path*, 288.

[61] M identifies this *khalīfah* (and, presumably, the *khatm* of the next clause) as Jesus, and attempts to distinguish the adj., *al-baytī* (as in the case of Salmān al-Fārisī [see n. 7, above]), from *al-nisbī* ("of a [blood] relation", such as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). Rather, the "noble caliph" is evidently the Mahdī, the subj. of the foll. poem, while the Seal is treated more specifically in most of the remaining sections.

[62] Note that Ibn al-ʿArabī here addresses the question of the reader's own self-realization as to the real meaning of the Seal/Mahdī. Oddly, however, in the poem which follows there is no explicit ref. to anyone else's share in the sealhood than the poet himself. Perhaps we should infer from this that the Shaykh regarded his own entitlement as simply illustrative of mystic man, or Everyman.

[63] *Al-nuktah al-muʾakhkharah fī l-durrah al-muddakharah* (as voc. in B). M considers the "delayed, or latter-day *nuktah* (epitome)" to be Jesus as the Mahdī. The "preserved pearl" is the same as the "precious pearl of my being" of the preceding poem (at n. 43). The metre of this poem (inc. in D2, 33–34) is, again, *al-wāfir.*

[64] *Wa-lammā jalla ʿatb-ī, ḥalla ghayb-ī*: Q has *jalla* for both verbs; and Q2 has *ʿayb-ī* (my shame) instead of the last. The theme of the Malāmite practice of seeking the censure of unjust society is taken up from the final verses of the preceding section. The present poem is full of the kind of playful assonance noticeable in this hemistich.

[65] Both B and C gloss *ʿayn-ī* (my essence/substance) with *ḥaqīqat-ī* (my essence/truth).

[66] *Fa-ṣayyara-hū ʿadīmā*, in the oldest mss., understanding *ghayb-ī* (my transcendence) as the subj., and "my essence" (*ʿayn-ī*) as the obj., of the verb. V, B2, M and Q read *fa-ṣayyara-nī* (and it caused *me* to become—), which amounts to the same thing. M is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that this verse refers to the station of *fanāʾ* (annihilation of temporal qualities), but it should be recognized that it is an extreme form of the notion, since the "essence," not just the attributes, is negated.

And with the Vision of my Lord, my Love alighted[67]
  in my heart, which it caused to be healthy and whole.[68]
And when my blossoms bloomed, my Secret/Heart wafted
  [its breath] upon my "flowers",[69] making them all chaff;
And when my people were oppressed, a Fire emerged
  from the Merciful, which made me a Speaker.[70]
And when I was a Chosen One, Beloved [of God][71]
  (Burāq, my inseparable Companion in my Journey),[72]
With rapid pace I rode [my mount], heedless of all peoples

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[67] "Vision": *shuhūd.* D2 has the verb, *dabba* (filled [my heart]), rather than *ḥalla*; and, in the foll. hemistich, *fa-ghādara-hu* (and it left it) instead of *fa-ṣayyara-hū.*

[68] Each of these first two verses have, for verbs, *ḥalla* (to overcome s.th.; alight [in]) in the first hemistich, and *ṣayyara* (to cause s.o. to become s.th.) in the second. Also, the second hemistichs of the next two verses have *ṣayyara.* Instead of *salīmā,* Q2 repeats *ʿadīmā* from the preceding verse.

[69] *Nawr-ī.* "My blossoms": *ẓahr-ī* (s., *ẓahrah*; see Kazimirski, *s.v.*), which is syn. with *nawr-ī* (for the difference between the two terms, which I do not think is applicable here, see Lane, *s.v. ẓahr*). Perhaps the "flowers" are the human attributes of the poet, annihilated in *fanāʾ*, while the "blossoms" stand for the "beauties or splendors of the present world" which appear in the Theophany of the preceding verse. Note that the poet's own "secret/heart" (*sirr-ī*) is the source of the "consuming breath or fragrance" (*cf. Deut.* 4: 24, *Heb.* 12: 29, and *Isa.* 5: 24), the full significance of which may be considered in light of the foll. four verses.

[70] *Wa-lammā ḍturra ahl-ī, lāḥa nārū/mina l-Raḥmāni, ṣayyara-nī kalīmā.* I have discussed this interesting passage in the intro. (pp. 192–93). Briefly, the allusion here, I think, is to the pre-Islamic (and post-Christian) Arab prophet, Khālid b. Sinān, whose people, acc. to some trads., were oppressed by a fire-breathing creature (sometimes described as an *ʿanqāʾ*) which emerged periodically from a cave, until, in answer to their prayers, Khālid was empowered by God to dispatch the menace. An alternate legend dealt with Khālid's prophetic powers. By itself, the present verse would more readily be interpreted as an obvious ref. to the story of Moses, the interlocutor with God (*kalīm Allāh*), and the "burning bush," but the mention of the blighting breath or "fragrance" (= the "fire . . . from the Merciful" as a mischievous allusion to the *nafas al-Raḥmān*?) in the preceding verse, and the fabulous Prophetic-vehicle, al-Burāq, in the foll. one—as well as the poet's association with the consuming fire, *infra* (see below, at n. 74)—together suggest that there may be a deeper, bolder significance to this imagery, tying it to the strange mythos of Khālid b. Sinān/Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān and the *ʿanqāʾ* (gryphon-*kerūb*). *Kalīm* also means "injured, wounded" (see *Wörterbuch, s.v.*), and this, likewise, figures in one version of the Khālid legend.

[71] *Mukhtār ḥabīb.* These are epithets of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[72] *Wa-kāna Burāqu sayr-ī bī lazīmā.* Ibn al-ʿArabī apparently identifies the phantastic vehicle of the Prophet's "night-flight" with the *ʿanqāʾ mughrib* of his own latter-day exodus from the West (as a type of the Seal/Mahdī), alluded to in the next verse. M has *sirr-ī* (my secret) in place of *sayr-ī,* and glosses *Burāq* as "the secret of love (*sirr al-maḥabbah*), inasmuch as [love] is the means/riding-animal of the gnostics (*maṭīyat al-ʿārifīn*), by which they ascend to the station of intimacy and address (*maqām al-uns wa-l-khiṭāb*)." In place of the last adj., Q2 reads *karīm* (noble).

I left behind—but then did I return in Mercy's name,[73]
Though I was to the Cursed one of [ignorant] remoteness[74]
a fiery Comet 'neath the Throne to stone [him]![75]
And when, as Concealer [of Secrets],[76] I proved well-pleasing
while th' Imām of the [Western] Sun's time was [but] "M",[77]
I beheld the Affair[78] that will shortly come to pass
concerning infidelity,[79] which shall be laid waste.
And of [that Affair] I was a Keeper and a Knower
for a *One* after a *Six*—until the Covenant-year.[80]

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[73] *Taraktu, fa-ʿudtu Raḥmān*^{an} *Raḥīmā*: lit., "I left [all behind]; then I returned [in the spirit of the Divine names] *Raḥmān Raḥīm.*" Q2 has garbled this. In *Qur.* 9: 128, the Prophet is called "gentle to the believers, merciful" (*bi-l-muʾminīna raʾūf*^{un}, *raḥīm*^{un}). For M's comm., see App. I.

[74] *Rajīm al-buʿd*: lit., "the stoned, or reviled one of remoteness." *Rajīm* (= *marjūm*): "driven away, expelled, kept at a distance, ostracized".

[75] The devils were believed to be kept from overhearing the secrets of the higher heavens by means of comets or "shooting stars" (see above, p. 231, n. 33).

[76] *Ḥaṣūr* (see Lane, *s.v. ḥaṣir*). This word also denotes "one who abstains from sex, whether by choice or because of impotence", and it is applied to John the Baptist in *Qur.* 3: 39. Indeed, this latter ref. may well be significant as pointing to John's mission of foreseeing the advent of the Messiah/Mahdī (see *Qur.* 3: 39; and *cf. Matt.* 3: 11, *et seq.*), treated in the foll. verses. E and R seem to read *ḥuḍūr* (present) instead.

[77] *Wa-kāna imāmu waqti l-shamsi mīmā* (as voc. in W). *Waqt*: "a time appointed for the performance of some action" (Lane, *s.v.*). *Mīm*: the 24th letter of the Arabic alphabet, the numerical value of which is *forty* (on the significance of this letter for Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *K. al-Mīm wa-l-Wāw wa-l-Nūn* [in *Rasāʾil, r.* 8], pp. 13–15; and *K. al-Mabādiʾ wa-l-Ghāyāt* [= *Ms. Dār al-Kutub 24551*], pp. 12–13 [notice courtesy of Dr. Chodkiewicz]). Forty is the age of maturity (see p. 232, n. 39; and p. 492, n. 63), but perhaps the idea here is that the manifestation of the Mahdī is still only in its initial stage, symbolized by the initial letter of his name (*cf.* p. 231 at n. 27, where an apparently similar notion occurs). Al-Maqābirī makes no attempt to decipher the term, but identifies the *imām* as Jesus; whereas it is written in the margin: "Or, [perhaps, he is] Muḥammad al-Mahdī [the Hāshimite Mahdī], for he will appear before Jesus, and will himself be 'the *imām* of his time (*waqtu-hu*)' in that age until the appearance of Jesus."

[78] *Laḥaẓtu l-amra*. As earlier (nn. 34 and 35), the *amr* is the Seal/Mahdī.

[79] *Kufr*, in all ss. exc. for M, which reads *fikr* (thought); and Q2, which has *dhikru-hu* (his naming). On the possible significance of the notion of *kufr* here, see above, p. 412, nn. 43 and 45. *Cf.* also *Matt.* 3: 2–12.

[80] *Wa-kuntu bi-hī li-fard*^{in} *baʿda sittī/ li-ʿāmi l-ʿaqdi qawwām*^{an} *ʿalīmā*. V, B2 and Q2 have *ka-* (*as* [a single one]) instead of *li-*. "The one, or solitary" (*al-fard*), is a name of the sacred month of Rajab, foll. the first *six* months of the year, which Ibn al-ʿArabī will later present as a symbol of the Seal/Mahdī (see below, pp. 527–29*sq.*). The ref. is also to the sacred seventh *century* of the Seal/Mahdī's appearance alluded to in the poem at the beginning of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see p. 233 at n. 42; and pp. 4–7 of the intro.); and the "covenant-year" (*ʿām al-ʿaqd*) is presumably the year, 683/1284, cryptically enciphered in that verse. Indeed, in general, many aspects of the present piece (inc. the preceding *Seal of the Saints of Glorious Nobility*) may be profitably compared with details of the opening poem.

Were I to disclose the Meaning of the Age concerning him,[81]
I would "disable"[82] its expression and inscription;[83]
But I, by virtue of my total comprehension
as to his attestation,[84] concealed One Mighty,
For, with each Revelation to an Eye/Essence[85] made whole
through Godliness, I have *re-veiled* [all of these] things. . . .[86]

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[81] *Maʿná l-dahri fī-hī.* The allusion, I think, is to the number-symbolism referring to the appearance of the Seal/Mahdī evident in the preceding verse and elsewhere in the present work (see pp. 4–6*sq.* of the intro.).

[82] *La-aʿjaztu.* This could be construed to mean: "I would express in an inimitable/wonderful manner," *etc.* It could also be read in the 3rd pers. as *la-aʿjazat*, with "its expression and inscription" as the subj.

[83] *Al-ʿibārah wa-l-raqūmā* (for *al-raqūmah*). I do not find the latter word in any western dictionary, but Lane gives the foll. for *raqūm* (a fem. epithet): "remaining, staying, dwelling, . . . remaining fixed" (*s.v.*). It is evidently cognate with *raqm* (number; numeral), and may be thematically related to *al-raqīm* in *Qur.* 18: 9, usually tr. as "the inscription, or tablet" (*cf.* Jeffery, *s.v.*).

[84] *Li-kawni amr-ī/muḥīṭ*^{an} *fī shahādati-hī.* "I . . . concealed One Mighty": *sattartu . . . ʿAẓīmā* (*cf.* the first two verses of the book, p. 228, nn. 3 and 6, where the "One Mighty" was concealed in the poet's heart). One printing of Q2 has *sitr-ī* (my veil) instead of the verb.

[85] *ʿAyn*: "eye; essence, substance", *etc.*

[86] *Fa-sattartu l-umūra* (as voc. in B and W). Instead of the first, D2 alone has *fa-ghaṭṭaytu*, meaning the same. "Godliness": *al-taqwá* (fear of God, "warding off sin"). Here we have an unequivocal statement for anyone requiring proof that Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings must be understood as *dangerous* enough to require concealment and to make a prerequisite of moral purity.

III. [Microcosmic Correspondences concerning the Seal/Mahdī][1]

[1. *Man's Two Origins* (*nasabān*)]

As we have discoursed on the most-manifest Prophetic Nobility (*al-sharaf al-nabawī al-ajlā*) in terms of the Most-exalted House (*al-bayt al-aʿlā*), until, at the end of [this] book, we shall present [the subject] definitively, without [undue] abbreviation or expatiation, but, rather, by succinct, particular expressions (*bi-yasīr alfāẓ juz'īyah*)[2] which will point to universally significant meanings (*maʿān*^{in} *kullīyah*),[3]

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—similarly, Man has two Origins (*nasabān*)[4] and, in the World, two **66**
Offices (*manṣibān*). His noblest Origin and his most-exalted Office is B,40b
his tracing of his ancestry to the Real, not his [earthly] parents, and establishing his heart (*sirru-hu*) forever in service before [God].[5] And if this Station (*al-rutbah*) becomes a reality for [Man] and he attains unto the highest degree of Proximity [to God] (*al-qurbah*), and if he is granted by Divine Leave (*al-idhn al-mutaʿālī*) to exercise Free-disposal [of things (*taṣarruf*)],[6] then the Exalted Origin (*al-nasab al-ʿālī*) has [also] become his. At that time, then, [Man] will be the [true]

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[1] This chap. is divided into fourteen major sections marked in B by the word, *lammā* (in bold print), and by a *faṣl* (division, separation) in most of the later ss. (the same indication also appears in the margins of B, but by a later hand). Each division is further subdivided by a *waṣl* (connection, relation) in most of the other ss. (M fails to distinguish between *faṣl* and *waṣl*; on these two terms, see Kazimirski, *s.v.*, who quotes the saying: *Li-kulli faṣl*^{in} *waṣl*^{un}). The *waṣl* subsections, functioning as apodoses, develop microcosmic correlations with the preceding paragraphs, which generally treat of eschatological themes in a pithy manner. It is conceivable that the fourteen (plus one) *fuṣūl* in this chap. correspond in some way to the 15 *sūrah*s cited in Section VI, below (see pp. 511–19*sq.*). I have indicated each *faṣl* with a contrived title, and the *awṣāl* by an asterisk.

[2] Foll. B, C(?), M and the margin of W. E and R are unclear; instead of the first, P has *bi-tayassur* (by the facilitation); B2 and Q read *bi-taysīr* (meaning much the same); and Q2 omits the prep.

[3] In this connection, M quotes the saying: *Khayru l-kalāmi mā qalla wa-dalla* (= "... a dwarfish whole, its body brevity and wit its soul"—Coleridge). As noted above, M fails to distinguish between *faṣl* and *waṣl*, indicating each division by the former term only. Ibn al-ʿArabī refers here to the "higher", *spiritual* nobility of the Seal of sainthood as opposed to the trad. notion of the Mahdī's *physical* relation to the Prophet.

[4] Instead of this, M and Q2 have *nisbatān* (two relations).

[5] *Khadīm*^{an}. Q2 has garbled this. *Cf. Luke* 2: 42–49.

[6] *Wa-*[*idhā*] *taṣarrafa ʿan samāʿi l-idhni l-mutaʿālī*: "and [should] he act independ-

Servant of God (*ʿabd Allāh*),[7] *not* the son of so-and-so (*ibn fulān*), and an Imām imitated by men and *jinn* (= *al-thaqalān* [*sci.*, the two species endowed with discrimination]).[8]

[2. *Two Prophetic Inheritances* (*wirthān*)]

When we gave precedence to the nobility of the Most-exalted House (inasmuch as it is the truest and foremost),[9] we intended that the [various] rankings (*al-rutab*) be differentiated by [the degree to which] they draw from the Noble Lineage (*sharaf al-nasab*), to which the [Prophetic] Inheritance as to [physical] sense (*al-wirth al-ḥissī*) and psychical inclination (*al-gharaḍ al-nafsī*) is connected.[10]

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—Similarly, precedence (*al-taqaddum*) belongs to the World of the Transcendence of Man (*ʿālam ghayb al-insān*) over whatever is [found] in [him] of an animal origin (*nasab al-ḥayawān*), for [rational-spiritual Man] is the Mover and the Disposer (*muḥarriku-hu wa-muṣarrifu-hu*),

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ently/with free-disposal upon receiving Divine permission" (*e.g.*, as in *Qur.* 3: 49). *Taṣarruf* is the control, or "free disposal of created things" in the sense of the power to act independently of what we in the West think of as "natural causation," but which Easterners more realistically know to be mere custom, or habit (*ʿādah*). Hence, it is tantamount to the working of miracles, or *kharq al-ʿādah* (disruption of the "natural order").

[7] Servanthood to God is freedom from the baseness of humanity (*cf. 1 Peter* 2: 16). In reality, Ibn al-ʿArabī's concept of the *ʿabd Allāh* is not essentially different from the Christian "*son* of God," despite the theological subterfuges of both faiths. M and Q2 omit "not" in the foll. clause.

[8] As the two classes of being capable of rational discrimination, mankind and the *jinn* are commanded to submit to Divine law. M remarks: "[The perfect man] will have free-disposal concerning them (*yataṣarrafu fī-himā*), they being under his command and prohibition, his clemency and severity."

[9] *Al-asaddu wa-l-ūlá*. Instead of the first, V, B2 and Q2 have *al-ashaddu*. The former means "right-tending, hitting the mark" (hence, a bow belonging to the Prophet was named *al-Sadād*).

[10] Another possibility would be to construe these final phrases as themselves denoting the two types of inheritance—spiritual and physical, pertaining to the Ṣūfīs and the exoteric religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), respectively. Hence, in the chap. of the *Futūḥāt* devoted to the station of the *ʿulamāʾ* as *warathat al-anbiyāʾ* (heirs of the prophets), Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that there are actually two kinds of *wirth* (prophetic inheritance)—that of the senses (*maḥsūs*) and the intelligible (*maʿnawī* = *nafsī?*), the former having to do with the words and deeds of the Prophet and his external conditions (*mā ẓahara min aḥwāli-hi*), while the latter centres on his inner states (*bāṭin al-aḥwāl*; see *Fut.* III, 501 [19]–502 [11], *et seq.*). Elsewhere, the Shaykh makes clear that the most perfect inheritor is the one who combines all of these categories (*ibid.*, 414 [33–34]). Instead of *al-gharaḍ al-nafsī*, Q2 alone has *al-ʿaraḍ al-nafīsī*.

the Instructor and the Appriser (*munabbihu-hu wa-muʿarrifu-hu*) of [the lower, "animal faculties"].[11] But the World of their own Transcendence (*ʿālam ghaybi-him*) is utterly concealed from most people by that which appears (*mā ẓahara*)—for which reason they are prevented from finding pearls [and other such hidden treasures].[12] An obstruction is set up between them and the Secrets (*al-asrār*), and they are blocked from the dawn of the Lights (*maṭlaʿ al-anwār*),[13] by the shadow of this Wall (*al-jidār*)[14]—which, nevertheless, has a noble existence and a subtle secret (*wujūd sharīf wa-sirr laṭīf*) [of its own] about which I shall inform you and to which I will invite you.[15]

And I will have you know that[16] the [Prophetic] Inheritance (*al-wirth*) is *two* Inheritances, since the World is [actually] two Worlds: For the Most-exalted Inheritance (*al-wirth al-aʿlá*) in [God's] Most-manifest Theophanic World (*ʿālamu-hu l-ajlá*)[17] is an Inheritance of Secrets (*wirth asrār*) and Divine Revelations of Lights (*tajliyāt anwār*), while the Most-radiant Inheritance (*al-wirth al-asná*) in [this] Nether World (*al-ʿālam al-adná*)[18] is an Inheritance of the appointment of [spiritual] "Vicegerents" over provincial capitals (*istikhlāf ʿalá amṣār*)[19] [that is, over various wordly domains] and of the worship/servitude of [saintly] "Freemen" (*taʿabbud aḥrār*).[20]

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[11] The prons. in the foregoing expressions actually denote the *nasab al-ḥayawān*.

[12] *Ḥurimū ktisāba l-laʾālī wa-qtināʾa l-durari.*

[13] B and Q have the plur., *maṭāliʿ* (risings). Q2 has garbled this line.

[14] W glosses the "wall" as the physical body (*al-badan*). In any case, it is tantamount to the Kantian "perceptual manifold", or "that which appears." I have made *al-jidār* the subj. of the foll. clause. M takes it to be the one overshadowed (*al-maḥjūb*) by the wall (but it is a plurality, "most people," that is mentioned in the preceding passage, while the pron. here is sing.).

[15] *Sa-unabbihu-ka ʿalay-hi wa-andubu-ka ilay-hi.* The ref. is evidently to the description of the wall erected by al-Khaḍir, below (p. 491 at n. 55).

[16] *Wa-uʿarrifu-ka.* Q2 garbles this entire sentence.

[17] Rather than this, B2 and Q2 have *al-ʿālam*; and M, the same w/o the art. *Al-ajlá*: "the most-manifest, clearest, most-distinct", *etc.*

[18] M glosses this as "the world of existence" (*ʿālam al-kawn*). *Al-adná* may be taken to signify "the closest" to God (= *al-qurbah*) or to us (= *al-dunyā*, "this world, the lower world"); here the latter is the case.

[19] *Istikhlāf*: "making s.o. to be a caliph". *Cf. Qur.* 24: 55: "God has promised those among you who believe and do good works that He will surely make you successors in the earth. . . ." *Amṣār* (s., *miṣr*): "large towns with outlying territories". Instead of the latter, Q2 has *anṣār* (helpers).

[20] *ʿAbd* (servant) and *ḥurr* (sing. of *aḥrār*) are, of course, complementary terms (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 2: 178). For Ibn al-ʿArabī, freedom (*ḥurrīyah*) is "true servanthood to God" (see *Muʿjam, no.* 164; and *Fut.* II, 502–03 [Chap. 214]), partially tr. in *Path*, 182 (see also pp. 60–61 therein).

[3. *Two Solar Risings* (*maṭlaʿān*)]

Even as the sun necessarily changes its time of rising (*maṭlaʿu-hā*) and shifts its place (*mawḍiʿu-hā*),[21]

*22

—similarly, your own "Sun" (*shams ḥaqqi-ka*) must rise upon the exterior of your physical constitution (*ẓāhir khalqi-ka*). And know that the sun, by an inherent [motion] (*bi-nafsi-hā*), is constantly circulating[23] from the west (*al-maghrib*) to the east (*al-mashriq*), even as it proceeds by [compulsion from] *another* (*bi-ghayri-hā*)[24] from the east to the west, though sight is unable [to perceive the former movement] and the mind (*al-lubb*) is staggered [by its computation]. But it must be that one day [the Sun rising from the West] will openly manifest its [inherent] movement (*ḥarakatu-hā*) [eastwards] and [freely] bestow its blessing (*barakatu-hā*). Then he whose appointed Term (*ajalu-hu l-musammā*)[25] arrives without his sin (*ḥawbatu-hu*) being forgiven—truly, the Door of his repentance (*tawbatu-hu*) has already been closed:[26] [Pharaoh's] B,41 **67**

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[21] The *mashāriq* and the *maghārib* of *Qur.* 7: 137 and 70: 40 are sometimes interpreted as the various points of the rising and setting of the sun throughout the year, while 55: 17 may be said to refer to the points furthest north and south in the summer and winter. Q begins this sentence with *ka-dhālika* (likewise) instead of *wa-lammā*.

[22] E and Q2 do not indicate the *waṣl* at this point.

[23] *Lam tazal jāriyat*^{an}. C and Q2 have *lā tazālu*, putting the action into the fut., and, thus, apparently designating the Mahdī (as *shams al-maghrib*). While the west-to-east procession of the sun does, indeed, allude to the Mahdī motif, this movement is to be understood as perpetually recurrent in the lives of individual Ṣūfīs rather than simply historically imminent in an expected messianic figure.

[24] Acc. to pre-Copernican doctrine, the sphere of the sun—like the other "planets"—is moved partly by its own inherent rate of motion (its *ḥarakah ṭabīʿīyah*, created by God), and partly by the constraint (*qasr*) of the sphere beyond it, and, ultimately, of the *falak al-muḥīt*, or *primum mobile* (see *Fut.-Y.*, II, 235).

[25] This is not necessarily the time of one's death, as can be seen in *Qur.* 6: 60. In 6: 2, it is said that the first *ajal* (term) is death, and the second—an *ajal musamm*^{an} *ʿinda-hu*—is the term of the Resurrection. *Cf.* also 31: 29, *et al.* The phrase, *ajal musamm*^{an}, occurs frequently in the Qur'ān, but is never def., as here.

[26] *Qur.* 11: 3 reads: "Seek forgiveness of your Lord; then turn to Him in repentance, and He will give you a fair estate until an appointed time." But *cf.* 4: 18: "Forgiveness is not for those who do evil deeds until, when one of them is attended by death, he says, 'Indeed, I repent now!'" Repentance will not be accepted of sinners after the sun rises in the west, this evidently being too patent a sign to allow for faith to distinguish itself (see intro., p. 176 [and n. 75]; and p. 258 [at n. 13] of the trn.; see also Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim* [in *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 18], p. 21). The allusion is to the vexed question of the faith of Pharaoh (*īmān Firʿawn*) in the context of *Qur.* 10: 90–92 (on this, see D. Gril, "Le Personnage coranique de Pharaon d'après l'interpretation d'Ibn ʿArabī," *Annales islamologiques*, 14 [1978], pp. 37–57).

Sun rose up from the West, although [his] faith at that [late] moment (*īmān dhālika l-waqt*) could profit him naught as long as he sought not Salvation [from God][27] while he [still] retained his faculties and perception.[28] But "verily, God (Be He Exalted!)[29] will accept the repentance of His Servant as long as the death-rattle has not set in."[30]

[4. *The Hidden Treasure in the Western Ocean*]

That this matter [about which we have spoken—*viz.*, the Sun of the West] is the "hidden Treasure" (*al-kanz al-khafī*) in the "Western Ocean" (*al-baḥr al-gharbī*)[31]

*32

—indicates that the [human] Heart is the Seat of true Sincerity (*maqʿad al-ṣidq*)[33] and the Locus of the Secrets of the Truth (*maḥall asrār al-ḥaqq*).[34] And it is the All-encompassing Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*),[35] which is called the "Elemental World" (*al-ʿālam al-basīṭ*),[36] from which are fashioned the composite entities (*al-murakkabāt*),[37] and out of which come the [various] letter-sounds (*al-ḥarakāt wa-l-sakanāt*).[38]

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[27] *Mā lam yakun āmin*^{un} (as voc. in C, V, W, Z and Q). For this sense of *āmin*, see Lane, *s.v. amin.* The verbal construction reflects that of the trad. quoted in n. 30, below.

[28] *Wa-huwa qawīy*^{un} *mustabṣir*^{un}. Acc. to the normative interpretation of *Qur.* 10: 92, Pharaoh's body (*badan*), devoid of any life-faculties, was salvaged from the sea which inundated his army and preserved as a "sign" (*āyah*) to posterity. *Cf.* also *Qur.* 50: 22. For M's partisan account of the *īmān Firʿawn* issue, see App. I.

[29] C, E, R and B2 do not have the formulary *taʿālá* here.

[30] *Mā lam yugharghir.* Repentance can be accepted "as long as the spirit has not reached the gullet (*al-ḥulqūm*) [in its exit from the body]" (M). For variations on this trad., see *Musnad,* II, 132 & 153; III, 425; and Tirmidhī, *Daʿawāt,* 98, *et al.* Q2 has garbled the verb.

[31] The "hidden treasure" in the "western ocean" [*sci.*, the Atlantic], echoing the pearl imagery found frequently in this book, here refers to the apocalyptic "sun" obscured below the western horizon before rising as the miraculous herald of the eschaton. The ref. is also to the celebrated *ḥadīth qudsī*: "I was a hidden Treasure (*kanz khafī*), but I desired to be known," *etc.* (see pp. 361–62, n. 86).

[32] M and Q2 do not note this *waṣl.*

[33] *Cf. Qur.* 54: 55 for a similar expression (usually tr. as a "sure abode"), quoted several times in the *ʿAnqāʾ* (*e.g.*, on pp. 313 [at n. 15] and 471 [n. 85], in both of which contexts the expression is rhymed, as here, with one signifying the *maḥall al-ḥaqq*).

[34] The heart here is assimilated to the "western ocean," and, in the next clause, to the "surrounding sea" (= Gr., *Okeanos*), on the basis of the Divine saying, ". . . the Heart of My faithful servant encompasses Me" (see p. 470 at n. 81).

[35] This is the medieval reminiscence of Oceanus, Homer's great river surrounding the entire world, which "begins at the columns of Heracles [= Gibraltar], borders on the Elysian fields and Hades, and has its sources in the west where the sun sets . . ., and where reality ends and everything is fabulous" (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary, s.v.* Oceanus). As empirical geographic knowledge increased, Oceanus was reduced to an eastward-flowing river surrounding the salty "outer seas". In later

[5. *Spiritual and Carnal Understanding of the Law*]

If it is said that none can know that Treasure (*al-kanz*) except one who is a Spirit, not a body,[39] the Real teaching him Knowledge directly from His Presence (*min laduni-hi*) [as in the case of al-Khaḍir],[40] while he who was an Interlocutor [with God] (*kalīm* [*viz.*, Moses]) was importunate in his request[41] [of al-Khaḍir] that he instruct him in the glory of his doctrine (*sharaf madhhabi-hi*), [so that] he brought forth the praiseworthy Benefit (*al-maʿrūf al-maḥmūd*) in the manifest abomination (*al-munkar al-mashhūd*),[42] producing three actions from the Lofty Station (*al-maqām al-ʿālī*)—for one action [al-Khaḍir] attributed to [himself], one to the Real, and another which, in the way it is described, [may be said to have been] shared (*shurika*) between the Real and Creation,[43]

Greek cosmology it was conceived as the great chaotic-cosmic power, the water from and through which all life grows, an association implicit in our foll. passage.

[36] *Basīṭ*: "simple, uncompounded" (philos.). M glosses "the elemental world" here as "the first essence" (? *al-maʿná l-awwal*).

[37] In view of what follows, it is possible that we should understand this to signify phonemes or syllables. Another possibility, *al-murakkibāt* (the elements), does not suit the rhyme. M's gloss, "the outer and inner senses," is implausible.

[38] Lit., "the motions and the reposings." The *ḥarakāt* are the consonantal sounds of Arabic with foll. vowel sounds (*i.e.*, open syllables), and the *sakanāt* are the bare consonantal phonemes w/o vowels. (The expression, *fī ḥarakāti-hi wa-sakanāti-hi*, means "in every situation"). On the science of letters (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf*) in Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Gril's detailed analysis and trn. of passages from Chap. 2 of the *Futūḥāt* (in *Illuminations*, 383–487, esp. pp. 481–82).

[39] For M's comm., see App. I.

[40] *Wa-ʿallama-hu l-Ḥaqqu min laduni-hi ʿilm*^{an}. This is a paraphrase of *Qur.* 18: 65, where God says of al-Khaḍir (as prototype of the wandering *walī* miracle-worker), ". . . and We taught him Knowledge from Our presence." The Qur'ānic story of Moses and al-Khaḍir has already been tapped for material in the present work (see pp. 259–76, *inter alia*).

[41] *Atʿaba . . . fī ṭalabi-hi.* In place of the first, V, B2, M and both comms. have *wa-nbaʿatha* (and he was sent forth).

[42] In the Qur'ānic account of Moses's meeting with al-Khaḍir, the latter performs three inexplicable actions—damaging a boat, killing a boy, and repairing a wall *gratis*—all of which appeared to Moses reprehensible until he was informed of the truth of their circumstances and the unforeseen benefits which would result from each.

[43] See *Qur.* 18: 79–82. In v. 79, al-Khaḍir takes responsibility for damaging the boat (*aradtu an aʿība-hā*); in v. 82, he says that he did not mend the wall by his own bidding (*mā faʿaltu-hu ʿan amr-ī*); and in v. 81, the plur. subj., "*we* intended"

*[44]

—[that is] as though to indicate that Man will have no [Divine] Command revealed unto him, nor will any Secret appear to him, as long as he is in his "animal soul" (*nafsu-hu l-bahīmīyah*), paying heed to [the importunities] of his "vegetal soul" (*nafsu-hu l-nabātīyah*).[45] But if he rises from the level of bodies (*darajat al-ajsām*) and quits the World of illusions (*ʿālam al-awhām*), reaching the Station of Recitation and B,41b
Inspiration (*maqām al-ilqāʾ wa-l-ilhām*),[46] he will be importunate in his request to those [truly] Learned in the [Divine-Legal] Regulations (*ʿulamāʾ al-aḥkām*)[47]—his Conscious mind (*shāhidu-hu*) achieving a position where it could seek its "Unconscious" (*ghāʾibu-hu*)[48] in order to learn its intentions and its doctrines (*maqāṣidu-hu wa-madhāhibu-hu*). And when he comes upon [the hidden Meaning of the Law], it binds him with its conditioning (*sharṭu-hu*); and he secures himself by its contract and binding (*ʿaqdu-hu wa-rabṭu-hu*), for it discloses to him the meanings (*al-maʿānī*) which his disposition (*ṭabʿu-hu*) was [otherwise] averse to,[49] and against which his nature (*sharʿu-hu*) turned him.[50] But [the Law] reminds him (*yudhkiru-hu*) [of what he had ignored], then he remembers (*yatadhakkaru*);[51] and he comes to learn that God has, indeed, made known His Truth (*ṣidqu-hu*) and determined [all

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(*aradnā*), could be taken to imply that God and al-Khaḍir "shared" in the action, the latter dispatching the evil son and God replacing him with one better.

[44] *Waṣl* (omitted in E). M and Q2 have *faṣl*.

[45] The *nafs al-bahīmīyah*, or *al-ḥayawānīyah*, is the "animal soul" in man, comprising, pre-eminently, the faculties of sense (*qūwah ḥissīyah*), but inc. also rudimentary forms of such "lower"—concrete, or imaginative—mental faculties as those of *khayāl, wahm, ḥifẓ* and *dhikr* (see *Fut.-Y.*, II, 245–46). The "vegetal soul" consists of such powers as the nutritive and growth faculties. By a strange confusion, M reads *al-nabāʾīyah* (? prophetic, informative) instead of *al-nabātīyah*, going on to equate the former with the *nafs al-lawwāmah* (the soul which censures) and the "animal soul" with the *nafs al-ammārah* (the soul which incites [to evil])!

[46] *Ilqāʾ* (throwing, casting, sending down) can have almost the sense of *tanzīl* (sending down [the revelation]). *Ilhām* is the mode of "*saintly* inspiration", corresponding to the prophetary *waḥy* (revelation).

[47] The *ʿulamāʾ* are the "orthodox" religious scholars of Islam—more particularly jurisprudents (*fuqahāʾ*) than theologians (*mutakallimūn*). Here, however, I would think that the ref. must be to gnostic or sage "arbiters" (*ḥukkām*) such as al-Khaḍir in the above-cited story.

[48] *Fa-ṣāra shāhidu-hu yaṭlubu ghāʾiba-hu.* While my terminology is quite anachronistic here, I trust that it is not too far from the mark in its meaning.

[49] V, B2 and Q have: "was *not* averse to," or "did not flee"; and they also make the next clause neg.

[50] The verb is *wa-yaruddu-hu ʿalay-hi* (Q2 omits the dir. obj. pron.; and M, the prep. phrase). *Sharʿ*, here, denotes a "species, type; nature" [= *jins*] (see Kazimirski, *s.v.*).

[51] One printing of Q2 has garbled this.

things].[52] These are the sciences of [Ṣūfī] Courtesy and Wisdom (*ʿulūm al-adab wa-l-ḥikmah*)[53] and the Door communicating with the Presence of [Divine] Mercy (*ḥaḍrat al-raḥmah*).

[6. *A Concealing and Reminding* (*kitmān wa-dhikr*)][54]

If it is said: "He who learns the reality of that Treasure and the Place of Salvation and spiritual Victory (*maḥall al-najāh wa-l-fawz*), [al-Khaḍir] shall erect his 'Wall' and dwell in his 'House'—demanding no recompense (*ajr*)—and give a reminder (*dhikr*) to one who had rebuked him,"[55]

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—[that] alludes to the concealment of the Secrets (*kitmān al-asrār*) **68**
concerning the Almighty (*al-Jabbār*)[56] so that the people of denial (*ahl al-inkār*) might [in due course] come to see.[57] For they shall absolve themselves from guilt and be informed of the esoteric basis of these data (*fī ṭayy hādhihi l-akhbār*).

[7. *The Coming-of-Age of Two Orphans*]

If it is said: "When the two Orphans (*al-yatīmān*)[58] come of age and the Ages (*al-adwār*) fulfill their full rights,[59] at that time the Treasure will be revealed[60] and the State of Might/Glory (*dawlat al-ʿizz*)[61] shall come to be,"

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[52] *Qad anbaʾa bi-ṣidqi-hi wa-qarrara.* Instead of the last, Q2 has *qadara.*

[53] Q2 alone has the plur., *al-ādāb.* In general usage, *adab* is belle-lettristic, "secular culture," as opposed to the more spiritual *ḥikmah* of theology and philosophy. For Ibn al-ʿArabī's more prescriptive use of this term, see Gril's "*Adab* and Revelation, or One of the Foundations of the Hermeneutics of Ibn ʿArabi," in *Com. Vol.*, 228–63.

[54] Q2 has *waṣl* rather than *faṣl.*

[55] This refers to al-Khaḍir's repairing the wall built over a treasure (*kanz*), which, in due course, would profit the two orphans who inherited it (see *Qur.* 18: 77 & 82). Moses criticized him for doing the work without payment (*ajr*; v. 77), and the "reminder" (*dhikr*) which he received is al-Khaḍir's esoteric *taʾwīl* of his action (*cf.* 38: 86, where Muḥammad is commanded to ask for no *ajr*, but to freely give a *dhikr* [= the Qurʾān] to all of the worlds).

[56] A name of God (in *Qur.* 59: 23).

[57] *Li-yandhura ahlu l-inkār.* The ref. is to Moses (representing the class of prophets and those who follow them, as opposed to the *awliyāʾ*), who had rebuked (*ankara*) al-Khaḍir in his ignorance, but afterwards came to learn of his exalted motives.

[58] These are owners of the wall repaired by al-Khaḍir (in *Qur.* 18: 77 & 82). It is interesting to compare this imagery with that of the Marseilles Tarot trump (*no.* 19) entitled "The Sun," showing two boys before a wall, which immediately precedes "The Judgment" (*no.* 20).

[59] *Wa-tawaffā l-adwāru amadda-humā.* Q2 has garbled this passage, misprinting *fa-idhā* (and when) in the preceding clause, and *ḥīna-idhin* (at that time) in the one foll.

*

— it is as much as to say that when the Intellectual spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ʿaqlī*) reaches the end of its "waiting"/contemplation (*muntahá naẓri-hi*) and the Reflective spirit (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*) attains the object of its "need"/reflection (*ghāyat fakri-hi*),[62] and the celestial cycles complete forty rounds,[63] making a balance therein between their open presentation and their concealment[64]—at that time the Holy Spirit (*al-ruḥ al-qudsī*)[65] will arrive as a "Commander" (*amīr*) and make the Intellectual spirit[66] a "Minister" (*wazīr*) [to him], and the Reflective [spirit] a "Companion" (*samīr*)[67] [to him], and the Animal [spirits][68] a "Seat" (*sarīr*).[69]

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[60] For M's comm., see App. I.

[61] That is, perhaps, creation as the manifestation of God's unknowable sublimity, in accordance with the sacred trad., "I was a hidden Treasure (*kanz khafī*), but I desired to be known; so I created Creation —" (see p. 361, n. 86). Specifically, however, the ref. is to the eschatological "kingdom of God" (*cf.* p. 257, n. 8; and below, p. 532 at n. 48) which will be established after the full maturity of man's intellectual faculties (see below) and the appearance of the Seal/Mahdī (= the "treasure" of preceding paragraphs) in the fullness of time.

[62] I have read thus instead of the more expected *naẓar* (perception, contemplation) and *fikr* (thinking, reflection), as voc. in W, for the sake of the rhyme (see Kazimirski, *s.v. naẓara*, 13; and Lane, *s.v. fakr*). These two philos. "spirits" were mentioned above (p. 469 at nn. 65 and 66), where they were described as imāms subordinate to the supreme Imām, the human heart. Here, Ibn al-ʿArabī is interpreting the "two orphans" of the Scripture as the intellectual and reflective spirits.

[63] *Wa-waffati l-adwāru l-falakīyatu arbaʿīna akhlāṣi-hā* (to rhyme with *manāṣi-hā* in the next clause). *Akhlāṣ* is the plur. of *khalāṣ* (see Lane, *s.v.*), which, as Dozy explains (*s.v.*), may connote a "completion, end, discharge", *etc.* Even if these usages are regarded as colloquial, Dozy's particular familiarity with Andalusian Arabic might argue for their relevance in our present text. The purport is simply "forty years had passed," marking the maturity of the "two orphans" (intellect and reflection). Acc. to Muslim belief (reflected in the biography of the Prophet and popular legends of Moses and Jesus, *etc.*), prophets reach their commissions at the age of forty (*cf.* above, p. 232, n. 39; and p. 482, n. 77).

[64] *Wa-sharrakat bayna taqaddumi-hā fī dhālika wa-manāṣi-hā* (as voc. in B, E and W).

[65] The paradigm implicit here suggests that the "holy spirit" corresponds to the *rūḥ al-laṭīfah* in man, or, perhaps, the *nafs al-nāṭiqah* (rational soul).

[66] R alone has "holy" (*al-qudsī*) instead of "intellectual" (*al-ʿaqlī*).

[67] *Samīr*: "a partner in entertaining conversation by night". M glosses this as a "boon companion, or drinking partner" (*munādim*). The "reflective" spirit is a companion of the "intellectual" spirit, not the "holy spirit."

[68] See above, p. 469, where the "formative", the "imaginative" and the "instinctive" spirits are all common to subrational animals.

[8. *Reciprocal Risings and Settings*]

If it should be declared that the Secret-Rays of [the Sun of the Final] Reckoning [*asirrat al-dīn*][70] shall radiate forth[71] from it, while B,42
its supports (*azirratu-hu*) will be fastened to it,[72] Justice (*al-ʿadl*)[73] becoming manifest and Grace (*al-faḍl*) coming to be—but its return (*rujūʿu-hā*) shall be to the East [*sci.*, the World of manifestation] *after* the completion of its ascent (*ṭulūʿu-hā*) in the West [*sci.*, the transcendent World],[74]

*

—it is as though to say that when the Inner-Secret (*al-sirr*) rose (*ṭāliʿ*) out of the heart [of Man] (*al-qalb*), it had, indeed, previously *set* (*ghārib*) therein.[75] But [understand] that its setting (*ghurūbu-hu*) [in the heart] was a rising-up (*ṭulūʿ*) [*vis-à-vis*] that *higher* Horizon (*al-ufq al-ʿalī*) and a departure (*ghurāb*) from the Divine Station (*al-maqām*

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[69] *Sarīr*: "a raised couch, or throne; dominion, authority".

[70] *Asirratu-hu* (its "rays", or lines) in all ss. exc. Q2, which has *ishraqu-hu* (its illumination). *Asirrah* happens to be a plur. of *sarīr* (see preceding note), but here it is probably a less common plur. form of *sirr* (*cf.* below) in the sense of "lines in the face or palm" (see Lane, *s.v.* [end])—that is, "rays" (*ashiʿʿah*). *Al-dīn*, usually tr. "religion" (but *cf. Qur.* 9: 36), also presents a problem in this passage, as it is clearly assimilated to the sun, and yet there seems to be no sense of *dīn* approaching that meaning. Perhaps the *shams al-maghrib* (= the Mahdī) is being represented in, or conflated with, the *yawm al-dīn* (day of Reckoning), or even the "Lord" thereof (in *Qur.* 1: 4). Q2 also has *alladhī* (which) in place of *al-dīn.*

[71] *Tushriqu.* This could also be read "will spread to the *east.*"

[72] *Wa-taʿqidu ʿalay-hi azirratu-hu.* Q2 has garbled the last. *Azirrah* is the plur. of *zirr* (a button) which denotes a certain small bone which was thought to support the heart. Hence, *zirr al-dīn* is "the support of religion," and the *zirr al-arḍ* is "he between whom and the earth is a mutual dependence, and without whose existence one would repudiate the earth and mankind" (Lane, *s.v.*). While the precise meanings of *asirrah* and *azirrah* in this passage escape me, in general it may be observed that the former appears to be s.th. radiated or "sent forth" by the sun of the religion/reckoning, while the latter are retained and "buttoned down," so to speak. Note that a similar modal duality has been developed in many of the paragraphs of this section.

[73] In *Fut.* III, 444 (24–26), Ibn al-ʿArabī identifies *al-ʿadl* with the Muḥammadan Reality (*cf.* also II, 60 [11–12]; and, for further refs., *Muʿjam, no.* 438). M has *al-dhull* (disgrace) instead of *al-ʿadl*, and has otherwise misread this entire passage.

[74] Only after the eschatological *shams al-maghrib* has appeared will people "in the east" (= in manifestation) see the return of the light of true, pristine Islam. As we have seen in the intro. (pp. 172–77, *et seq.*), for Ibn al-ʿArabī, contrary to the stereotype, the east stands for "the outer, appearance, manifestation" (*ẓāhir*), and the west for "the inner, or hidden" (*bāṭin*).

[75] *Fa-qad kāna fī-hi ghārib*^{an}. This appears to reflect the paradox presented in the first sentence of the preceding paragraph (though I must admit that I am not certain of my trn. of that line).

al-illī).[76] Thereafter, it may have a rising[77] out of the lower-soul horizon (*al-ufq al-nafsī*), which will be a departure from the [higher-] Intellectual one (*al-ufq al-ʿaqlī*).[78]

[9. *The Meeting-Place of Two Seas* (*majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*)][79]

If it is said: "When the Command is brought forth at the Meeting-place of the Two Seas (*majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*)[80] and the Well-concealed Secret (*al-sirr al-mukattam*) appears to him who has two eyes [to see],"

*[81]

—it is so as to point to the manifestation of the Lordly Epitome (*ẓuhūr al-nuktah al-rabbānīyah*) in this Human Arising (*al-nashʾah al-insānīyah*),[82] for, verily, [Man] is a Meeting-place (*majmaʿ*) for the two "Oceans" of Divinity and the Universe (*li-baḥray al-ill wa-l-kawn*),[83] Locality and the Source/Essence (*al-ayn wa-l-ʿayn*).[84] And the saying, "to him who has two eyes,"[85] points to the One qualified by the two attributes (*ṣāḥib al-ṣifatayn*) [*sci.*, Man as the quasi-Divine medium between the Infinite and the finite]. He who understands—indeed, he has achieved a great Victory (*fawz ʿaẓīm*)!—it being God Who has informed [him].[86]

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[76] Foll. B(?), E, R, W and the emendation of C. The orig. reading of C, as well as V, B2, M and Q, is voc. as *al-uwalī* (primordial) in C (Z has *al-ilāhī*; and *al-aʿlá*). But besides not suiting the rhyme, *al-illī* does not seem apposite here, as the "higher horizon" would presumably not be contraposed to the "Divine station" (*cf. Fut.* I, 5 [30]). On *illī* (<*ill/īl*, cognate with the Heb., *El*, a name for God), see Gloss., *s.v.*

[77] Q2 has *ṭulūʿu-hu* (its rising) instead of *la-hu ṭulūʿ*^{un}.

[78] Here *ʿaql* (reason) is opposed to the *nafs* (= *al-hawá*, "passion"), as earlier in the present work (see p. 238, *et seq.*). Q2 has alone reads *al-suflī* (the lower) in place of *al-ʿaqlī*.

[79] From this point on, E's indication of the *fuṣūl* and *awṣāl* becomes somewhat confused and is no longer given in bold letters. Here, *waṣl* is written in the margin.

[80] See *Qur.* 18: 60, where this is given as the goal of Moses and his servant's search. M glosses the *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* as the perfect man, who "combines the ocean of knowledge of the *sharīʿah* and the ocean of the secret of the *ḥaqīqah*" (*cf. infra*).

[81] The *waṣl* is not noted in Q2.

[82] For M's comm., see App. I.

[83] As in B, E, R, P, W and Z. All of the other ss. have garbled this expression. On *ill*, see n. 76, above.

[84] V has "essence" before "locality" (Q2 omits the latter). The "two oceans" above and below the firmament of perfect man are Divinity and spiritual substance (*ill/ ʿayn*), on the one hand, and existence and material space (*kawm/ayn*) on the other.

[85] The ref. is to the final expression of the preceding paragraph. Q2 has *fī* (concerning) instead of *li-dhī*.

[86] *Wa-kāna bi-Llāhi ʿalīm*^{an}. *Cf. Matt.* 16: 17.

[10. *Traditionary Scenarios of the End of Times*][87]

If it should be said: "When the Namesake of the Prophet (*samī* C,59b
al-nabī)[88] arises, at his right-hand will be [the Prophet's] *Saintly*
Equivalent (*samīyu-hu l-walī*)"[89]—that being with the vanishing of the
[letter] *Khā'*,[90] and the inscription of the *Alif* in Heaven;[91] along with **69**
the flowing of the Wādī Miná[92] and the appearance of the "Man in
the water,"[93] and the sun's entering [the sign of] Gemini (*al-Jawzā'*
[the Twins]). . . .[94] For, lo, the Ark [of Noah] (*al-fulk*) came to rest
upon [the Mount of] al-Jūdī,[95] and it was said: "A far removal for

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[87] E, again, has *waṣl* instead of *faṣl*.

[88] *Samī*: "a competitor, or rival, for superiority; a like, equal (= *naẓīr*); a namesake" (see Lane, *s.v.*, which cites *Qur.* 19: 65). The ref. could conceivably be, as M supposes, to Jesus (the universal Seal and/or Mahdī), who was, of course, a prophet, and whose second coming will be primarily to confirm the Muḥammadan law. It is undoubtedly best, however, to understand the sense of "namesake", in accordance with the well-established belief that the Mahdī will have the same name as the Prophet Muḥammad (see, *e.g.*, *Fut.* III, 327 [17–18]).

[89] Or: "his [other] namesake, the saint." Whether as "like" (*samī*) the Prophet, in which case the referent will be the prophet, Jesus, or as "namesake" of Muḥammad (= Muḥ. Ibn al-ʿArabī), the ref. here should be understood to be to the Seal of the saints, who is, thus, distinguished from the Mahdī here. Q2 has *sammā-hu* (he named him) instead of *samīyu-hu*.

[90] *ʿInda-mā yanʿadimu l-khā'u* (the verb is fem. in B). *Inʿidām* (non-existence) here corresponds to *fanā'* in the earlier passage (p. 233, n. 42) where this letter-numeral (خ = 600) also occurs as part of a similar number symbolism. There I argued that the ref. was to a specific *hijrī* date, and here also I propose to read "after 600" as a ref. to the seventh Islamic cent., in general. Presumably the *alif* (= 1) in the foll. clause stands for *al-fard* (the solitary), the epithet of the sacred seventh month, Rajab, which, in turn, symbolizes the Seal/Mahdī (see above, p. 482, n. 80; and below, pp. 529–32).

[91] Or: "in the sky." M explains this as an abbreviation for the all-comprehending name of God, *Allāh*, the initial letter of which is *alif* (but *cf.* the preceding note).

[92] This is the sacred valley (*wādī*: "dry river-bed; river") named after the village marking the midway point of the ritual course between the Kaʿbah and Mt. ʿArafāt (*cf.* p. 252, n. 49, above). M explains that the flowing of this desert *wādī* with water will be one of the signs (*amārāt*) of the advent of Jesus, but offers no prooftext for such a belief.

[93] Perhaps this is Noah, mentioned in the foll. sentence. But there could also be a connection between this phrase and the obscure trad. that the *Sufyānī* would come forth from "the Dry *Wādī*" (see Shihāb al-Dīn Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. IV, p. 1000).

[94] That is, in the late spring. M interprets "the twins" as an allusion to the time of the separation of the blessed and the damned. Perhaps there is a relation between these twins and the two orphans discussed earlier (see, in particular, n. 58, above, where I make ref. to an instance of solar imagery).

[95] Acc. to the Qur'ān (11: 44), drawing upon an ancient trad., this (rather than Mt. Ararat in Armenia) is the site where Noah's ark alighted. It is thought to be a mountain to the southwest of Lake Van in present-day Turkish Kurdistan (see Jeffery, *s.v. Jūdī*). Ibn al-ʿArabī has *fulk* masc., whereas in the Scripture it is fem.

the people of the evil-doers!"[96] And the Sufyānid was slain,[97] he being among the godless,[98] and the Father [*sci.*, Noah] called out to his son,[99] but it is said [unto him, "O Noah] truly, he is not of your people; . . . I admonish you lest you be among the ignorant!"[100]

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—[all of] that alludes to the Prophetary Legacy (*al-wirth al-nabawī*) and the Intermediary Station (*al-maqām al-barzakhī*),[101] and the lifting of the Divine Veil (*al-ḥijāb al-ilāhī*) in the slaying of the Sufyānid and B,42b the attainment of the Ship of sense-perception (*al-markab al-iḥsāsī*)[102] unto the "Mountain of Annunication" (*al-Jūdī al-inbā'ī*).[103]

[11. *The Black Mole and the Black Stone*]

When one speaks of the Sign (*ʿalāmah*) of the right cheek, the noble Black Mole (*al-khāl al-mukarramah al-aswad*),[104]

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[96] *Qur.* 11: 44, referring to the people destroyed in the flood.

[97] The *Sufyānī* is the trad. archenemy of the Mahdī. Q2 has *wa-qīla* (and it was said) instead of *wa-qutila* (he was slain). On the Sufyānid cycle of trads., see the two arts. by Wilfred Madelung listed in Bib. II.

[98] *Wa-kāna mina l-fāsiqīna.* C and Q2 have *ṣāra* (he became) for the verb.

[99] *Cf. Qur.* 11: 42. "And [the Ark] ran with them amid waves like mountains; and Noah called out to his son, who was standing apart: 'O my son! Embark with us, and be not with the unbelievers!'"

[100] *Qur.* 11: 46, omitting the foll.: "Verily, [your son ?] is a work not righteous. Do not ask of Me that whereof you have no knowledge." As many of these paragraphs obviously relate to the story of Moses and al-Khaḍir in *Sūrah 18* (which Chodkiewicz has shown corresponds to Chap. 366 of the *Futūḥāt*, treating of the Mahdī and his *wuzarā'* [see Morris's trn. in *Illuminations*, 119–44), we may detect here allusions to the three inexplicable deeds of the latter (*cf.* n. 43, above): Thus, the father (= Noah) and his unworthy son (= the Sufyānid; or Moses's boy-servant [*fatā*]?) may refer to the one slain by al-Khaḍir (vv. 74 and 80); the "twins" (*al-jawzā'*, = Gemini) could be the two orphans of v. 82; and the "ark," the boat of vv. 71 and 79. Both Noah and al-Khaḍir have been linked to the ancient Gilgamesh mythos of the search for immortality.

[101] This correlates with the first sentence of the preceding paragraph, which I take to refer to the Prophetary (Hāshimite) Mahdī and the saintly Seal, respectively. In the context of the Moses/Khaḍir syzygy (which also represents the *nabī/walī* polarity), the latter is assimilated to the *barzakh* (= *majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*) as being *above* the world of the senses (the proper domain of the prophetary law).

[102] Q2 has garbled this expression.

[103] On *al-Jūdī*, see, n. 95, above.

[104] This is apparently a sign of the expected Mahdī, although I have not been able to verify it. No such "beauty-mark" (a mole on the right cheek?) is mentioned in the traditionist, al-Tirmidhī's *K. Shamā'il al-Muṣṭafā* (quoted in A. Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, p. 34). This clause and the first one in the next paragraph are missing in Q2.

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—[that] is an allusion to the Pitch-Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad al-ḥālik*)[105] and its being [at] the Right-Hand of the Reigning One (*al-Wāḥid al-Mālik*).[106] He for whom that Sign can be verified—verily, to him belongs the Imāmate.

[12. *The Homage-Ceremony and Abraham's Imāmate*]

When the Pledge of allegiance (*al-mubāyaʿah*) to this Imām takes place between the [Yemenite] Corner (*al-rukn*) of the Kaʿbah and the Station [of Abraham] (*al-maqām*),[107] [this Pledge] leaving nothing to be desired,[108]

*

—similarly, when he was standing between the Station of the Friend [of God] (*maqām al-khullah*)[109] and the Corner of One who sees to [the needs of] his Guests [*sci.*, Abraham][110] "filled the need" (*al-khallah*)[111]—[that is, he did so] concerning whom [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!) declared in the sound Tradition: "God is Merciful unto my Brother, Lot (Lūṭ)"—speaking for Mankind [in general[112]—"for Lot] had taken refuge in a 'Strong Support' (*rukn shadīd*)."[113] [Hence, *Abraham*, as a kind of Imām Intercessor] is there described as "being influential (*makīn*) with the Possessor of the Throne (*Dhū l-ʿarsh* [*sci.*, God]), as One-to-be-Obeyed (*muṭāʿ*) and, furthermore, Loyal (*amīn*)."[114] And the Homage of the nomination [as Imām] (*mubāyaʿat al-taʿyīn*) shall [therefore] be performed for him in the Inviolate Sanctum (*al-ḥaram al-manīʿ*) and the Lofty House (*al-bayt al rafīʿ*).[115]

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[105] This is the sacred Black Stone of the Kaʿbah, set in the southeast corner (*rukn*) of the building, 1. 5 metres from the ground. Ibn al-ʿArabī associates the Muslims' ritual kissing of this stone during the *ḥajj*-ceremonies with the homage paid to the Imām (see *infra*). For M's comm., see App. I.

[106] The stone is said to be at "the right Hand" (*yamīn*) of God because it is built into the south (*yamānī*)-eastern corner of the Kaʿbah. The Divine name, *al-Wāḥid*, is frequently combined with *al-Qahhār* (the All-Conquering) in the Qurʾān (*e.g.*, 12: 39). God is called "Owner of dominion" (*Mālik al-mulk*) in 3: 26, and "Lord of the day of Judgment" (*Mālik yawm al-dīn*) in 1: 4; but 43: 77 is the basis of designating the angelic regent of Hell by the name, *Mālik*.

[107] *Bayna l-rukni* [*al-yamānī*] *wa-l-maqām*. See Abū Dāʾūd, *Mahdī*, 1 (trad. discussed by Ibn alʿArabī in *Muḥāḍarah*, I, 431; see also *Fut.* III, 327 [18*sq.*]). A second hand notes in the margin of M that, acc. to Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī in his *Tadhkirah* [*fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtá wa-Umūr al-Ākhirah*], the twelfth Imām, Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahdī, "received the homage of [many] groups (*jamāhīr al-nās*) between the [Yemenite] corner and the station [of Abraham]."

[108] *Wa-laysa warāʾa-hā marm*^{an} *li-rām*^{in}: lit., "there is no object of hope/desire for anyone over and above it." Lane quotes (*s.v. marm*^{an}) a similar saying: *Laysa warāʾa Llāhi marm*^{an} [= *maqṣid*]. B2, Q and the margin of V read: "there was no obligation (*laysa* . . . *min lizām*^{un}) and nothing to be desired beyond it."

[109] Abraham is the "friend (*khalīl*) of God" *par excellence*, on the basis of *Qur.* 4: 125. *Khullah/khillah* can signify either "friendship" or "a friend".

[110] *Ruknu man rāma bi-aḍyāfi-hi.* Abraham's hospitality to his angelic guests (*cf. Gen. 18*) is described in passages beginning at *Qur.* 11: 69, 15: 51 and 51: 24.

[111] *Sadda l-khallata.* Note the pun on *khallah* (need) and *khullah* (friendship).

[13. *The Conquest of the Great City*]

[Concerning] the conquest of the City [of Man] (*fatḥ al-madīnah*),[116] the appearance of which is as follows:[117]

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[112] *Khiṭāb*^{an} *li-jamīʿi l-bashari*. That is, God is Merciful to all mankind (personified here in Lot).

[113] *Cf. Musnad*, II, 332, 326 & 350; Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, 19 & 11; and *Tafsīr*, 12: 5; and Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 23. None of these ss. have "my brother" (*akh-ī*); perhaps Lot is so-called here because he was also a prophet (but *cf. Qur.* 26: 161). The final ref. is to *Qur.* 11: 80, where Lot is said to wish for such a "strong support" (= "a tribal or party leader," acc. to some [see Lane, *s.v. rukn*]), but which our author understands to be Abraham (*cf.* 11: 74–76).

[114] *Qur.* 81: 20–21, which is invariably taken to refer to the angel Gabriel. Besides signifying "throne", *ʿarsh* is also a syn. for *rukn* (corner; support; chief); and Ibn al-ʿArabī has already established that Abraham is the "support" of Lot in 11:80. *Cf.* also 12: 54, where similar language is used to describe Pharaoh's esteem for Joseph. M suggests that the *dhū l-ʿarsh* is Isrāfīl, a gigantic archangel reaching up to the pillars of the Divine throne. *Al-muṭāʿ* (the obeyed one) is the appellation used in the *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (attr. to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī) for the quasi-Divine *logos*-figure as prime mover. Here the word is admirably suited to Ibn al-ʿArabī's contention that Abraham is the Imām.

[115] That is, of course, the Kaʿbah; but also the human heart. V, B2 and M are wanting this last sentence (but the first two supply it in the margin).

[116] This city, usually called "great" in eschatological lore (see *e.g.*, p. 259 at n. 18), is generally specified as Constantinople (al-Qusṭanṭīnīyah), which resisted conquest by Muslim armies until 857/1453. In the mandala-like figure on the next page, the "city" emblemizes the human entity, which is subdued in the "greater *jihād*."

[117] *Allatī hayʾatu-hā hākadhā*. All of the ss. have these words, indicating that the orig. text [O] probably featured a "*madīnah* talisman," although C and Q2 have no trace of this. W, B2 and R leave blank spaces where the diagrams were to be drawn, and E, V and M show maze-figures s.th. like the one I give here (Fig. VI), which is based on that of the late-6th/12th-cent. *Ms. Berlin 3266* (f. 42b) [= B]. In App. III, I have reproduced the form of the next oldest diagram I have seen, that of E (7th/13th cent.), along with two more recent illustrations (see pp. 587–88). The innermost of the eight (or 7?) concentric compartments represents the heart, while the source/well-spring of the maze opens to the Divine inspirations. For M's comm. on the significance of this diagram, see App. III, 579 and 586.

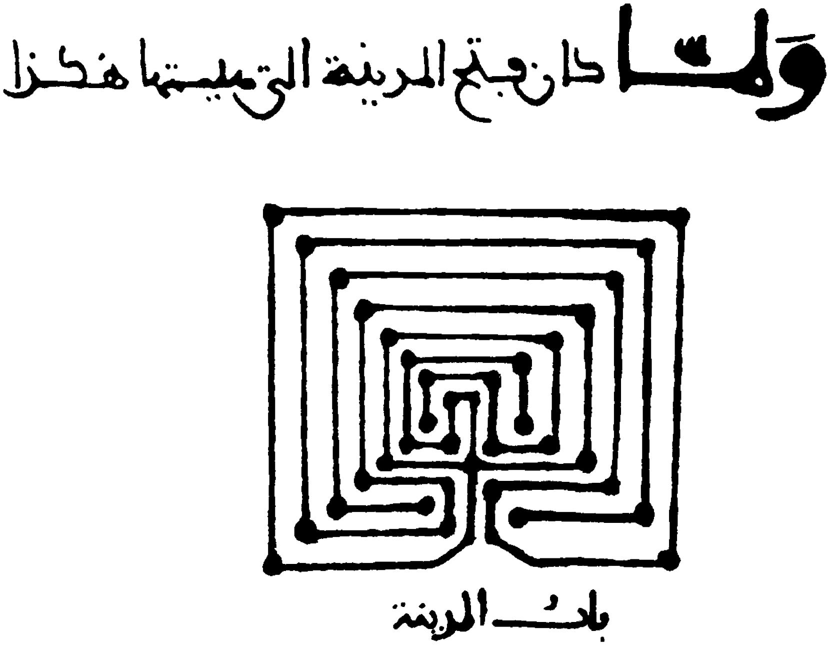

Figure VI. The seven-walled city of the human heart, which submits to God with the acknowledgment that "There is no god but God!"[118]

—[coming to pass] by means of the [recitation of the affirmations] "God is Great!" and "There is no God but GOD!" (*bi-l-takbīr wa-l-tahlīl*),[119] with [the Archangel] Gabriel (*Jibrīl*) at the vanguard of the Host,[120] the "Rising Banner" (*al-liwāʾ al-mushriq* [*sci.*, the Mahdī as the "Western Sun"]) having turned to the lands of the East (*bilād al-mashriq*), the Western Winds (*riyāḥ al-gharb*) stirring him and the Glad-tidings of Conquest (*bashāʾir al-fatḥ*) making him ardent, while B,43 the Angels surround [him], gathering around him, standing in formation before him,[121]

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[118] *Cf. Heb.* 11: 30: "By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about for *seven* days."

[119] With the simple recitation of these potent Qurʾānic slogans (battle-cries) the gate of the great city would be broken down (*cf. Josh.* 6: 20). The *takbīr* is the affirmation, *Allāhu akbar*, and the *tahlīl*, the saying, *Lā ilāha illā Llāh*. Both are expressions of the fundamental Islamic principle of *tawḥīd* (Divine oneness). B2 and Q invert the two terms (thus marring the acceptable *sajʿ*- rhyme between *tahlīl* and *rasūl* in the foll. clause).

[120] *Fī muqaddami l-ʿaskari.* Q alone adds: "and as their rear-guard was Michael (*Mīkāʾīl*)," probably simply to provide an end-rhyme with *Jibrīl* (lost in B2 and Q when the preceding clause was garbled).

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—so,[122] if the Gnostic conquers his own "Great City" (*madīnatu-hu
l-kubrá*) through [spiritual] striving (*al-mujāhadah*),[123] effort and endurance
(*al-muʿānāh wa-l-mukābadah*),[124] and if he rises to the conquest of the
City of the Prophet,[125] which he conquers with [the asseveration]
"There is no God but God!"[126]—that by virtue of the descent of the
Trustworthy Spirit (*tanazzul al-rūḥ al-amīn* [*sci.*, the Holy Spirit])[127]
from his Lord upon [the Gnostic's] heart by means of the Secrets
of his Transcendence (*sarāʾir ghaybi-hi*), with the Angels before him
"and behind him a guard of Watchers (*raṣad*)"[128]—*at that time he shall* **70**
joyfully return whence he had come,[129] leaving the country [whence he
departed] as a wasteland.[130] Then, verify [the Truth] and assimilate
[thereto]![131] God [is] the One-Who-gives-Success (*al-Muwaffiq*)![132]

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[121] *Wa-l-malāʾikatu ḥāffūna, wa-ʿalay-hi multaffūna, wa-amāma-hu muṣṭaffūna.*

[122] Q2 omits *ka-dhālika.*

[123] *Mujāhadah* = *jihād* ("holy war").

[124] Instead of the first, E and R, both superior ss., appear to read *al-muʿānadah* (and opposition/resistance); and both omit the last. M comments that this conquest is achieved "not by the spurring on of steeds and the flashing of spearheads, but through the [spiritual] struggle against lower-souls (*al-nufūs*) and the endurance of hardships (*mukābadat al-shadāʾid*) in the various sorts of ritual requirements."

[125] *Madīnat al-rasūl.* This is, in fact, the full name of Medina, but the ref. may rather be to the *real* heart of Islamdom, Mecca (which our Ṣūfī himself "took" by force of his genius when he first sojourned there in 599/1203). M suggests that the referent is the "inner spirit" (*al-sirr*), as opposed to the heart, which is the "city of humanity" (*cf.* App. III, 579 and 586).

[126] *Fataḥa-hā bi-l-tahlīli* (*cf.* above, n. 119; and p. 259, n. 19).

[127] The *rūḥ al-amīn* of *Qur.* 26: 193 is generally taken to be Gabriel, who, in turn, is identified with the *rūḥ al-qudus* (spirit of holiness) of 16: 102, *et al.*

[128] *Qur.* 72: 27. *Raṣad*: "watchers over an angel sent down with a revelation, lest one of the *jinn* . . . should overhear the revelation and acquaint therewith the diviners. . . ." (Lane, *s.v. rāṣid*).

[129] *Fa-ḥīna idh*^{in} *yarjiʿu min ḥaythu jāʾa masrūr*^{an}. I have italicized this clause, the apodosis of the foregoing, to emphasize what I take to be the climax of the last two paragraphs, the veiled annunciation of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own fateful advent in Mecca and the Islamic heartland as the new *Muḥyī l-Dīn* (revivifier of Islam). The appositeness of this description to the situation of our author himself would not be lost on any early student of the *ʿAnqāʾ*. Even the datum that the gnostic would "return from whence he had come" could definitely be applied to one (as "the Ḥātimite") who so thoroughly identified with the classical Arab heritage of the heartland.

[130] *Wa-qad taraka l-bilāda būr*^{an}. The last is garbled in both printed edns.

[131] *Fa-taḥaqqaq wa-takhallaq.* On these terms, see above, p. 340, n. 9.

[132] (As voc. in W). This epithet is not applied to God in the Scripture (but *cf.* 4: 35 and 11: 88, the first of which could well give the sense of our present con-

[14. *The Retinue of the Mahdī/Seal*]

If it is said: "And when he sets out on this Exodus (*al-raḥīl*),[133] roll up your carpet, O friend (*al-khalīl*),[134] and travel with him with all that you have, much or little! But if you [really] have insufficient wealth (*māl*) and are unable to transport your dependents (*al-ʿiyāl*), then go to the treasure-trove of the Imāmate (*maʿdin al-imāmah*),[135] and he will toss[136] as much money to you as you can carry—that being a Sign [of the Imamate], also,[137] along with brightness of brow and prominence of proboscis,[138] and his way of exercising authority (*sīratu-hu fī l-mulk*) between gentleness and harshness (*al-līn wa-l-ʿanf*). So, accompany that well-guarded Caravan (*al-rakb al-maḥfūẓ*) [and] well-regarded Harem (*al-muṣān al-malḥūẓ*);[139] for, truly, there is no good in anything that remains after [his departure from the land], but, rather, the Good (*al-khayr*) is *before* him and *with* him!"[140]

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—Similarly, the Gnostic, when the Spirit of his Holiness (*rūḥ qudsi-hi*) comes down to the conquest of the "Cities" of his lower-soul (*madāʾin nafsi-hi*) and returns to the Presence of his [own] Intimacy [with his Lord] (*ḥaḍrat unsi-hi*), [the Gnostic's bodily] members (*al-jawāriḥ*)[141] are constrained to return behind him, continuing under

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text). It may be noted, however, that, acc. to the exigency of the rhyme-scheme, this should be read as a pass. part., *al-muwaffaq* (the one who is made conformable).

[133] That is, the eastward journey of the gnostic Mahdī (= the "sun rising in the west") hinted at in the preceding paragraph. Q2 has garbled the verb.

[134] M glosses this as "the beloved companion (*al-ṣāḥib al-muḥibb*) and [helper] in transporting (*al-tarḥīl*)." Ibn al-ʿArabī's constant companion in his travels was the African freedman, ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Ḥabashī (see p. 47 at n. 182). "Roll up your carpet": *fa-ṭwi bisāṭa-ka.*

[135] Q2 has "the imām" rather than "the imāmate."

[136] Both printed edns. garble the verb (*yaḥshu*). "Money": *al-māl.*

[137] Many *ḥadīths* relate that a sign (*ʿalāmah*) of the Mahdī will be his lavishing gifts on all who ask of him (see, *e.g.*, Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 58; and *Musnad*, III, 21).

[138] *Jalī al-jabhah wa-qanī al-anf.* That is, having a high forehead and a nobly curved, Semitic nose (*cf.* Abu Dāʾūd, *Mahdī*, 1).

[139] That is, the Mahdī's retinue in its easterly procession. *Rakb*: "a large company of riders". All of the ss. are agreed on *al-muṣān* (voc. thus by E and W). Dozy (*s.v. aṣāna*) quotes Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* as stating that this word is a *muwallad* (non-classical Arabic) equivalent for *maṣūn* (well-protected, sheltered; chaste), which, Hans Wehr notes, is used in Modern Arabic as a collective epithet for "women" (= *ḥarīm*).

[140] *Amāma-hu wa-ʿinda-hu.* The last is garbled in Q2.

[141] "The limbs", esp. the hands and feet, but also the eyes. The verbs used here and in what follows are animate plurs.

his control. If they have need, they ask him for help; and if they become the objects of his solicitude [*ghayrah*], they view him as the Means [(*ʿuddah*) of their deliverance].[142]

[15. *Trials of Afflictions and the Triumph of Righteousness*][143]

With the termination of these changes (*al-dawal*),[144] there emerged, B,43b
with a limp in his leg,[145] the One-eyed [Antichrist] (*al-aʿwar*).[146] With God's permission (*bi-idhn Allāh*) he shall cause death in civil strife (*fitnat*^{an}), and, with God's permission,[147] he will bring back to life the One he had killed[148]—with God sending down abundant rain (*al-ghayth*) for [the Antichrist][149] and bringing forth for him vegetation,[150] [so that all] wealth (*al-amwāl*) will accrue to him and hopes (*al-āmāl*) come together in him—[that is] except [from the Gnostic] who believes,[151] who girds himself and forbears,[152] eating [nothing but] carrot-greens,[153] until the "Overwhelming Affair" (*al-amr al-aladd*)[154]

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[142] *Fa-in iftaqarū, istamaddū-hu; wa-in ghīra ʿalay-him, istaʿaddū-hu* (as voc. in B and E). I follow M in my reading of the second clause. W appears to voc. the two apodoses as *istamdaw-hu* (? they ask him for scope) and *istaʿdaw-hu* (they stirred, incited him).

[143] B and M are both lacking the *faṣl* marker here. This, together with the fact that there is no *waṣl* ("microcosmic" subsection) attached to this putative section, suggests that we should only count the previous 14 double-paragraphs as discrete divisions.

[144] This is a plur. form of *dawlah* (to rhyme with *qazal* in the next clause): "change of time; turn of fortune; state", *etc.* "States" could conceivably be meant to stand for the "cities" (*madāʾin*) of the gnostic's existential being mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

[145] *Wa-fī rijli-hi qazal*^{un}. *Qazal* = *ʿaraj*. C, V, B2 and Q have garbled the phrase.

[146] In *ḥadīth*, the great false prophet, or Antichrist (*al-masīḥ al-dajjāl*, "the imposter-Christ"), is sometimes described as a kind of cyclops, his one eye "like a floating grape" in his forehead (see Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, 77; *Anbiyāʾ*, 3 and *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyah*, 68).

[147] Omitted in C, M and Q2, but added in the margin of the former (but see next note).

[148] Acc. to one version of the trad., Elijah (or Enoch-Idrīs) was slain by the *Dajjāl* but was thereafter revived by God (see above, p. 259, n. 26). The ref. here, however, would seem to be different, having to do with the preternatural powers of the Antichrist (unless, indeed, the second *bi-idhni Llāh* is a mistake [see preceding note]. Dr. Chodkiewicz has pointed out to me the interesting refs. to this victim's identity in *Fut.* III, 329 (34–35), and IV, 78 (29).

[149] Q2 is wanting *la-hu* here and in the foll. phrase.

[150] *Al-nabāt.* In *Qur.* 57: 20 the vegetation springing up after a desert-rain is used as a simile for "the life of this world" (*al-ḥayāh al-dunyā*). *Cf.* also 31: 34 and 42: 28.

[151] One printing of Q2 lacks *man* (who); and another, the verb (*āmana*).

[152] *Taḥaṣṣana wa-taṣabbara.*

[153] *Min al-ḥashīsh al-jazar.* Instead of the last, Q2 has *al-ḥarth* (tillage).

[154] That is, until the day of Judgment. On *aladdu*, see *Wörterbuch, s.v.* This is inscribed in the margin of B and the orig. reading (*al-akīd*, "firm") is crossed out.

should come to pass. Then he [*viz.*, Jesus ?] will slay[155] [the Antichrist] at the Lydda Gate (*bāb Ludd*) [in Damascus],[156] spilling his blood with a spear (*al-ḥarbah*) and hastening back to [his] fortification [on the Mount (*al-ṭūr*)],[157] while the multitudinous Horde [*sci.*, Gog and Magog] with most-powerful equipment[158] shall issue forth from behind the Barrier (*al-sudd*).[159]

And Jesus, son of Mary (May God bless and keep him!)[160] will invoke evil[161] upon those nations [of Gog and Magog] (*al-umam*) when they leave not any houses (*diyār*) [standing][162] on the earth, and shoot [their] arrows into the sky—as if to kill Him Who is in Heaven! But [God] (Be He Praised!)[163] will send back [their arrows] upon them, stained with blood, and He will afflict their companies in one night with a malady of worms[164] so that they die[165] to the last of them in one night. Thereafter, the earth will [again] become fertile, crops will flourish and fruits grow large, while trees overshadow the [fallen] horde,[166] and the Muḥammadan Law (*al-sharīʿah al-Muḥammadīyah*)

M glosses *al-amr al-aladd* as "the decisive command of God," and omits the verb (*ḥatta ya'tiya*). Q2 reads the adj. as *al-ākid*(?).

[155] Instead of *fa-yaqtulu-hu*, Q has the perf. Q2 specifies Jesus as the subj.

[156] Instead of *Ludd*, Q2 has *la-hu* (of his).

[157] *Wa-yusriʿu ilá l-inḥiṣāri bi-l-awbati.* This evidently alludes, as M supposes, to a trad. recorded by Ibn Mājah (*Fitan*, 33), in which Jesus is commanded to assemble God's servants on "the mountain" (*al-ṭūr* [probably either the Mount of Olives or Mt. Tabor]) as a refuge against Gog and Magog (*Yājūj wa-Mājūj*). Q2 alone has *al-ḥiṣār* (the fortress) instead of *al-inḥiṣār* (fortification).

[158] *Wa-aqwá ʿudad.* Instead of the last, R has *ghadr* (treachery); and Q2, *hadad* (loud voice). Trad. eschatological lore was prescient in understanding the role of technology in human destiny.

[159] As voc. in B and M. This is the fabulous metal barrier built by Dhū l-Qarnayn ("he of the two horns" [= Alexander?]) to hold back Gog and Magog behind their mountains (see *Qur.* 18: 93–98).

[160] This benediction, normally reserved only for the Prophet Muḥammad, is employed here for the sake of the rhyme (*Maryam[a]/sallam[a]*).

[161] *Fa-yadʿu . . . ʿalá*, in the best ss. (B, C, E and R, as well as Q). The other ss. have the plur., *fa-yadʿū*, reading: "[The faithful] called upon Jesus . . . against those nations."

[162] C, E and W, all superior ss., voc. ديارا as *dayyār*^{an} (acc.), "a monk, or resident in a *dayr* (monastery)", rather than *diyār*´^{an}, a plur. of *dār* (house, township).

[163] Q adds *Allāh* (God) before and *wa-taʿālá* (and exalted be He!) after this. God's action is in response to the curse of Jesus upon the evil hordes.

[164] *Fa-yusalliṭu Llāhu ʿalay-him fī laylat*^{in} *dā'a l-naghafi fī aʿnāqi-him. ʿUnuq* (pl., *aʿnāq*): "a neck; a numerous company of men or their chiefs, or nobles" (*cf. Qur.* 26: 4, which can be understood in any of these senses). *Naghaf*: a kind of worm (*dūd*) infecting the noses of camels. Q2 garbles the expression. E and R omit "in one night," which occurs also in the next clause.

[165] R omits this verb.

[166] *Al-rahṭ al-kathīr.*

shall be revivified and the Unitary Essence (*al-ḥaqīqah al-aḥadīyah*) **71** manifested until a Fixed Term (*amad maʿlūm*) and a Predetermined Fate (*qadar maḥtūm*),[167] and a Beast (*dābbah*) will breathe[168] and a Sun shall arise—after which a Soul's [profession of] faith (*īmān nafs*) will not be accepted![169] May God protect us from the perils of temptations (*ghawāfil al-fitan*)[170] and turn away from us the designs of afflictions (*wujūh al-miḥan*)![171]

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[167] Instead of the last, C, R and W have *makhtūm* (sealed).

[168] *Cf.* above, p. 258 (at n. 14).

[169] See *ibid.*, n. 13, and nn. 25 and 26, above; and p. 176, n. 75, of the intro.

[170] *Fitnah* (pl., *fitan*): "trial (esp. by fire), affliction; seduction, temptation; punishment; slaughter, civil war; faction or sedition among Muslims", *etc.* On the numerous senses of this word, many of them Qur'ānic, see Lane, *s.v.*; and Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor'ān, s.v. fatana.*

[171] *Miḥnah* (pl., *miḥan*): "trial, affliction; suffering, misfortune". *Cf. Matt.* 6: 13: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

IV. The Epitome of Consummate Informing *concerning the Designation of the Seal of the Saints*[1]

[The Seal of the Saints] is the "Most-exalted Lineage" (*al-nasab al-aʿlá*) which we mentioned earlier in the "Epitome of Glorious Nobility" (*nuktat al-sharaf*).[2] He who does not know [him] is not known [by him], but he who recognizes [him] is recognized [by him].[3] And he suggested—he whose suggestion is Knowledge (*ishāratu-hu ʿilm*^{un}) and obedience to whom is Benefit (*ṭāʿatu-hu ghunm*^{un}), he being the One who delivers affairs (*yulqī l-umūr*) and lays open hearts (*yashraḥu l-ṣudūr*)[4]—that I give instruction about the designation of this "Epitome" (*taʿyīn hādhihi l-nuktah*),[5] and that we might bring it forward, like "the [Last] Hour, *suddenly* (*baghtat*^{an})"[6]—that, by way of augmenting [the voice of] the Summoner [to God's Cause] (*tawfīr dāʿī-hi*)[7] *vis-à-vis* the hearing of him who hears (*udhn wāʿī-hi*). For the dissemination [of this "Epitome", the Seal of Sainthood] (*basṭu-hā*) is necessary and the strengthening of its binding (*rabṭu-hā*) is what is due[8]—as are the Secrets (*al-asrār*) concerning the Seal of the Saints which God (Be He Exalted!) has mentioned in His Book, as well as the Traditions (*al-akhbār*) concerning [the Seal] deriving from the Prophet (Peace be upon him!).[9] [Thus] the Command came [to me][10] that I make mention B,44 of [the Seal's] Stations and Signs (*maqāmātu-hu wa-āyātu-hu*) [to be found] in the Glorious Scripture (*al-kitāb al-ʿazīz*) and give expression to an explication of his names and attributes (*īḍāḥ asmāʾi-hi wa-ṣifāti-hi*).[11]

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[1] *Nuktatu tamāmi l-inbāʾi fī taʿyīni khatmi l-awliyāʾi* (as voc. in B).

[2] See above, pp. 474–83. The precise expression, *al-nasab al-aʿlá*, is not used in that chap., but *cf.* the last sentence of the section preceding (on p. 473).

[3] *Juhila man jahila wa-ʿurifa man ʿarafa.* This is the Imāmite principle of gnosis (*maʿrifah*).

[4] The referent is perhaps most likely the afore-mentioned "messenger of inspiration," although it is God Who is specified as "laying open hearts" in *Qur*. 6: 125 and 39: 22. Also, it is God Who "delivers [His word (*sci.*, Jesus)] (*alqa-hā*) to Mary in 4: 171, though the same could be conceived of the angel Gabriel (*cf.* 19: 19). *Amr* (sing. of *umūr*) here is a syn. of *shaʾn* (thing, affair, business), and does not have the sense of "command, order", *etc.* (since that plur. is *awāmir* [see Lane, *s.v.*]).

[5] *Sci.*, the Seal of sainthood. In *Fut.* I, 2 (24), tr. in App. IV (p. 589), the term, *nuktah*, is applied to the Muḥammadan Reality. On *nuktah*, see Gloss., *s.v.*

[6] *Cf. Qur.* 7: 187 and 21: 40, *et al.*

[7] I take this to refer to the Prophet Muḥammad (see *infra*), who is effectively likened to a propagandist (*dāʿī*) for the hidden imām. The point is that Ibn al-ʿArabī's esoterism will augment or supplement the Prophetary *ḥadīth* so that the careful listener (*wāʿī*) might hear the truth.

[8] *Ḥalla* (it is due): "to be *ḥalāl* (permissible in the law)". This verb also means "to loose, unbind; set free" (ant. of *rabaṭa*), so that the line could be tr.: "that which strengthens its binding sets free/looses."

[9] V, B2, Z, M and Q have, instead of this abbreviated benediction, usually applied to prophets other than Muḥammad, the regular formula.

[10] *Warada l-amru.* The Arabic context seems to imply that "the command," or "mandate", here came from the Prophetary tradition (*ḥadīth, akhbār*), not simply by interior revelation.

KNOW[12]—May God support you with His Words (*kilamu-hu*),[13] accord to you the Distinctions of His Wisdom (*maʿālim ḥikami-hi*) and clarify for you the Secret of His Eternity (*sirr qidami-hi*)![14]—that the Seal who will bear the Banner of Sainthood (*liwāʾ al-walāyah*)[15] and become the "Furthest-Limit" (*al-muntahá*) as to Station and Destination (*al-maqām wa-l-ghāyah*)—verily, he is a Seal not known (*lā yuʿrafu*), with a Mandate (*amr*)[16] not to be opposed or turned away (*lā yuṣrafu*) in a [kind of] "corporeal Spirituality" (*rūḥānīyah mutajassadah*) and "manifold Singularity" (*fardānīyah mutaʿaddadah*).[17] He seals a Thing material (*amr jismī*)[18] and, so, it is concealed; and a Matter spiritual (*amr maqāmī*),[19] and it is *revealed*![20] And if, after [this Seal of Sainthood, another][21] Saint (*walī*) should appear, his is not the [*most*] Exalted Station (*al-maqām al-ʿalī*) but, rather, he is of the company of [the Seal's] Followers (*atbāʿu-hu*),[22] his companions and his partisans (*ṣaḥābatu-hu wa-ashyāʿu-hu*).[23]

Do you not see the Divine Command (*al-amr al-ilāhī*), the fore-

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[11] This is the subj.-matter of the final section of the book. Instead of the first, Q2 has *ayḍ*^{an} (also).

[12] *Fa-ʿlam*. This phrase is either made bold or underscored in C, R, P, W and Z.

[13] This is the plur. of *kilmah* (*Wörterbuch*)/*kilamah* (Kazimirski), a variant of *kalimah*. One printing of Q2 has *bi-kalimah* (by a word), instead of *bi-kilami-hi*.

[14] Instead of the last, Q2 has *qudsu-hu* (his holiness).

[15] "That is, the banner/guidepost of sainthood (*ʿalam al-walayah*) and its minaret/lighthouse (*manāru-hā*) in the protection of which all saints seek refuge" (M).

[16] The best ss. have the indef. rather than *al-amr*, as in many later ss.

[17] For M's comm., see App. I.

[18] Instead of the last, C, E and R seem to read *jism* (a body), though C corrects this in the margin; and B2 and Q2(?) have *jasīm* (great).

[19] The "station" (*maqām*), however it is qualified, may be conceived as a level of being achieved when the sensual is transcended (see the usage at n. 31, below). M glosses *maqāmī* as *maʿnawī* ("intelligible, ideal", as opposed to "sensible, tangible").

[20] M is perhaps correct in interpreting the *amr jismī* as indicating the Seal's being the *last* saint to appear incarnate (this is the sense in which Jesus is said to be the *khatm al-awliyāʾ*), while the *amr maqāmī* indicates his being the most *perfect* saint (the sense in which Ibn al-ʿArabī, as Muḥammadan Seal, claims the honor), and yet that interpretation does not seem to suit the context of this particular passage.

[21] Q2 omits the pron. of *baʿda-hu*.

[22] Q2 inserts, before "[his] followers," *aʿdāʾu-hu* (his enemies).

[23] I interpret this to mean that the latter-day saint can only be the Seal's companion and follower *from the perspective of Ibn al-ʿArabī* as the Seal. In himself, on the other hand, if worthy, he may *also* attain unto the "inimitable" sealhood.

ordainment of which (*taqdīru-hu*) has been decided, made effective and sealed?[24] For he who had been a Prophet [*sci.*, Jesus] became a Saint to be well-heeded and obeyed[25] when our Prophet [Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep him!) was sent forth,[26] joining the Community [of Muslims] (*al-ummah*)[27]—that being one of the phases of [his] full estate (*akwār al-ʿummah*).[28] The same decision[29] shall come B,44b
to pass concerning this [Muḥammadan] Saint [*viz.*, Ibn al-ʿArabī himself] who is to come (*al-ātī*) "after"[30] the Exalted [Universal] Seal (*al-khatm al-ʿalī*)—although the Seal is not [essentially] of time (*al-zamān*). Rather, he is [qualified] by the fulfilment of the Station of [spiritual] Eye-witnessing (*istīfāʾ maqām al-ʿiyān*),[31] although it is inevitable that he appear contemporaneous with the motion of a [particular] celestial sphere (*falak*) which [*eo ipso*, conditions] his "time", his **72**
"moment" and his "season".[32] Hence, in this respect, he *is* related to time, and so is his career in all of the other degrees (*al-marātib*).[33]

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[24] *Qad ḥukima/ wa-nafadha taqdīru-hu wa-khutima.* It would probably be as well to read all of these verbs in the act. voice (as B and W seem to do). Further, we might speculate that *ḥukm* corresponds to the first "prophet" (*viz.*, Jesus); *nafādh* to the lawgiving prophet *par excellence* (the historical Muḥammad); and *khatm* to his "instantiation, or reincarnation", so to speak, as a saint (Ibn al-ʿArabī) in what follows.

[25] *Bi-ḥusni l-istimāʿi wa-ḥukmi l-ittibāʿi.* Q reads the last as *al-atbāʿ* (the followers); and one printing of Q2 lacks the conj.

[26] M explains that Jesus had to become a *walī* with the appearance (*ʿinda-mā buʿitha*) of Muḥammad, since "after him there can be no prophet." Another interpretation might have Ibn al-ʿArabī himself as *walī* standing for the sainthood of Jesus. "Our prophet" is missing in Q2.

[27] In place of this, Q2 has *al-ṭāʿah* (obedience).

[28] That is, the final phase of his development. *Kawr* (pl., *akwār*): "a subcycle of a larger cycle" (see Gloss., *s.v.*). C, V, B2 and both edns. have *aṭwār* (states; stages) rather than *akwār*. *ʿUmmah* (= *ʿumum*, *q.v.* in Lane): "maturity, completeness of growth". Instead of *al-ʿummah*, V, B2(?) and Q have *al-ghummah* (some interpreted the latter in *Qur.* 10: 71 to mean "concealment" rather than, as usually understood, "perplexity, confusion"); and Q2, *al-qiyāmah* (the resurrection).

[29] Q2 has *li-dhālika* (therefore) instead of *ka-dhālika* (similarly, the same). "Decision": *al-ḥukm* (*cf.* n. 24, above).

[30] V, B2, Q and the margin of W read "along with" instead of "after" (*baʿda*). The latter should be understood in a logical, rather than a temporal, sense (see *infra*).

[31] This is the experience which Moses requested of God in *Qur.* 7: 143 ("My Lord, show me [Yourself] that I may gaze upon You!") but could not receive, which, in the *K. al-Intiṣār*, Ibn al-ʿArabī associates with the "eye of certainty" (*ʿayn al-yaqīn*; see *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 20, p. 18). *ʿIyān*: "eye-witnessing, seeing with one's own eyes" (= *muʿāyanah*, "confronting, meeting eye-to-eye"). On *muʿāyanah* in Sahl al-Tustarī, see Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 211–14. For another possible reading, *cf.* App. I.

[32] *Zamānu-hu, wa-waqtu-hu wa-awānu-hu.* Apparent differentiations such as here (between *zamān* and *awān*) are, of course, due more to the exigencies of the rhyme-scheme than of meaning.

[33] Instead of this, C, V and Q2 have *al-madhāhib* (the schools; ways), but the first two correct this in the margin.

V. The Clear Declaration of the Glorious Scripture as to the Stations [*of the Seal of the Saints*] *and the Teaching of His States and His Signs*[1]

Know that God (Exalted be He!) has mentioned this[2] venerable Seal (*al-khatm al-mukarram*), the venerated Imām to whom obedience is due (*al-imām al-matbūʿ al-muʿaẓẓam*), the Standard-bearer of Sainthood and its Seal (*ḥāmil liwāʾ al-walāyah wa-khātamu-hā*), Imām and Ruler of the [believing] Community (*imām al-jamāʿah wa-ḥākimu-hā*), announcing him (*anbaʾa bi-hi*) in numerous passages of His Glorious Book (*kitābu-hu l-ʿazīz*), calling attention to him and his Degree (*martabatu-hu*), that [a certain] distinction (*al-tamyīz*) might be established: For the [actual] *Mahdī*, the Rightly-guided Imām (*al-imām al-mahdī*) who belongs to the House of the Prophet[3]—since he [also] is surely an Imām to whom obedience is due (*imām matbūʿ*) and a Commander to be heeded (*āmir masmūʿ*)—sometimes it may be that his attributes [*ṣifātu-hu*] resemble extraneously (*ʿalá l-dakhīl*)[4] those of the Seal, and their Signs (*āyātu-humā*) may be confounded. As for Jesus (Peace be upon him!),[5] there is no partnership (*ishtirāk*) in his Signs, for [unlike the Mahdī] he is [also] a *Prophet*—without doubt or confusion. [But] since the Seal and the Mahdī[6] are both Saints [albeit the latter is not also a Prophet], sometimes uncertainty (*labs*) arises, and partisan zeal (*al-taʿaṣṣub*)[7] may come to pass on account of personal proclivities (*dawāʿī l-nafs*).[8] B,46 (*sic*)

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[1] *Ifṣāḥu l-kitābi l-ʿazīzi bi-maqāmāti-hi, wa-l-iʿlāmu bi-aḥwāli-hi wa-āyāti-hi. Ifṣāḥ*: "speaking clearly w/o indistinctness or concealment". "His glorious book," of course, is the Qurʾān, certain passages of which (purportedly dealing with the Seal/Mahdī) are discussed in the foll. section. Instead of the first, V, B2 and Q have *īḍāḥ* (clarification).

[2] Q2 is wanting "this."

[3] Al-Maqābirī again identifies this personage as Muḥ. al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar, the twelfth, "hidden" imām of the "Twelver" Shīʿites, as he was a descendent of the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭimah, and ʿAlī. He goes on to explain that this Mahdī will come before Jesus, and it will be he who finally seizes the "great Byzantine city" of trad. (but note that he was writing this nearly a cent. after Mehmet [= Muḥammad] the Conqueror had already taken Constantinople!).

[4] *Dakhīl*: "s.th. extraneous, adventitious, not inherent". The term is applied to foreign elements introduced into Arabic, and, so, is the ant. of *ifṣāḥ* (pure Arabic style; *cf.* n. 1, above).

[5] B2, M and Q read: "blessings and peace be upon him!"

[6] V, B2 and Q interpolate "that is, the caliph" at this point.

[7] Q2 has *al-taʿb* (weariness). The Ottoman al-Maqābirī glosses *taʿaṣṣub* (fanaticism): "[That is] the evil motivations of the soul, especially [those incited by] the *Shīʿah* and the *Rawāfiḍ*". At this point one page (ff. 45a/b) of B is bound out of place.

[8] Or, perhaps: "partisan zeal comes about for selfish reasons." *Taʿaṣṣub* = *ʿaṣabīyah*:

It is to this very grave concern (*amr kubbār*) that the people of discernment and perception (*ahl al-baṣā'ir wa-l-abṣār*)[9] are alerted. As for the common people (*al-ʿawāmm*), we have nothing to discuss with them,[10] as it is beyond their ken to know [such things], for they [merely] depend on the Learned among them (*ʿulamā'u-hum*),[11] imitating their Leaders (*umarā'u-hum*). [Meanwhile, these] Leaders and Learned men, themselves, *do* know of [the existence of the exalted *Muḥammadan* Seal ?], following his traces and pursuing him[12] until [such time as] Jesus (Peace be upon him!)[13] will surely reach him,[14] when he will bear witness to him in the midst of the people (*fa-yashhada la-hu bayna l-anām*), that, truly, he is the Greatest Imām and the Seal (*al-imām al-aʿẓam wa-l-khitām*) of the Station of the Noble-hearted Saints (*maqām al-awliyā' al-kirām*). And Jesus (Peace be upon him!) is sufficient Witness![15] "Verily, beyond you is a straitened Way (*ʿaqabah ku'ūd*) to Him[16] which no one traverses save the one who will trim down his

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"the party-spirit, or group-solidarity", which Ibn Khaldūn made the leitmotif of his theory of human history.

[9] These are the plurs. of *baṣīrah* and *baṣar*, denoting "insight, discernment" and "perception, sight", respectively.

[10] *Wa-ammā l-ʿawāmmu, fa-laysa la-nā maʿa-hum kalām*^{un}. Here we have the Shaykh al-Akbar's opinion of the *polloi*. *Cf. Matt.* 7: 6.

[11] In place of this, Q2 has *asmā'-hum* (their names). Also, instead of "imitating" (*muqtadūn*) in what follows, Q2 has *muqtadirūn* (empowered [by]), which, in fact, would seem quite apposite with *umarā'* (commanders).

[12] *Wa-yaqtafūna athara-hu wa-yattabiʿūna-hu.* M and Q omit the second verb.

[13] Here and again below, Q offers the same benediction as earlier (see n. 5), above.

[14] *La-yudriku-hu* implies the fact that the "greatest" Seal (see *infra*) will come *before* Jesus's return as the "universal Seal." Nevertheless, we must assume that the ref. here is to the special Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood (Ibn al-ʿArabī), called in what follows "the greatest Imām and Seal," and that Jesus's endorsement is to be expected in his *second* appearance at the end of times. Similarly, the Shīʿites believe that Jesus will "pray behind the Mahdī" in deference to the latter's superiority as Imām. In another context this is vaguely reminiscent of John the Baptist's bearing witness to the Christ (in *John* 1: 29–36). It is perhaps more likely that the allusion is to Jesus's foretelling of the mission of Muḥammad (= Aḥmad) in *Qur.* 61: 6 (sometimes explained as the promise of the Paraclete in *John* 14: 16 & 26, 15: 26 and 16: 7). Q2 has *la-yadhkuru-hu* (shall surely mention him) instead.

[15] "And God is sufficient witness" is a frequent Qur'ānic expression (see, *e.g.*, 48: 28).

[16] Whereas one would expect that the referent here would be the "greatest Imām" (or else Jesus), it appears in the next line that the ref. is to God. This, however, leads to the impression that "God" is being conflated with the "greatest Imām" in this context and in what follows. *Ku'ūd*: "a mountain-road difficult of ascent" (Lane, *s.v.*). On *ʿaqabah*, see *Qur.* 90: 11-12 (and *cf. Matt.* 7: 13–14).

gut and smooth out his rough ground."[17] But the occasion of the awakening unto Him (Praised be He!) shall be His revealing [Himself] unto His Saints and His granting victory over His enemies.[18]— So, *understand!*[19]

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[17] *Wa-inna warāʾa-kum ʿaqabat*^{an} *kuʾūd*^{an}, *lā yaqṭaʿu-hā illā man ḍammara baṭna-hu/ wa-sahhala hazna-hu.* Instead of the last, Q2 has *hazzatu-hu* (? his agitation). W identifies this line as a *ḥadīth*, but I have not been able to verify it. Perhaps the allusion is to the saying of Jesus cited in the preceding note.

[18] In this connection M quotes *Qur.* 2: 87 & 253: "We gave Jesus, son of Mary, the clear proofs (*al-bayyināt*), and We supported him with the holy Spirit," rather ingeniously interpreting the first clause as God's "revealing Himself" and the second as His "granting victory." It is worth noting that C also has this verse inscribed in the margin (but *cf.* n. 4, on the next page).

[19] *Wa-dhālika, fa-ʿlam* (omitted in C).

This is a section including [veiled allusions to the Seal's] Birth, his Lineage, where he dwells, his Tribe, and what happens to him until the time of his death, as well as his Name and those of his Parents[1] *contained in the text of the Truthful Recitation (al-Qurʾān al-ṣaḥīḥ) and the Clear and Unadulterated Tradition (al-khabar al-wāḍiḥ al-ṣarīḥ).*[2]

As for the Qurʾān, it mentions [the Seal of the Saints] as well as his "Brother" (*akhū-hu*),[3] while Tradition (*al-khabar*) contains the mention **73** of him without his Brother—except in one place, where it speaks B,46b of [the latter] together with his Followers.[4] I have diligently sought passages from the Qurʾān giving information (*mawāḍiʿ al-tanbīhāt*) about [the Seal] and providing prooftexts (*al-tanṣīṣ*) [therefor], and I found them to be numerous,[5] but [only] in the discrete [*i.e.*, partial] form of logical demonstration (*ʿalá taqāsīm al-burhān*).[6]

Among these, in [*Sūrah II*, entitled] ***The Cow*** (*al-baqarah*), there are two passages containing [allusions to] his distinguishing Signs (*ʿalāmātu-*

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[1] *Wa-hādhā faṣl*^{un} *yaḥtawī ʿalá mawlidi-hi wa-nasabi-hi, wa-maskani-hi wa-qabīlati-hi, wa-mā yakūnu min amri-hi ilá ḥīni mawti-hi, wa-smi-hi wa-asmāʾi abaway-hi.* Either the first three words (garbled in Q2) or else all or part of the above are marked as a subj.-heading in all of the mss. (exc. for M). B has the entire sentence in bold print. Nevertheless, the content is continuous with the preceding chap. as announced in the heading ("The Clear Declaration of the Glorious Scripture," *etc.*). P and W are lacking this entire section, although both have several passages of cryptic script transcribing some of the verses alluded to herein. Regarding Q, which includes some additional material, see App. I.

[2] That is, of course, the Qurʾān and prophetary *ḥadīth* (but use of the term, *khabar*, instead of *ḥadīth* here and below *could* suggest that a source other than the Prophet is intended). V, B2 and Q have *al-wārid* (mentioned) instead of *al-wāḍiḥ*.

[3] This is presumably the Mahdī (see below, n. 51), but the ref. could possibly be to the special Muḥammadan Seal. M thinks that the referent is the prophet, Moses, apparently on the strength of the verse quoted in n. 7, below.

[4] Here, perhaps, allusion is made to the well-known fact that the Mahdī is not treated by name in the *ḥadīth* collections of either al-Bukhārī or Muslim, and, of the three canonical books cited in n. 59, below, only al-Tirmidhī gives trads. on the Mahdī (see his *Fitan*, 52); Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Mājah and Ibn Ḥanbal all mention him, however (see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, *s.v.*). Moreover, if this is what is meant, the statement is rather disingenuous, since, if the kind of allusions that our Ṣūfī makes to the Seal/Mahdī in the Scripture are to be accepted, then, surely, the same *eisegetical* process would yield similar results in the trad. lore. In other words, the fact that the Mahdī is not mentioned in the *ḥadīth* is at least as true of the Qurʾān, sans *kashf*.

[5] Lit., "and I have found him [mentioned in the Scripture] many times." This contention would not necessarily be approved by most Qurʾān scholars.

[6] That is, each prooftext must be taken as one component in the complete doctrine of the Seal, now synthesized in the elucidation of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

hu), his Standing and his Miracles (*makānatu-hu wa-āyātu-hu*);[7] while in [*Sūrah III*] ***The Family of ʿImrān*** (*āl ʿImrān*), are four passages[8] [treating of the Divine] Solicitude (*al-iʿtinā*ʾ) for him before ever his Essence existed (*qabla wujūdi ʿayni-hi*) and the priority of his Glorious Nobility over his existence (*taqaddum sharafi-hi qabla kawni-hi*);[9] of his praiseworthy effects (*āthāru-hu l-ḥamīdah*) and his celebrated deeds (*afʿālu-hu l-mashhūdah*);[10] his affliction with deficiency (*ilḥāqu-hu bi-l-naqṣ*) and disparagement and refutation (*al-ḥaṭṭ wa-l-naqḍ*),[11] and [then, his] release (*al-ḥall*) after having been thus bound and straitened (*al-shadd wa-l-rabṭ*);[12] his [new] Dwelling-place [in Heaven being such that] the "[cosmic] Scatterers" (*al-dhāriyāt*)[13] cannot cause it to change, nor the "[angelic] Reciters" (*al-tāliyāt*)[14] disregard it [in their praise]. His Maker (*khāliqu-hu*) made faith in him incumbent, and his Creator (*fātiqu-hu*) included him in the Law (*al-sharʿ*).[15]

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[7] The two verses are *Qur.* 2: 87 & 253, the first of which (transcribed in cryptic letters on f. 46b of B and copied in P[?], V, W, B2, Z and Q) reads: "Verily, We gave the Scripture to Moses, and We made a series of Messengers to come after him. And We gave the clear proofs (*al-bayyināt*) to Jesus, son of Mary, and We supported him with the Spirit of holiness." The context of the mention of Jesus in v. 253 could be taken to signify his special distinction or "standing" among the prophets (but *cf.* v. 136). *Bayyinah* (a demonstration, proof) may connote an evidentiary sign, or miracle (= *āyah, muʿjizah*). M thinks that the second passage is 2: 136. M and Q2 omit *wa-* before the foll. clause, making it possible to misapply "his standing and his miracles" thereto. On the format of this section in B, see App. III.

[8] In this connection, B and the other ss. mentioned in the preceding note transcribe *Qur.* 3: 45–46; 48–49; 55 & 59 in cryptic script (*qalam ramzī*).

[9] A ref. to *Qur.* 3: 45: "When the angels said: 'O Mary! God gives you glad-tidings of a Word from Him whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, high-honored in This world and the Hereafter, and one of those who are near [to God].'" Ibn al-ʿArabī understands this to mean that Jesus was honored and near to God even before he was conceived in his mother's womb (*cf.* v. 47). This may be taken to signify "his lineage" (*nasabu-hu*). Q2 has garbled the verb.

[10] This refers to *Qur.* 3: 49, where Jesus says to the Israelites: "Lo, I create for you out of clay the form of a bird; then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird, by God's leave. And I heal the blind and the leper, and I give life to the dead, [all] by God's leave." V. 46 also cites Jesus's miraculous speech as a child in the cradle.

[11] Foll. E(?), R and Q2 in reading the first instead of *al-ḥaẓẓ* ([good] fortune), as in all other ss. But R and Q2 also repeat *al-naqṣ* (deficiency) in place of *al-naqḍ*.

[12] *Al-ḥall wa-l-rabṭ* means "[the power] to release and bind"; and *al-ḥall baʿda l-shiddah* suggests the relief at being freed from misfortune. As the Qur'ān knows little of the *Via dolorosa* and explicitly rejects the Christian dogma of the Cross (in 4: 157), it is not clear what prooftext this might refer to, esp. as we are limited to *Sūrah 3*. Perhaps the ref. is to v. 54, referring to the Jews' plan to crucify Jesus, thus signifying the trying conditions under which the saintly prophet lived. The "release," then, would be his ascension into Heaven (v. 55). This line is a good example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mastery of the genre of *sajʿ*, containing elements of rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, or assonance, menopoeia, and perhaps even a kind of "visual rhyme" (*e.g.*, بالنقص والحط والنقض والحل): */Wa-ilḥāqu-hu bi-l-naqṣi wa-l-ḥaṭṭi/ wa-l-naqḍi, wa-ḥallu baʿda l-shaddi wa-l-rabṭi.*

[13] The "dwelling-place" of Jesus with God in Heaven until the Resurrection is

In [*Sūrah IV*] **Women** (*al-nisāʾ*), are four passages[16] [treating of the Seal], in[17] one of which [the latter] joins the Lord of Light (*ṣāḥib al-nūr*), transcending in his Essence (*dhātu-hu*) the false declaration (*qawl al-zūr*) [of those who claimed to have destroyed him];[18] while [another points to] his intimate conversation with his Brethren (*munājātu-hu maʿa ikhwāni-hi*) and his rounding his course (*jawalānu-hu fī maydāni-hi*).[19] [God] distinguished him with truthfulness (*al-ṣidq*) in his speech (*nuṭqu-hu*), making an accurate correspondence (*munāsabah*) between it and his true Nature (*khulqu-hu*).[20] A Word of Admonition

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alluded to in *Qur.* 3: 55. The *dhāriyāt* are strong winds which scatter (*dharat*) the dust. *Sūrah 51* is so-named as it begins with an oath by them. Acc. to ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar al-Bayḍāwī's comm. on this verse, they are "the secondary causes (*al-asbāb*) of the scattering of created beings, angels, and [all] other things" (*Tafsīr al-Qurʾān, loc. cit.*).

[14] See *Qur.* 37: 3, which is an oath by the angelic practitioners of *dhikr* (recitation of God's names and praise).

[15] *Awjaba l-taṣdīqa bi-hi khāliqu-hu/wa-awdaʿa-hu fī l-sharʿi fātiqu-hu.* Instead of the last, Q2 has *wāthiqu-hu*; and M omits the entire second clause. This line could correspond to *Qur.* 3: 50, in which Jesus is made to say: "[I come] confirming the truth (*muṣaddiq*^{an}) of the Torah that is before me, and that I might make lawful (*li-uḥilla*) for you some of that which was forbidden to you [before]. I come to you with a sign (*āyah*) from your Lord, so fear God and obey me (*aṭīʿū-nī*)"; and in v. 55 God declares that He will place the followers of Jesus above the disbelievers (*cf.* also 3: 53 and 4: 159 [and *Rev.* 1: 7]). But the fact that v. 59, where Jesus is equated with Adam, is transcribed in cryptograph suggests strongly that it is the prooftext intended.

[16] Acc. to M, these are *Qur.* 4: 157–58, 163, 171 & 172.

[17] Foll. C, E and R. None of the later ss. have *fī* here.

[18] See *Qur.* 4: 157, which tells of the false report of the Jews that they killed Jesus when, in fact, "God had raised him up to Himself" (v. 158). At this point, V, W and M (all post-10th/16th cent. codices) insert several folios consisting almost entirely of cryptic letters (*ḥurūf ramzīyah*; see Plate XV, p. 585, below), which are simple transcriptions of Qurʾānic verses (from *Sūrahs 2–4*) treating of Jesus. While the cryptography in these mss. is based on that of the 6th/12th cent. ms., B, the older ss. do not give these quotes at this point, although refs. to them are found in the margins of E and C (see App. III, 574–77*sq.*).

[19] This line is problematic since, while it aptly represents the Ṣūfī view of Jesus as a wandering *faqīr*, it does not appear to be attested in *Sūrah 4*. M understands the ref. to be to v. 163, which, by a stretch of the imagination, is plausible (could this be the ref. to "his tribe" in the heading on p. 511?). It does not seem likely that Ibn al-ʿArabī would have mistaken 3: 52–53 as belonging to this *sūrah* (but it is strange that he did not avail himself of those two important verses in his allusions to *Sūrah 3*). *Jāla fī l-maydān* is an expression used in horse-racing.

[20] That is, he spoke truly about his real nature, neither claiming Divinity (as the Christians supposed), nor denying Its unlimited power (as did the Jews). The ref.

(*ḥarfu tanbīh*^{in})[21] came, not one of partition, and [the Seal] made it clear, revealing to sound minds his [true] Station and his Standing C,60
(*manzilatu-hu wa-makānatu-hu*).[22] Thereafter, he told of [this Mystery] in what Abū Yazīd [al-Bisṭāmī][23] indicated of it in his intimate converse (*munājātu-hu*) in the Heaven of the [Divine] Unity (*samā' al-tawḥīd*)[24] when the Lord of the "Chapter of the Night-Journey" (*ṣāḥib sūrat al-isrā'*)[25] caused him to participate in the Most-manifest of the [Divine] Names (*awḍaḥ al-asmā'*).[26]

In [the *Sūrah* of] ***The Table*** (*al-mā'idah*), in eight passages,[27] [are

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is to *Qur.* 4: 172: "The Messiah will not disdain to be a Servant of God (*'abd Allāh*)." *Cf.* also 43: 59.

[21] B2 and Q have the plur., *ḥurūf* (words).

[22] This is an apparent allusion to *Qur.* 4: 171: "O people of the Scripture [*sci.*, Christians]! Do not exceed the bounds in your religion, and say not about God anything but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, was [only] a Messenger of God and His Word (*kalimatu-hu*) which He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him. So believe in God and His Messengers, and say not, '*Three.*' Refrain!—it is better for you! God is only *One* God," *etc.* Thus, Jesus is himself the "word of admonition . . ., not one of partition" (that is, the second of three), as he had sought to make clear (see n. 20, above). The "sound minds" are those among the people of Scripture who did not "exceed the bounds" in their veneration of Jesus.

[23] One of the greatest Ṣūfī masters of the 3rd/9th cent., who was introduced earlier (p. 302 at n. 4). He was celebrated for his *mi'rāj* (mystical ascent into the heavens) and "annihilation in the Divine unity" (*fanā' fī l-tawḥīd*), to which the foll. refers ("Raise me up to Your Unity, that when Your creatures see me they will be seeing You"). Ibn al-'Arabī here presents this *Uwaysī* proponent of mystical abandon (*sukr*) and non-dualism as another protégé of the Seal of sainthood.

[24] See Badawī, ed., *Shaṭaḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah*, pp. 138–41, tr. in R.C. Zaehner's *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, pp. 198–210. As for the *samā' al-tawḥīd*, the expression evidently refers to the famous passage also recorded in the *Shaṭaḥāt* (p. 116; tr. by Zaehner in *op. cit.*, pp. 212–14), in which the Ṣūfī becomes a bird "whose body was of oneness (*al-aḥadīyah*)" and who "oversaw the union (*al-tawḥīd*)."

[25] *Sūrah 17* (see v. 1), which begins: *Subḥāna lladhī asrá bi-'abdi-hi* (Glory be to Him Who carried His Servant by night). The *Ṣāḥib* (Lord) is God as the One to Whom praise (*tasbīḥ*) is due.

[26] It is not clear which name is intended, but several possible referents may be found in the passage cited in n. 24, above (*e.g.*, *al-Ḥaqq*, tr. by Zaehner as "the Truth" in *ibid.*, p. 204).

[27] The verses in *Sūrah 5* which mention Jesus are: 17, 46, 72–74, 75, 78, 110, 112–115 and 116–118. Of the eight qualities of the Seal listed in what follows, it may be possible to find correspondences for each among those passages: *e.g.*, his "knowledge" and his "rank" are implicit in v. 110, *et al.*; "his clearest light" is mentioned in v. 46; his "sincerest heart/soul" refers to the words, "You know what is in my heart/mind" (*nafs-ī*), in v. 116; his "wise guidance/counsel" could apply to vv. 46, 72–74, 112 or 117; "his annulling (*taḥrīdu-hu*)" of his disciples' polytheism is represented in vv. 72–73; his "urging on" (*taḥrīd/taḥdīd*) to the truth of the Divine unity is attested in vv. 112 and 117, *et al.*; and "his apportionment" of sustenance (*takhṣīṣ al-rizq*) refers to vv. 112–115, describing the institution of the Eucharist. It must be kept in mind that it is not our author's intention that these refs. to Jesus

to be found references to the Seal's] deep-rooted Knowledge (*ʿilmu-hu l-rāsikh*), his high-towering Rank (*manṣibu-hu l-shāmikh*), his clearest Light (*nūru-hu l-awḍaḥ*), his sincerest Heart (*sirru-hu l-anṣaḥ*),[28] his wise Guidance (*naṣḥu-hu*), annulling (*taḥrīḍu-hu*) [of polytheism],[29] apportionment (*takhṣīṣu-hu*) [of sustenance], and his urging on (*taḥḍīḍu-hu*) [to the Divine Unity].

[The Seal's mission] to explicate the Text [of the Scripture] (*taṣrīḥ al-naṣṣ*) caused him to cleave to the Lesser World (*al-ʿālam al-anqaṣ* [*sci.*, Man])[30] in order to complete his knowledge and refine his understanding.[31] [For] the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*) addresses mankind (*ʿibādu-hu*) by means of [the Seal's] Words (*maqūlu-hu*)—just as He does in the case of His Prophets and His Apostles[32]—prompting him to speak of acts hidden in the transcendent Essence (*al-afʿāl al-mughayyabah fī l-ʿayn*) when He causes him to return from the World of Abiding (*ʿālam al-baqāʾ*) to the World of the obscurity of [conditioned] Existence (*ʿālam labs al-kawn*),[33] reclaiming [from him, as it were] his lofty Portion (*ḥaẓẓu-hu l-aʿlá*) among the Most-exalted Stations (*al-maqāmāt al-ʿulá*). He was admitted to the lower [ranks] (*al-suflá*), relinquishing the Most-exemplary Way (*al-ṭarīqah al-muthlá*).[34] His Secret/Heart (*sirru-hu*) was united with his Lord in love until the end of [their] period of closeness;[35]

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as the Seal of the saints be understood by the uninitiated reader, and so the allusions are generally equivocal enough for plausible deniability.

[28] Foll. V, which has the last instead of the pointing of E and M (*al-anḍaḥ*), and C (*al-anḍakh*). Both printed edns. read *al-afṣaḥ* (the purest). B2 omits this and the preceding clause.

[29] For this sense of *taḥrīḍ*, see Lane *s.v. ḥarraḍa*. E, R(?) and M(?) appear to read *taḥrīfu-hu* ("his alteration/corruption of language"; *cf. Qur.* 4: 46).

[30] Foll. C and M: *Lāṭa-hu bi-l-ʿālami l-anqaṣi/ taṣrīḥu l-naṣṣi.* Q2 has *bi-* before *taṣrīḥ*. *Al-ʿālam al-anqaṣ* = *al-ʿālam al-aṣghar* (the microcosm). M suggests that the ref. is to "the world of existence and sense-perception." The verb, *lāṭa*, is apparently cognate with the name of the prophet, Lot (Lūṭ).

[31] *Li-takmīli ʿilmi-hi wa-tanqīḥi fahmi-hi.* The story of the stranger on the road to Emmaus (*Luke* 24: 25–32) could be compared with profit to the moral of this passage.

[32] Note the explicit assertion of the *walī*'s doctrinal authority as being comparable to that of the apostles and prophets.

[33] Or, possibly: "the world [which is in] the garb (*libs*) of existence." Though it would be unwarranted to see in this an allusion to the Christian notion of "incarnation", still the idea is much the same from the esoteric perspective. Specifically, the ref. is to Jesus's second coming (*parousia*) for the eschaton, after his sojourn in Heaven foll. his (apparent?) death.

[34] For M's comm. on this, see App. I.

[35] *Ittaḥada sirru-hu bi-rabbi-hi/ taʿashshuq*^{an} *li-nsilākhi zamāni qurbi-hi*: In the *Fuṣūṣ* (I, 90), Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that "each created being is related to God only as His being its particular Lord [*Rabbu-hu khāṣṣat*^{an}], since its relationship to (God) as the All is impossible" (*Bezels*, 106). Z breaks off suddenly at this point.

but then he willed to retrace his way (*madraju-hu*)[36] and follow upon B,45 his road (*manhaju-hu*) [to existence in the World]. Thereafter, he was (*sic*) proclaimed by the tongue of polytheism (*bi-lisān al-shirk*) to be among the "Great Ones" (*nūdiya fī l-aʿyān*)[37] in the "courtyards of existence" (*ʿaraṣāt al-kiyān*)—while he [himself] was quite acquitted of falsehood (*al-ifk*) [by God's own testimony].[38] For [the Seal] duly affirmed the Oneness [of God] (*waḥḥada*) and called upon [Him] to bear witness (*istashhada*)[39] [thereto]; and he prostrated himself (*sajada*) before the Sole One (*al-Wāḥid al-Aḥad*).[40]

In [the *Sūrah* of] ***The Cattle*** (*al-anʿām*) is a passage which is sewn with a stitch that is not rent (*ratq*^{un} *lā yuftaqu*), as [God] made it in a form that is never worn out (*khalq*^{un} *lā yukhlaqu*).[41] And in [the *Sūrah* called] ***Immunity*** (*barāʾah*)[42] is a passage [having to do with

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[36] Instead of *ʿalá madraji-hi*, Q2 has *ʿan mudraki-hi* (? see Lane, *s.v. mudrak*).

[37] Q2 has garbled this and the foll. clause.

[38] *E.g.*, in *Qur.* 5: 116–118. I read *wa-barraʾa-hu*, as in E and R, in preference to *wa-l-barāʾah* (and the disavowal/innocence) in all other ss. The latter would have to be read, "by the tongue of polytheism and the disavowal of falsehood," which does not make sense.

[39] See *ibid.*, where Jesus is made to aver to God: "It is not mine to say what I have no right to [*viz.*, that he is a God]. If I did say it, then You well know it, knowing all that is in my soul," and he goes on to point out that God is "a Witness (*Shahīd*) over all things." At this point, the text of B resumes (on f. 45), but it is illegible in parts.

[40] These are both Divine names (in *Qur.* 112: 1 and 39: 4, *et al.*).

[41] As voc. in E. I read this as the pass. of Form IV, but it could also be Form I (is not created). There is only one verse in *Sūrat al-Anʿām* in which is found a specific mention of Jesus—v. 85, which names him, in addition to several other prophets, as being among the "righteous" (*al-ṣāliḥūn*). It is hard to imagine that such an apparently innocuous ref. could elicit the curious metaphor presented here. Rather, I would suggest that this may be a very cautious allusion to v. 73, which can be construed as stating that the Seal/Mahdī as the "word" of God (*kalimah* = *qawl*) is *al-ḥaqq* (Massignon's "creative truth" = the Divine *Kun*, or *Fiat*): "He it is Who created the heavens and the earth by means of the Truth (*bi-l-ḥaqq*); and on the day when He will say, 'Be!' and it *is* (*kun fa-yakūnu*), His Word is [again] the Truth (*qawlu-hu l-ḥaqq*); and His will be the dominion (*al-mulk*) on the day when the trumpet is blown. . . ." The imagery of a sewn fabric (*ratq*) and its rending (*fatq*), signifying creation, is employed in *Qur.* 21: 30 (*al-ratq*, like the *ʿanqāʾ*, is a metonym for prime matter among the later Ṣūfīs). In *Sūrah 6*, v. 96, God is called "the Splitter of the dawn (*Fāliq al-iṣbāḥ*)," and, in v. 95, "the Splitter of the grain and the date-stone [for sprouting]," which is an image for His bringing forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living (*cf. 1 Cor.* 15: 35–38). In our present passage, Jesus's body is described as a fabric which is not torn (signifying both that he did not die and that he will not have to be "recreated" for the Resurrection) because God has made him with a "physical constitution" (*khalq*) which does not become worn (*lā yakhlaqu*). V is wanting the second clause.

[42] This is the first word of *Sūrah 9*, usually denominated "Repentance" (*al-tawbah*), and a variant title for it.

the fact that] when [the Seal] gave notification of the truth of his 74
Nobility of Soul (*ḥaqīqat sharaf nafsi-hi*), he made it dependent upon what is appropriate to his humanity (*jinsu-hu*).[43] In ***Mary*** (*Maryam*) are two passages [in which *apparent*] "immorality" (*fasād*) was justified,[44] and the fire of wilfulness (*al-ʿinād*) was extinguished.[45] In ***The Prophets*** (*al-anbiyāʾ*) is a passage in which he grows up (*zakiya*), and he becomes pure (*tazakkā*);[46] he is summoned, and he tarries not.[47]

In [the *Sūrah*] ***The Believers*** (*al-muʾminūn*), he augers ill, so he hunkers down;[48] [the land] abounds, and he carouses.[49] In ***The*** [***Angelic***] ***Phalanxes*** (*al-ṣāffāt*)[50] [God] hints at [the Seal's] Brother [*sci.*, the Mahdī?] along with the troop of his sons.[51] In ***Counsel*** (*al-shūrá*) is a passage which paves the way (*al-sabīl*) for him, and makes known the conditions of Revelation (*asbāb al-tanzīl*).[52] In ***Ornaments of Gold*** (*al-zukhruf*) is a passage giving notice of his Station in a manner irresistibly irrefutable.[53] In ***Iron*** (*al-ḥadīd*) is a passage [in which] he is admitted [to the list of Prophets] at the "End" (*al-yāʾ* [= the *Omega*])[54]—it not being possible that he be followed (*matlūw*), for he is a Faithful One, a Saint (*ṣiddīq walī*); whereas the Prophet, verily, *he* is the One Followed (*al-matlūw*), not the Follower (*al-tālī*).[55] The Saint is the Client under [his rule] (*al-mawlá ʿalay-hi*), not the Ruler (*al-wālī*). [Then] in ***The Ranks*** (*al-ṣaff*) are two passages [in which] he is spoken of and he speaks, when he restores the Religion of [Moses, and then he foretells] the end of the long Delay (*al-miṭāl*) [with the coming of Muḥammad].[56] And in ***The Forbidding*** (*al-taḥrīm*) he is made sacrosanct (*ḥurrima*); [God] grants him the sacred Place (*al-maqām*), and he is kept [from all harm] (*sullima*).[57]

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[43] *Nāṭa-hu bi-mā yasara min jinsi-hi.* E, R and Q2 have garbled the first. One meaning of the verb, *yasara*, said of a woman, is "to have an easy or painless childbirth". *Jinsu-hu*: "his race, type". The only refs. to Jesus in *Sūrah 9* are vv. 30–31, where the Christians are severely censured for making him the son of God (*ibn Allāh*). This, again, signifies "his lineage" (*nasabu-hu*).

[44] Foll. E: *Buwwiḥa fasād*^{un}, in preference to C, B2 and both edns., which read *tuwwija* (was crowned). R, V and M also garble the verb. Those who read "corruption was crowned" evidently understand the ref. to be to those who rebuked Mary when she returned home with the infant, Jesus (see *Qur.* 19: 27–28). E's reading is more interesting, making Mary's (alleged) immorality [*sci.*, her premarital conception of Jesus] the proper subj. Although no western dictionary lists a IInd form for *b-w-ḥ*, it may be assimilated to Form IV, *abāḥa* (to make allowable). Blachère records Ibn Ḥazm's usage of the expression, *ibāḥat al-ḥarīm*, to mean "prostitution" (in the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, p. 364).

[45] Again, the ref. is not to those who questioned Mary's purity, but rather to her own separating herself (*ʿinād* = *muʿānadah*: "disobedience, wilfulness; distancing o.s.") from her people to a place in the East (*makān sharqī*) in vv. 16–17. M understands the "quenching of the fire of wilfulness" to be Jesus's subduing of *fitnah* (dissension) in the eschaton. Instead of *al-ʿinād*, Q2 has *al-ʿanān* (? the clouds). It is worth noting that some of the most important christological verses in the Qurʾān occur in *Sūrah 19*—namely, vv. 30–34*sq.*—yet Ibn al-ʿArabī makes no overt ref. to them in his text. In cryptic letters, however, on the folio immediately foll. his quotation of verses from the second and third *sūrah*s (see above, n. 7), he has written as follows [secret script in square brackets]:

> For God (Praised be He!) has called him: ["The Messiah, Jesus" (*al-Masīḥ, ʿĪsá*; see *Qur.* 3: 45)]. And God (Be He Praised!) has called him in another place in His Glorious Book through [the mouth of ———] (May God bless and keep him!): [the Servant of God (*ʿabd Allāh*)]. For He said [(Be He Exalted!): "Verily, I am the Servant of God. He has given me the Scripture and made me a Prophet. And He has made me Blessed wheresoever I may be. . . ." (*Qur.* 19: 30–31)].

See App. III, 574–76*sq.*, for an account of this significant passage.

[46] This could also be read: "In 'The Prophets' is [mention of] a chaste place (*mawḍiʿ zakī*), such that he [who came from thence] was pure (*fa-tazakkā*)." The *mawḍiʿ zakī* in this case would be the womb/vulva of the virgin Mary, of whom it is said in *Qur.* 21: 91 that *aḥṣanat farja-hā*, "she kept herself chaste, untouched" (*cf.* 19: 20). Because of her purity, God breathed into her His Spirit (= Jesus), "and We made her and her son a Sign (*āyah*) for all people" (21: 91; *cf.* also 66: 12).

[47] Though Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to mention only one passage (*mawḍiʿ*) for *Sūrah 21* (but *cf.* preceding note), it would appear that this clause is to be applied to vv. 26–27, the first of which refers to the Christians' polytheism, while the second declares that all of the apostolic messengers (*rusul*) speak and act only as they are commanded by God.

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[48] Foll. M: *Tashaʾʾamah* [or: *tashāʾama*] *fa-rabaʿa*. The latter verb (*q.v.* in Lane) is cognate with *rabʿ/marbaʿ* (an abode, a place for settling down), which refers to Mary and Jesus's refuge in *Qur.* 23: 50: "And We made the son of Mary and his mother a Sign, and We gave them refuge on a Height (*rabwah*), a place of a standing pool and running springs." M identifies this refuge as either "Jerusalem, for it is elevated, or else Damascus, or Ramla in Palestine, or Egypt." *Tashaʾʾamah* may also mean: "to become Syrian (*shaʾmī*)". Many ss. have garbled the second verb.

[49] *Wa-akhṣaba wa-rataʿa*. For the latter verb, *cf. Qur.* 12: 12.

[50] These are the angelic hosts in battle array mentioned in *Qur.* 37: 1, and also in v. 165. Indeed, they are the speakers of vv. 164–66, and probably those who are addressed in vv. 22–28. If so, then they are also the speakers in vv. 29–32. From v. 149 till the end of the chap., *al-Ṣāffāt* treats of the position of the angels, who were believed by the pagan Arabs to be offspring (daughters) of God.

[51] *ʿArraḍa bi-akhī-hi/ maʿa jumlati banī-hi.* There is no overt mention of Jesus in *Sūrah 37*. Moreover, Ibn al-ʿArabī finds no esoteric *mawḍiʿ* relating to the Seal of the saints there, but, rather, an allusion which he takes to be to the Seal's "brother," the Mahdī, and his troop. M believes the referent to be Abraham, the "father of many," whose story is recounted in vv. 83–111, but this seems to me improbable (despite the interesting passage above, pp. 497–98, where Abraham is presented as a type of the Seal/Mahdī). I would suggest that the ref. might be to vv. 171–73, where God says: "Our Word (*kalimatu-nā*) has already gone forth to Our servants, the Messengers (*al-mursalūn*); [these Messengers], assuredly, shall be victorious (*al-manṣūrūn*), and Our army (*jundu-nā*), most certainly, shall be triumphant (*al-ghālibūn*)." Now, the Qurʾānic *kalimat Allāh* is Jesus (4: 161, *et al.*), but here he is in his capacity as eschatological Commander rather than mystical Seal. The *mursalūn* are the angelic host (*jund*) under the command of the Mahdī, and, in that sense, figuratively, "his sons" (or the Seal's?). The angels are called "sons of *God*" in the Heb. Scripture [*e.g.*, in *Job* 38: 7 and *Hos.* 1: 10], while this is anathema to Muslims (but *cf.* preceding note [end]). The eschatological nature of the "Word of God" here is clearer in a phrase of similar structure in 42: 14.

[52] In *Qur.* 42: 13, Noah, Abraham and Moses are mentioned as having preceded Jesus in that which he was commissioned with—the establishment of religion (*al-dīn*) and the protection of communal unity therein. The *asbāb al-nuzūl* are the occasions, or pre-existing circumstances, in which revelations were received, not their "reasons".

[53] *Lā yuraddu/ bi-burhān*^{in} *lā yuṣaddu.* This refers to *Qur.* 43: 57–59: "And when the son of Mary is cited as an example, your people [*sci.*, the pagan Meccans] raise a clamour against him (*min-hu yuṣiddūna*). . . . They do not mention him to you except to dispute (*jadal*^{an})." "His station" is probably a ref. to v. 59, where Jesus is said to be a "servant of God" (*ʿabd Allāh*; *cf.* also vv. 63–64), but it could as arguably allude to the controversial v. 61: "Verily, he is Knowledge/a Banner of the [last] Hour (*inna-hu la-ʿilm*^{un}*/ʿalam*^{un} *li-l-sāʿah*)," sometimes cited as a prooftext of Jesus's status as the expected Mahdī.

As for genuine Tradition (*al-khabar al-ṣaḥīḥ*) in such [collections as those of][58] al-Bukhārī and Muslim,[59] consider what Ibn Baṭṭāl[60] and

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[54] *Ulḥiqa bi-l-yāʾ. Yāʾ* is the last letter of the Arabic alphabet. Thus, Jesus is the *yāʾ*/omega, as Adam is the *alif*/alpha (one wonders if Ibn al-ʿArabī might not have been unaware that the Heb. and Gr. names of Jesus begin with *y*/*i*). The ref. is to *Qur.* 57: 27: "Then We caused our Messengers to follow in the footsteps of [Noah and Abraham and their descendents among the prophets]; and We caused Jesus, son of Mary, to follow," *etc.* C(?), V, B2, M and Q all have *tāliy*^{an} ("as a follower"—*cf.* the end of the next clause) instead of *bi-l-yāʾ*.

[55] "For the class of the prophet [has to do with] lawgiving (*al-tashrīʿ*) for his people; hence, he is 'followed' (*matbūʿ*) in this respect, while the saint is a follower (*tābiʿ*) of the prophet of his age as to the legal provisions (*al-aḥkām*)" (M). It would be possible to maintain that Jesus is the spiritual "follower" of the historical Muḥammad for Ibn al-ʿArabī in a way comparable to the Christian view of him as a spiritual successor of Moses (esp. since Christians came to reduce this to a merely socio-historical succession). Although it is important to note well the characteristic caveat in the foll. line, the mere fact that the terms of the discussion are so equivocal by itself argues in favor of entertaining the comparison.

[56] *Qīla ʿan-hu fa-qāla/ wa-radda dīna-hu fa-zāla l-miṭālu. Miṭāl* is the *maṣdar* of *māṭala*, "to tarry, temporize" (not, as M explains it, a syn. of *miḥāl*). The ref. is apparently to *Qur.* 61: 6: And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: "O children of Israel, verily, I am the Messenger of God unto you, confirming (*muṣaddiq*^{an}) that which was [revealed] before me in the Torah, and bearing Glad-tidings (*mubashshir*^{an}) of a Messenger who will come after me whose name is Aḥmad [a.k.a., Muḥammad]." If this is Jesus *speaking*, then, presumably, his being "spoken of" refers to v. 14, which describes his calling his disciples to be God's helpers (*anṣār Allāh*). Q2 has *dhanbu-hu* (his sin) instead of *dīnu-hu*.

[57] The "sacred place" is, again, the virgin womb of Mary, mentioned in *Qur.* 66: 12 (*cf.* above, n. 46).

[58] V, B2 and Q omit *mithl* before the names.

[59] Muḥ. b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Abū l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875). Their collections of *ḥadīth*, styled *Al-Ṣaḥīḥān* (the two "Sound Collections"), are the most authoritative of the six canonical books of tradition. At this point, V and M add the remainder of the second folio of secret script, transcribing what follows: "Thereafter, the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) said of [Jesus], according to what Muslim in his *Musnad*, and al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī (May

the author of THE BOOK OF THE INFORMER (*K. al-Muʿlim*)[61] suggest [concerning this]—and other instances of the Clear Verses [of B,45b
the Scripture] (*al-āyāt al-bayyināt*).[62] Indeed, the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be upon him!)[63] met with [Jesus, the Seal of the Saints][64] in the "Earth out of which Adam (Peace be upon him!) was created."[65] In this Earth/Land are marvels the hearing of which stupefies and their grotesqueness distresses.[66] I have already told of this Land and the wonders and curiosities it contains in a book which I devoted to them with the title, THE BOOK OF INFORMING (*K. al-Iʿlām*) AS TO THE WONDERS WHICH GOD CREATED IN THE EARTH MADE OUT OF

God be pleased with them!) have related, . . . that 'Jesus, son of Mary, will descend upon you as a just imām and upright judge (*imām muqsiṭ wa-ḥakam ʿadl*), and he will break the cross (*al-ṣalīb*) and destroy the swine. . . .' And he described him (*naʿata-hu*) and portrayed him (*waṣafa-hu*), saying of him that 'his hair [will be] dripping wet, [the drops of water like pearls (*jumān ka-l-luʾluʾ*)] as though he had just emerged from a vault (*daymās*)'—that is to say, a bath." The first trad. is found in Muslim, *Īmān*, 242 & 243, and in Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 54 (*cf.* also Bukhārī, *Maẓālim*, 31, *Buyūʿ*, 102, and *Anbiyāʾ*, 49, *et al.*); the second is in Muslim, *Īmān*, 272, and Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr* on *Sūrah 4*. On M's comm., see App. I.

[60] This is undoubtedly ʿAlī b. Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Baṭṭāl (Abū l-Ḥasan), a traditionist of Cordoba (he was also called *al-Jayyānī*, of Jaén), d. 449/1057, who wrote a comm. on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which could be the ref. here (see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums*, vol. I, p. 118). Thus, this and the work cited in the next note are local comms. on the two main canonical collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. See App. I.

[61] This is probably the *K. al-Muʿlim bi-Fawāʾid [Ṣaḥīḥ] Muslim* (The Informing of the Benefits of [the Collection of] Muslim), a comm. by the Mālikite *ḥāfiẓ*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. al-Tamīmī al-Māzarī (d. 536/1141; see *G.A.S.*, vol. I, p. 136). For further refs., *etc.*, see App. I.

[62] This is a common expression in the Qurʾān (*e.g.*, in 2: 99 and 22: 16). W and P resume at this point after a hiatus of two pages of the Arabic text (beginning from p. 512 of our trn.). It is evident that the pages of cryptography were to be inserted at this juncture, so that we actually have a run-on sentence where I have placed the dash—referring to *ḥadīth*s, before, and to Qurʾānic verses other than those transcribed from *Sūrah*s *2, 3* and *19*, after the dash.

[63] As in B, E, R and Q2. The other ss. have the usual benediction reserved for the Prophet.

[64] *Ijtamaʿa bi-hi.* This meeting with Jesus is presumably the one described in the various legends of the Prophet's ascension (*miʿrāj*) into the heavens, recounted also by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *K. al-Isrāʾ* (see above, p. 450 at n. 36), though there is no mention of an *arḍ al-ḥaqīqah* there.

[65] *Al-arḍu llatī khuliqa min-hā Ādam.* This is generally called the "land of reality" (*arḍ al-ḥaqīqah*). Acc. to M, "this is the holy and pure 'land of the gathering-place' (*arḍ al-maḥshar*), of the grace and excellence of which accounts have reached us from before and after [the appearance of] Islam." An example of the former would be the Elysian fields of the Greeks. See the note after the next.

[66] W, V, B2 and both edns. have garbled the last phrase (*yakburu stibshāʿu-hu*).

WHAT REMAINED OF THE CLAY [*baqīyat al-ṭīnah*] OF ADAM (Peace be upon him!).[67]

Know that [the Seal's] time [of activity] (*zamānu-hu*) consists of four ["Years"] in the form of the Primordial Decades (*al-ʿuqūd al-uwal*),[68] in accordance with what was marked out for him in Eternity (*mā khuṭṭa la-hu fī l-azal*). Thus, the first "Year" is as a month [in this world], the second "Year" as a week, the third as a day, and the fourth an hour—while the rest of the "Years" are as the fleeting impressions of fancies and fantasies (*khaṭarāt al-amānī wa-l-awhām*). With his Sealing (*bi-khatmi-hi*), he will go down (*ẓā’il*) from his [topmost] Degree and emerge (*ẓāhir*) with the knowledge of another than himself (*bi-ʿilmi ghayri-hi*),[69] not his own, proceeding in (*jār*^{in}) [the power of that other's] authority (*ḥukmu-hu*), different from his own.[70] Were he not to come forth in this Knowledge, nor judge by this Standard of authority, he would not be deserving of the Station of the Seal, and Sainthood (*wilāyah*) would not be sealed by him, nor true Guidance (*hidāyah*) be fulfilled in him.[71]

Verily, [the Seal] has two congregations (*ḥashrān*)[72] and his morning

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[67] *K. al-Iʿlām bi-Mā Khalaqa Llāh min al-ʿAjā’ib fī l-Arḍ allatī Khuliqat min Baqīyat Ṭīnat Ādam* (*ʿalay-hi l-salām*). *Cf.* Yahia, 309–10 (*no.* 281a.). This early work, described by Ibn al-ʿArabī as a "long book" (in *Fut.* I, 131) would seem to be no longer extant, exc. in the form of the treatment (revision?) of the same subj. in Chap. 8 of the *Futūḥāt* (I, 126–31; partially tr. by Corbin in his *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*, pp. 135–43). Neither Jesus nor Muḥammad are treated in that chap., however.

[68] While the reign of the Mahdī/Jesus was usually said to last five, 7 or 9 [years] (see, *e.g.*, *Fut.* III, 331 [7 & 34]–332 [1], quoting *Musnad*, III, 21; tr. by Morris in *Illuminations*, 124–25), it was sometimes extended to forty (see *Muqaddimah*, II, 193–94). The "time" of the Seal in what follows here comes to s.th. less that forty *days* of natural time.

[69] *Ẓā’il* and *ẓāhir* are astronomic terms, signifying the setting and rising of a celestial body (*sci.*, the "western sun").

[70] *Jār*^{in} (proceeding) also suggests the movement of a celestial body (see preceding note). This refers to the fact that in his second coming Jesus will be the Seal of the *saints*, not a prophet, and, hence, he will not bring a new law (*sharʿ* = here, both *ʿilm* and *ḥukm*) nor reinstate the Christian law, but will abide by that of Muḥammad. M explains that Jesus's *ḥukm* is "distinct from the ancient *ḥukm* [= 'old dispensation'] which guided the sons of Israel," even as the "knowledge of another" in the preceding clause is the Qur’ān as opposed to the Gospel. Q2 has *mulku-hu* (his dominion) instead of *ḥukmu-hu*.

[71] *Wilāyah* (to rhyme with *hidāyah*) may be thought to signify the function or power of the *walī*, as opposed to his nature as such, designated by *walāyah* (nearness [to God], sainthood). We may say, then, that we have here refs. to the "political" authority of the Seal of the saints (*wilāyah*) and the rightly-guided Mahdī (*hidāyah*).

[72] That is, the Christians (who follow Jesus as a prophet), on the one hand, and

(*subḥu-hu*)[73] two "dawns" (*fajrān*),[74] while his countenance has two lights,[75]
and in his keeping are two [kinds] of Knowledge, with two worlds **75**
which he associates in [one] Rule (*ḥukm*)—one of which he prompts
to reign [over the other],[76] for he is the "Lord of Two Dominions"
(*ṣāḥib ḥukmayn*). He is of a foreign people (*al-ʿajam*), not an Arab.[77]
His complexion is of a fair, ruddy hue, his hair reddish,[78] and he is
rather tall than short. He is like the radiant full-moon (*al-badr al-*
azhar). His name is: *ʿAbd Allāh* (the Servant of God)—that being
the name of every [true] Servant to God (*ʿabd li-Llāh*).[79] As for the B,47
Name by which he is particularly distinguished [*viz.*, *ʿĪsá* (Jesus)], no (*sic*)
inflection (*iʿrāb*)[80] occurs therein, as it "operates without restriction"
(*yataṣarrafu*)[81] in the [esoteric] art of the grammar of Arabic (*ṣināʿat*
al-iʿrāb):[82] [The Name] begins with the Eye/Source of Certitude (*ʿayn*

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true Muslims, who recognize his priority over the saints, on the other (see *Fut.* II, 49 [20–21], tr. in App. IV, 594).

[73] Instead of this, Q2 has *ṣuḥbu-hu* (his adherents/companions).

[74] M proposes that this signifies a false and a true daybreak, but the ref. is probably, rather, to the exoteric/esoteric, or prophetic/saintly dichotomy.

[75] For the many connotations of *wajh* (face; purpose; outset; favor), as well as the two kinds of *nūr* (light), sensual and supersensual, see Lane, *s.v.*

[76] *Wa-yakhuṣṣu aḥada-humā bi-ḥukm*^{in}. The Muslims (*sci.*, saints) shall rule over the Christians (those committed to following an outmoded law).

[77] "All of the prophets and apostles, except for five or six, were non-Arab" (M).

[78] *Ādimu l-lawni, aṣhabu.* The Mahdī was so described (see *Muqaddimah*, II, 194). A ruddy complexion was stereotypically associated with the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*), but, in fact, it was as common among the Andalusians (even the frankophobic Ibn Ḥazm confessed a preference for blondes). For what it may be worth, the 9th/15th-cent. hagiographer, al-Qārī' al-Baghdādī, imagined Ibn al-ʿArabī himself as having been "fair, with reddish-gold mustachios and long, wavy hair, neither lank nor curly" (*Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Manāqib al-Shaykh Muḥyi l-Dīn*, p. 21).

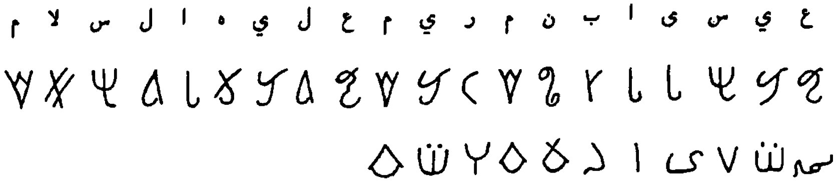
[79] See above, n. 45, where Ibn al-ʿArabī quotes *Qur.* 19: 30: "[Jesus] said, 'Verily, I am the Servant of God (*ʿabd Allāh*).'"

[80] *Iʿrāb*: "to give an Arabic form to s.th". Here it signifies the full, triptotic inflection of most native Arabic names. The name, *ʿĪsá*, being of foreign origin, is not declinable in Arabic (see Jeffrey, *s.v.*).

[81] Foll. E, R(?), V and B2, which have read thus, in preference to the other ss. (B is unclear), which have Form VII, *yanṣarifu*, also meaning "it is inflected". On *taṣarruf* (free disposal of s.th., independent action; magical control), see pp. 352, n. 63, and 484, n. 6. I am not certain of the meaning of this line. It seems that Ibn al-ʿArabī is playfully interpreting the freedom of Jesus's name from the formal Arabic grammar of inflection (*taṣarruf*) to evince his independence of "natural laws" (= *taṣarruf*) in life. As Lane notes, this verb is also used of s.th. that can be employed in more than one way, "as though it were turned from one way to another way" (*s.v.*), so that we may detect here a hint of the kind of "ineffable name" (familiar to the *ḥurūfī*, or occult, literature of many traditions) that can be read in multiple directions.

[82] For the sense of *ṣināʿah* (art, science, discipline) intended here, see Dozy, *s.v.*; and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, vol. I, pp. 162–66.

al-yaqīn)[83] and ends with the Eternality of Enablement (*qayyūmīyat al-tamkīn*).[84] The half of the Sphere (*nisf dā'irat al-falak*) on the side which is perishing (*halaka*) is called by no other Name than his, while he does not know his Father (*abū-hu*) [—that is, the other, *increasing* hemisphere?].[85] If you say he halts (*waqafa*), [he is as tall as] a cypress-tree (*sarwalah*);[86] and if [you say] he walks (*mashá*), he proceeds [in something] between a quick pace (*al-sa'y*) and a trot (*al-harwalah*).[87] Pleasing in speech, Praiseworthy in deed—that is he! So, *know* him:[88]



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[83] *Cf. Qur.* 102: 7, where the meaning is "certain knowledge". On the concept of *yaqīn* (certitude) in Sahl al-Tustarī, see *The Mystical Vision of Existence*, pp. 207–16.

[84] In Arabic, the name of Jesus, *'Īsá*, begins with the letter, *'ayn*, meaning "eye; source; essence", *etc.*, and ends with an *alif maqsūrah* in the form of *yā'*, the last letter in the alphabet, apparently taken to signify here God's perpetual sustaining of creation. On the polarism of *tamkīn* and *ta'yīn* (the latter represented by the cognate term, *'ayn*, in the preceding clause), see Gloss., *s.v. tamkīn.*

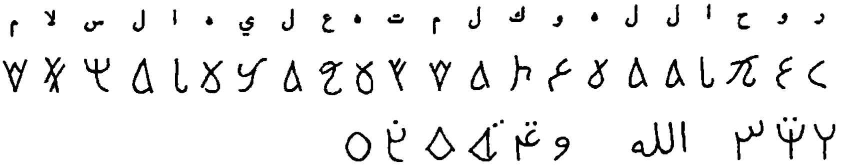
[85] *Cf. John* 3: 30, *et seq.* This is the invisible source, or "hidden treasure," which is the mystery of the "two bows" joined together in Chodkiewicz's insightful interpretation of *Qur.* 53: 9 (see *Seal*, 172). In view of the preceding line, it is also possible that Ibn al-'Arabī is drawing attention to the fact that both the first and last letters of the name of Jesus occur in the second, "waning" half of the Arabic alphabet, conceived as a recurring cycle. As for "his father," whose name would make up the patronymic, the normative Muslim view is that, like Adam, Jesus had no progenitor. Here Ibn al-'Arabī clearly implies that this is not the case, however, and in the poem at the beginning of Chap. 557 of the *Futūḥāt* (IV, 195, tr. in App. IV, 601) he specifically refers to Jesus as "the Spirit and the son of the Spirit [of God] and the mother, Mary" (*cf.* n. 90, below). See also App. I.

[86] On *sarwalah*, see Dozy, *s.v.*, who explains that *sarwal* is a Maghribine corruption of *sarw* (a cypress, cedar, evergreen) under the influence of the Spanish terminal, *-al, etc.* The cypress, a type of the tall, graceful figure in Middle Eastern literature, sometimes symbolizes a person of nobility (*sarw*: "munificence, liberality, manly virtue"; see E.J.W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. II, p. 246, n. 6, *et al.* [see ind.]). Here it may stand for the one who "halts" at the "highest" level of his mystic career rather than continuing on in its cyclic development (see Chodkiewicz's remarks on the *wāqif* in *Seal*, 172, just cited). See also the next note.

[87] *Al-sa'y*, of course, is the term for the pilgrim's course between the sacred mounds of *al-Ṣafā* and *al-Marwah* (*q.v.* in *E.I.* 1). Here, however, this clause undoubtedly refers to the ritual "pressing on" (*ifāḍah*) to Miná foll. the "stand" (*wuqūf*) before Mt. 'Arafāt, signified by the preceding clause (*cf. Qur.* 2: 198). *Harwalah*: *khabab* (amble, trot), corresponding to the *ramal* of the *ṭawāf.*

[88] The first set of cryptic letters transcribed into Arabic here reads: *'Īsá ibn Maryam*

—Thus, I have set forth for you the proof (*al-dalīl*) concerning him, clearing the way (*al-sabīl*) for you, closing the door of Exegesis (*bāb al-ta'wīl*) by providing the Text (*al-naṣṣ*) for you;[89] and I have specified his Name and his Lineage (*ismu-hu wa-nasabu-hu*) [in the above cryptograph; and, in the following], his noble [spiritual] Origin and his Office (*sirru-hu l-sharīf wa-manṣibu-hu*):[90]



The Greatest Faithful-One (*al-ṣiddīq al-akbar*) is under his Banner (*taḥta liwā'i-hi*).[91] Indeed, he is the Lord of [all of] the Saints (*sayyid al-awliyā'*), even as our Lord [Muḥammad][92] is the Lord of [God's] Prophets (*sayyid anbiyā'i-hi*).[93] If you would like that I indicate him for you in number (*al-'adad*), and swear to you by this [sacred] Land

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(Jesus, son of Mary), *'alay-hi l-salām* (upon whom be peace!). The first line is copied from *Ms. Berlin 3266* (B), f. 47 [see Plate XIII, p. 583], and the second, which is w/o the benediction, is from f. 60 [margin] of *Ms. Carullah 986* (C) [Plate XIV, p. 584]. For this line in E (our third early source), see App. III, 577. All of the other ss. also have such letters at this point (exc. for R, which has a blank space; and they are garbled in Q2), more or less like those in B (the first line).

[89] Ibn al-'Arabī was not well disposed towards *ta'wīl* ("esoteric" interpretation)—or, at least, he did not favor that term (see *Path*, 199–202; but *cf.* p. 531 at n. 40, below). "The text": either the cryptography or else the Scriptural allusions on pp. 511–19. See App. I.

[90] The letters read: "*Rūḥ Allāh wa-kalimatu-hu* (the Spirit of God and His Word), *'alay-hi l-salām* (upon whom be peace!)." Both of these are canonical epithets for Jesus (here the first is his noble *sirr*, and the second his *manṣib*, or function, as creative logos), although the first is not actually used of him in the Qur'ān but, rather, he is called "a spirit *from* God" (*rūḥ min Allāh*) in 4: 171 (*cf.* also 3: 45). This could be significant since the *rūḥ Allāh* seems to be described as Jesus's "origin" (*sirr* = *aṣl*) in what precedes, leaving open the possibility that It is "his father" mentioned above (see n. 85). Again, the first line of letters is from B, and the second from C. E does not give this line in cryptograph (although it does have the trn. in the margin). Neither C nor E repeat the benediction here. R, again, has left a blank space; and Q2 has garbled the transcription.

[91] On this personage, who is to the Seal as Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was to the Prophet Muḥammad, see above, pp. 231 (at n. 26), 295 (at n. 20), and 336 (at n. 80), *et al.; cf.* also Gloss., *s.v.* M wrongly identifies the *ṣiddīq al-akbar* as the Mahdī.

[92] V, B2 and Q add: "Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!)."

[93] As in E, R, P, W, M and Q2. Instead of the last, B(?), C, *etc.*, have *al-anbiyā'*.

(*al-balad*)[94] which belongs to the Lord of Eternal Refuge (*al-Sayyid al-Ṣamad*),[95] then contemplate him in *Thirty* ciphers,[96] and be a “Meteor keeping watch” (*shihāb raṣad*)[97] against the Satan of your ignorance (*shayṭān jahli-ka*)![98] But if you are incapable[99] of the interpretation (*al-tafsīr*) [of his Number], the Harbinger (*al-bashīr*) will soon bring to you his “shirt” (*qamīṣu-hu*),[100] and then shall your sorrows (*kurūbu-ka*) be lifted away and your “Jacob” (*Yaʿqūbu-ka*)[101] restored as a seer (*baṣīr*).[102] He is divided in his Constitution (*shuqqa fī khalqi-hi*),[103] and bisected as to his Nature and his Reality (*shuṭira fī khulqi-hi wa-ḥaqqi-hi*).[104] So *look* there, and you will find him [to be] *your Father!*[105]

As for the Seal [of the Saints] with regard to Man [in general], it is [actually] an expression for the Station at which you will wind up[106] and before which you shall be brought to stand[107]—it being B,47b each [mystic] Traveller (*sālik*) wherever he arrives, his proper Station wherever he comes to alight. For there is no specific [place] at which to stop, but [only the place] one reaches,[108] the Gnostic (*al-ʿārif*)[109] [himself] disclosing to us its delimitation (*ḥaddu-hu*). But the Seal of [all of] the Stations (*khatm al-maqāmāt*) [is none other than] the Testimony that God is One (*al-tawḥīd*),[110] while the Secrets of Existence (*asrār al-wujūd*) are in superabundance (*mazīd*)!

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[94] *Cf. Qur.* 95: 3. *Balad*: “country, territory, place, element”.

[95] In *Sūrah 112*, entitled “The Confession of Divine Unity” (*al-tawḥīd*), God is called *al-Ṣamad* (the Plenitude, or eternal Refuge) and “the One” (*al-Aḥad*). This *sūrah* also contains the most explicit repudiation of Christian Trinitarian doctrine: “[God] has not begotten and has not been begotten” (v. 3). M, V, B2 and Q do not have *li-* before *al-sayyid al-ṣamad*, indicating that they take the latter to be the Seal himself, which, indeed, is likely enough in any case.

[96] *Fī thalāthīna ʿadad*^{an}. Dr. Chodkiewicz has pointed out to me that the name, *Jesus, son of Mary* (عيسى بن مريم), has a value of *30* in the numerological system called the *jazm al-ṣaghīr* (= qabalistic *Ayq-bekar*, explained in S.L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, pp. 10–11), acc. to which numbers are reduced to their corresponding units (the *alif al-maqṣūrah* here has a value of 1; and the *sīn* is 300 [= 3], in accordance with the *Maghribī* alphabetical order). See App. I.

[97] See *Qur.* 72: 9; and above, p. 231, n. 33.

[98] M glosses this as the lower-soul (*nafsu-ka l-madhmūmah*).

[99] Q and one printing of Q2 have *lam taqif* (you were not informed) instead of *lam taqwa*.

[100] *Cf. Qur.* 12: 93–96, describing how the elderly Jacob’s sight was restored by having his son, Joseph’s, shirt placed on his face.

[101] “That is, your heart and your spirit” (M).

[102] *Yartaddu baṣīr*^{an} *Yaʿqūbu-ka*. This is a pun on *irtadda ʿalá ʿaqibay-hi* (to withdraw, retrace one’s steps).

[103] *Khalq*: “external nature, physical constitution”, *etc.*, as opposed to *khulq* (inner nature, character) in the foll. clause. V, B2 and Q have garbled this.

[104] Here, again, we have the idea of a circle divided into two halves, the one representing the “son” (= *nāsūt*), and the other, the “father,” = *lāhūt* (*cf.* above, at n. 85). While in the first case it is the “father” who is unknown, in the second it is the son (of Jacob) who is lost. What is important to note is that father and son are of one essence (= Gr., *homoousios*), so to speak, though each has his own formal nature and function. I believe that Ibn al-ʿArabī is hinting here at his own special relationship to Jesus as universal Seal of the saints (see *Fut.* I, 3 [2], tr. in App. IV, 591). Where I have read pass. verbs (foll. B), W has verbal nouns.

[105] As in B, C, M, W and Q2. The other ss. (exc. for R, which is unpointed) have *iyyā-ka* (? with you) instead of *abā-ka* (“your father”, acc.).

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[106] V, B2 and Q have "this" before "station," significantly altering the meaning. Q2 has *lā* (not) before the verb: "the station at which you *never* arrive." Thus, both printed edns. have completely missed the remarkably Protagorean point of this statement.

[107] *Wa-yūqafu bi-ka laday-hi.* One printing of Q2 reads: *wa-yaqifu ʿalay-hi* (and he comes to know it).

[108] *Fa-lā yataʿayyanu, fa-yūqafu ʿinda-hu.* V, B2 and Q have garbled the first clause.

[109] Instead of this, Q2 has *al-maʿārif* (the gnostic intellections).

[110] Even as *Al-Tawḥīd* is actually the last *sūrah* (*112*) of the Qur'ān.

VI. The Pearl Following the Foregoing Jacynth[1] 76

Whereas the grapes were [still] within easy reach[2] throughout the declination of the [first] three consecutive centuries [after the *Hijrah*], cluster upon cluster, side by side[3]—[that] state of affairs ended, and it came to be said that "neither wealth nor sustenance remained,"[4] as [people] kept to the Tradition of the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) that came down to them from him:

> Verily, [no] time will pass but the one that comes [after it] shall be worse.[5]

[But] they were unmindful of the *coming*, "Fourth Century" (*al-qarn al-rābiʿ al-ātī*) following the Three [which immediately succeeded the Prophet[6] [—which is to say, the *Seventh* Century A.H., as we infer below][7]—that being the time of the Mahdī and the Saintly Seal (*al-khātam al-walī*)[8] and the descent of Jesus, the Prophet (*ʿĪsá l-nabī*).[9]

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[1] *Al-luʾluʾah al-lāḥiqah bi-l-yāqūtah al-sābiqah.* This also signifies: "the pearl [*sci.*, the Seal] which is joined/united to the above-mentioned jacynth [the Muḥammadan Reality]." My trn. in the text is meant to reflect the fact that the Seal is frequently styled "the follower" (*al-tābiʿ*), and the [Reality of] the Prophet, "the one followed" (*al-matbūʿ*). Q2 has *al-sābiʿah* (the seventh).

[2] *Wa-lammā kānati l-quṭūfu dāniyat*^{an}. *Cf. Qur.* 69: 23 and 76: 14.

[3] *Wa-kāna qitf*^{un} *fawqa qitf*^{in}*/wa-ʿitf*^{un} *fawqa ʿitf*^{in}. There is a pun here with *ʿitfah* (the extremities or tendrils of the vine).

[4] *Mā baqiya khayr*^{un} *wa-lā mayr*^{un}. I have not been able to trace this saying.

[5] *Cf.* Bukhārī, *Fitan*, 6. B2 and Q have *alladhī baʿda-hu* (which [will come] after it) in place of *wa-yaʾtī*, as appears in the trad. cited. To the spiritual and intellectual, history is regression; to the material-technological, progress.

[6] *Wa-ghafalū ʿani l-qarni l-rābiʿi/ l-ātī baʿda l-thalāthati, l-tābiʿi lladhī huwa zamanu l-Mahdī.* C, V and B2 do not have *al-tābiʿ* (though the former adds it in the margin), and Q has, instead, the plur., *al-tawābiʿ*, applied to the "three [months]."

[7] See *infra*. M correlates this "fourth century" and the three before it with the four "primordial decades" of the Seal discussed earlier (see p. 521 at n. 68). I would suggest, rather, that it denotes the fourth of those foll. the first three—*viz.*, *the 7th/13th cent.*, the dawn of which was only a few years in the future at the time of the writing of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see *infra*). The first three, seminal cents. of Islamic history are viewed as the golden age, while the fourth witnessed numerous social and political upheavals and a consequent loss of the comparative unity and coherence of the Arab-dominated polity. Moreover, the fourth cent. was characterized by the eruption of "heterodoxy" throughout Islamdom. While the latter phenomenon soon gave way to a conservative reaction, the general trend of what was universally regarded as a fatal decadence became endemic. As we see below, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī held out hope for a new beginning in the seventh (13th) cent.

[8] Instead of the first, C, E(?) and Q2 have *al-khatm*, meaning much the same.

[9] R adds "Peace be upon him!" Note that here Jesus is *apparently* distinguished from both the Mahdī and the Seal.

That is, when the three [first] Centuries had ended and [the "Month" of] Ṣafar set in, "barrenness (*al-fasād*) appeared" among men,[10] and the ages of calamities (*adwār al-nuḥūs*) succeeded one another in the Spheres (*al-ukar*)[11] until [the "Month" of] Rajab, called "the Separate" (*al-fard*),[12] [but which is, in reality] *joined* to the first of the three Consecutive (*al-sard*) [sacred Months (*viz.*, Dhū l-Qaʿdah, Dhū l-Ḥijjah and al-Muḥarram)]. For it catches up with its [true] Companions (*aṣḥābu-hu*) and distinguishes itself among its [mere] contemporaries (*atrābu-hu*),[13] while the Centuries [similarly] are joined together with the appearance of the Well-preserved Secret (*al-sirr al-maṣūn*).[14] B,48

Dhū l-Ḥijjah is the middle of the Sacred Three and is the most revered of the venerated Months,[15] as it is the Month of the "guaranty of responsibilities" (*ḍamān al-tabiʿāt*)[16] and of forgiveness (*al-maghfirah*) for the people of ʿArafāt [*sci.*, the Pilgrims].[17] For it is the first in excellence (*al-awwal bi-l-faḍlīyah*),[18] but the middle as to temporal order and conventional wisdom (*al-dawrah al-zamānīyah wa-l-ḥikmah al-iṣṭilāḥīyah*).[19] So, then, understand its spirituality (*rūḥānīyatu-hu*), giving it precedence—and *that* in the sense of wisdom, not arbitrary control (*al-ḥikmah, lā l-taḥkīm*);[20] for it is the *First*, even though the middle—in that I utter no exaggeration!

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[10] *Cf. Qur.* 30: 41. *Ṣafar* is the second month of the Islamic (now lunar) calendar which probably orig. fell in winter (E misspells this as *Safar*). The name may be cognate with the word, *ṣifr* (empty, void; zero). This could suggest that *fasād*, usually tr. as "corruption, evil", should here be rendered "barrenness, dearth", as, indeed, may the same expression in the above-cited verse.

[11] This is the plur. of *ukrah*, which is a variant of *kurah* ("globe, sphere"; see Blachère, *s.v. ukrah*, B; and Th. Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch zur klassischen arabischen Sprache*, *s.v.*).

[12] The seventh month of the Arabian calendar is so called because it is the only one of the four sacred months which stands apart from any other.

[13] Instead of this, Q2 has *abwābu-hu* (its doors).

[14] The first three cents. of Islam correspond to the three consecutive holy months, counting backwards from al-Muḥarram to Dhū l-Ḥijjah and Dhū l-Qaʿdah, while the "fourth century" is represented by the fourth holy month, Rajab, which is actually the *seventh* "month"/cent.

[15] Dhū l-Ḥijjah is so-called because it is the month of the great pilgrimage (*ḥajj*, *ḥijjah*) to Mecca and its environs.

[16] *Tabiʿah*: "consequence of/responsibility for [*e.g.*, wrongdoing, sin]". The entire expression apparently means s.th. like "restitution for sins" (as W appears to gloss it). M and Q2 have *Ramaḍān* (instead of *ḍamān*).

[17] The standing (*wuqūf*) before the mountain of *ʿArafāt*, or *ʿArafah* (also called the Mount of Mercy) is the most important station of the pilgrimage (*cf.* above, p. 253, n. 61). Al-Ghazzālī wrote that "to stand in *ʿArafah* and not to believe that God has forgiven you is a very great sin" (quoted by von Grunebaum in *Muḥammadan Festivals*, p. 47). Instead of *al-maghfirah*, M has the plur., *al-maghfirāt*.

[18] Foll. B (and Q2), though I do not find the last in any western dictionary. Instead of that, most ss. read *al-faḍīlah* (excellent quality, excellence), although W has *al-faḍīlīyah* in the margin. I would propose *al-afḍalīyah* (priority, precedence).

[19] I am not sure exactly what is meant by this, and neither is al-Maqābirī (who

When the Great “Magnification” (*al-tarjīb al-ta‘ẓīm*)[21] occurs, the Last [holy Month, *viz.*, Rajab] overtakes the preceding one (*ṣāḥib al-taqdīm*) [*sci.*, Dhū l-Ḥijjah],[22] it being [styled] “the Deaf and Hard of hearing” (*al-aṣabb wa-l-aṣamm*),[23] which is joined to the Sacred Three (*al-thalāthah al-ḥuram*).[24] But the best proof of [Rajab’s] greatness is its attachment to Dhū l-Ḥijjah, as the Last in body (*al-ākhir bi-l-jism*) may well precede the First in authority (*al-awwal fī l-ḥukm*).[25] Do you not see that the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!), though he be late (*mu’akhkhar*) in This-worldly emergence (*al-nash’ah al-dunyawīyah*), is yet anterior (*muqaddam*) at the level of the Otherworld (*al-nash’ah al-ukhrawīyah*)? And if priority (*al-taqaddum*)[26] is due to him, then how much moreso equality (*al-tasāwī*)!—to which [truth the case of] him who is analogous to all of this (*man jará hādhā l-majrá*) [namely, the Seal of the Saints, also] refers.[27]

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is under the impression that the ref. is to Ramaḍān), as he writes: “[This is from] the standpoint of the Master’s [own] usage (*iṣṭilāḥ al-shaykh*), as there is no precedent for this.” Perhaps he is simply referring to the fact that certain other months (*e.g.*, al-Muḥarram and Rajab, and—esp. in later Islam—Ramaḍān) were often considered more sacred than Dhū l-Ḥijjah. Q2 has *al-rabbānīyah* (Lordly) for the first adj., and *al-iṣlāḥīyah* (reformatory) for the second.

[20] In place of the last, E has *al-taḥakkum* (control, domination). *Taḥkīm* means “the *exercise* of wisdom”, perhaps in the sense of magical practice.

[21] *Tarjīb*: “revering, magnifying, honoring (in awe); propping up; sacrificing a victim during Rajab” (see Lane, *s.v.*). P and Q2 read *al-tarḥīb* (welcoming) instead.

[22] Rajab is the last holy month, counting from the “three consecutive months” in the normal order of the year. M identifies “the last” as Jesus (as Seal of the saints), and “the owner of precedence” (*ṣāḥib al-taqdīm*) as the Prophet Muḥammad (as the noblest of creation).

[23] Rajab was called “the Deaf” because, being a month in which war was not permitted, “the cry of the caller for aid was not heard in it . . ., nor the commotion of fighting” (Lane, *s.v. aṣamm*). Acc. to Lane, *al-aṣabb*, which was also applied to Rajab, is apparently a dialectal variant of *al-aṣamm.*

[24] *Ḥuram* is a plur. of *ḥurmah* (sacred, inviolable).

[25] Note that this suggests the possibility that the Seal of the saints may be regarded as superior to the Prophet, as Ibn al-‘Arabī hints in the last line of this paragraph (but *cf.* the next sentence). Strictly speaking, however, “the first” [in temporal order] would be *Dhū l-Qa‘dah*, not Dhū l-Ḥijjah.

[26] Thus in all ss. exc. for C, M and Q2, which have *al-taqdīm* (the presentation).

[27] As the Prophet Muḥammad is to all of the prophets, so is the Seal of sainthood to all of the saints (inc. the Prophet). B2, Q and Q2 have *wa-bi-hādhā* (and herewith), instead of *wa-li-hādhā* (which is not “and for this reason,” but a prep. phrase governed by the verb, *ashāra*).

Do you not consider the prooftext of the Apostle[28] (Upon whom be peace!) to his Companions *as distinct from you* [of the present day]: "To the [harvest-] Laborer (*al-ʿāmil*) among them [*sci.*, Muslims of the latter days, shall go] the wage (*ajr*) of seventy of you."[29] They retorted, "—Rather, [you mean] of *them!*" But he said, "—Nay, rather,[30] [I mean] of *you*!"—emphasizing by the adjunction ["Nay, rather"], **77**
the rivalry among the harvest [-Laborers] (*al-tafāḍul fī l-qaṭf*).[31] Now, just look at how great is this grant (*al-badhl*)! and how universal this benefit (*al-faḍl*)![32]

So if the weak antagonist claim preference over you to the measure of a pint and a half, know that to the rivalry for excellence (*al-mufāḍalah*) there are [various] expedients (*abwāb*)[33] and [certain secondary] causes (*asbāb*) with the One-Who-gives-Preference [to one Prophet B,48b
over another] (*al-Mufaḍḍil*),[34] since the [judgment as to excellence] is based on augmentation and diminution (*al-ziyādah wa-l-naqṣ*) [established] in accordance with conventional usage and nomination (*al-ḥukm al-iṣṭilāḥī wa-l-naṣṣ*).[35] Thus, one [Prophet] surpasses his Companion in God's speaking with him (*taklīm Allāh la-hu*),[36] while another goes beyond him in his reviving the dead (*iḥyāʾ al-mawtá*) and healing the blind and the leprous,[37] while, at the same time, [God's] declaration

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[28] *Naṣṣ al-rasūl.* V and Q2 have *al-nabī* (the Prophet) instead of the last; and V, B2, M and Q2 give the regular benediction in what follows.

[29] *Cf.* al-Tirmidhī's *Tafsīr* on *Qur.* 5: 18; Abū Dāʾūd, *Malāḥim*, 17; and Ibn Mājah, *Ṣifat al-jannah*, 61; all of whom have "fifty" instead of "seventy," and other variations, however. *Cf.* also Christ's parable of the harvest-laborers in *Matt. 20*, which ends with the saying, "the last shall be first and the first last" (v. 16); and St. Paul's apology as "one born out of the due time" in *1 Cor.* 15: 8–10.

[30] *Fa-akkada bi-l-ʿaṭfi.* The latter is the conj., *bal* (nay, rather), signifying correction. B2 is wanting this clause and the next.

[31] V and both printed edns. garble this.

[32] *ʿAḥīmu hādhā l-badhli, wa-ʿamīmu hādhā l-faḍli.* Instead of the first, E and R appear to read *ʿasīr* (difficult).

[33] *Abwāb al-ḥarb*: "the strategems, expedients of war". Lane cites *Matt.* 16: 18 as probably intending this sense of "gates" (*s.v. bāb*).

[34] As voc. in E and W. *Cf. Qur.* 2: 253, 17: 21 & 55, *et al.*

[35] That is to say, it is a recondite, "political" matter establishing the sense in which one prophet might excel others by this or that criterion. While in the foll. sentence it becomes clear that Ibn al-ʿArabī is referring to the Divine preference allotted to one or another prophet, his ulterior purpose is to establish that there are subtle reasons why the latter-day saints may be placed above the earlier companions of the Prophet, even as the Seal of the saints may be honored above all of the saints, inc. the prophets. At the same time, however, he affirms that real equality (*tasāw*^{in}) prevails among the servants of God. On *naṣṣ* (here, "nomination"), see Gloss., *s.v.* For M's understanding of this phrase, see App. I.

[36] As in the case of Moses (see *Qur.* 2: 253).

[37] As with Jesus (*cf. ibid.*; and, esp., 5: 110).

[that there is no essential distinction between the Prophets][38] surely holds good, and equality [among them] is clear. For they [*sci.*, the Prophets?] set us [over one another] in a manner quite different from our giving them preference, and they know us by indications other than [that by which] we know them, though we may well participate in the [same] characteristic (*al-ṣifah*) and share in some of the [same] degrees of Gnosis (*marātib al-maʿrifah*). If you have realized the truth of this preferment (*al-tafḍīl*), [it is God Who] has revealed to you the exposition (*al-tafṣīl*),[39] and the secret exegesis (*al-taʾwīl*) is permitted to you.[40]

Even as [the month of] Dhū l-Ḥijjah is the time of favor and designation (*awān al-faḍl wa-l-taʿyīn*),[41] so we shall relate the "Months" following it to the [successive] "Centuries":[42] Hence, an appearance (*ṭulūʿ*)[43] [of the Seal of the Saints] shall arise after the passing (*inqiḍāʾ*) of the *Khāʾ* of the alphabet [—that is to say, *after* **600** A.H.][44]—his [true] birth (*mīlādu-hu*) being after the passing of the *Ṣād* and the *Thāʾ* [that is, 60 + 500 = **560** A.H.],[45] *after* the birth of [his] developmental form (*mīlād al-inshāʾ*) and the full pervasion of [all of its] members (*intiẓām al-ajzāʾ*).[46] And [now] perhaps the discerning reader (*al-nāqid*) will include the *Seventh* ["Month", *viz.*, Rajab, standing for the seventh *Hijrī* "Century"] in the reckoning (*al-ʿilm*).[47] Then say to him [that] *that* [*viz.*, the Seventh "Century"] is the time of the judgment concerning the Glorious Dynasty (*awān al-ḥukm fī dawlat al-ʿizz*)[48] with the appearance [of the Seal of the Saints] (*bi-ẓuhūri-hi*). [Then] in the fulfilment of [that time] (*ʿinda nqiḍāʾi-hi*)[49] the Seal of [God's] Saints [will finally be] *found* (*wujūd khatm awliyāʾi-hi*) with the passing of the singular Number (*fanāʾ al-ʿadad al-witr* [*sci.*, **683**]) mentioned in the poem (*al-shiʿr*)[50] [at the beginning of this book].[51]

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[38] *Cf. Qur.* 4: 152: "Those who believe in God and His Messengers and make no distinction between any of them, unto them [God] will grant their wages (*ujūru-hum*)."

[39] Foll. B, C, P, W and (one printing of) Q2. The other ss. reverse the order of the rhymed terms, which also makes a plausible reading: "If you have realized the truth of this detailed exposition (*al-tafṣīl*), [it is God Who has] revealed to you the [way to] preferment (*al-tafḍīl*)." *Cf. Matt.* 16: 17.

[40] *Wa-ṣāgha la-ka l-taʾwīlu. Cf. Mark* 4: 11, *et al.* For M's comm., see App. I.

[41] In the context of the foregoing, *faḍl* here may best be understood as "[the granting of] precedence". As for *taʿyīn* (designation; nomination; allocation), I am not certain of its precise meaning here (*cf.* Gloss., *s.v. tamkīn*). Acc. to Muslim belief, the 15th of Shaʿbān (the *laylat al-barāʾah*) is the time when the destinies of the coming year are determined. M thinks that the ref. is to the nomination of the Seal/Mahdī, and it is true that the Shīʿites commemorate the event of *Ghadīr Khumm* (when the Prophet reportedly designated ʿAlī as his successor) on the 18th of Dhū l-Ḥijjah.

[42] *ʿAlá l-miʾīna mina l-sinīna.*

[43] P(?), V, W, B2, Q and the margin of C all read *ṭulūʿ-hu* (his appearance) rather than the indef. *Ṭulūʿ*: "rising, appearance [of a celestial body]".

[44] The numerical value of خ is 600, as we have had occasion to note (see p. 495, n. 90). Ibn al-ʿArabī composed the present book less than five years before the beginning of the 7th/13th cent.—that is, just before *the passing of the six-hundredth year* of the Islamic era—in part, as I have argued in the intro. (Chaps. 1 and 8), to announce his own advent in the Arab heartland as a kind of Ṣūfī Mahdī-figure.

[45] Foll. B, R, and W. All of the other ss. have *al-bāʾ* ("b") in place of *al-thāʾ* ("th"); exc. for E, which has *al-tāʾ* ("t"); and C, which has the correct reading here. For the first letter, C and Q2 read *al-ḍād* ("ḍ") rather than *al-ṣād* ("ṣ"). The numerical value of *ṣād* (ص) is usually taken to be 90, corresponding to the Heb. letter-numeral, *çādhe* (צ). In the Maghribīne order of the alphabet, however, *ṣād* follows the letter, *nūn*, and, so, is correlated with the Heb., *ṣāmekh* (ס), with the numerical

In the Praise of God and by His Aid, the book [*The Fabulous Gryphon concerning the Seal of the Saints and the Sun Rising in the West*] is completed![52]

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value of 60 (see *Fut.* I, 71 [10–11]). Thus, foll. the *Maghribī* system, the number indicated here is 560, which happens to be the *hijrī* date of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own birth, 1165 C.E. (note also that later he would arrange his *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* in 560 chaps.); otherwise, the date would be 590 [= 1194], which is also plausible (see App. I). At any rate, the important point is that our author specifies that the *real* "birth" of the Seal will come *after* this time.

[46] Or, lit.: "after the systematic arrangement of the parts." I am not sure what this expression signifies, but the general idea is that the real "birth" does not take place until a certain degree of maturity is reached. It is interesting to note that in the *Zohar* (N. de Manhar, tr., 1985), p. 276, Noah's age of 600 at the time of the deluge is explained as indicating his perfection (see *Gen.* 7: 11).

[47] As Dozy notes (*s.v.*), *al-ʿilm* (the science) by itself can denote *ʿilm al-jafr* (the numerological science of prognostication). On the apparent meaning of "the seventh" here, see the refs. in n. 44, above.

[48] On the *dawlat al-ʿizz*, see above, pp. 257 (n. 8) and 492 (n. 61).

[49] Q2 omits *wa-* (and) before *ʿinda*.

[50] Instead of this, Q has *al-shuʿūr* (the knowledge).

[51] This refers to the number, 683, figuring in the opening poem on p. 233 (n. 42) of the trn. as the time of the Seal/Mahdī's appearance (see also the opening pages of the intro.).

[52] As in B(?), C, E and V (but for the verb the first two have *kamula*; and the second two, *tamma*). R has the same, but reads *bi-majdi* (in [God's] glory) instead of *bi-ḥamdi* (in the praise of). Most of the later ss. use other pious variations, such as "God knows best!" (*Allāhu aʿlamu*). W concludes by quoting in full the brief Chap. 557 of the *Futūḥāt*, which I have inc. in App. IV (pp. 601–04). V, B2 and Q end with the poem from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān* which is tr. on pp. 614–15. For the colophons in B, R and W, see App. I.

TRANSLATOR'S EPILOGUE

The philosopher, Pascal's knowledge of comparative religious history was so *provincial* that he opened his *Pensées* with a false distinction:

> Who bears witness to Mahomet? Himself.
> Jesus wants *his* witness to be nothing.[1]
> The quality of witnesses is such that they must exist,
> always, everywhere. . . .[2]

His genius for *a priori* intuition redeemed him in the very next paragraph, however, when he asked:

> Shall I believe I am nothing? Shall I believe I am God?[3]

Ibn al-ʿArabī (or, if you please, "Mahomet") knew quite as well as the philosopher that reason by itself really offered only these two impracticable choices. But whereas the latter was nearly immobilized by the burden of his insight, the Ṣūfī understood intuitively that the same bet that Pascal made for mere intellectual faith in God could be wagered existentially for one's own life: Either I *can* know salvific Truth or I can*not* . . .

> But to which view shall we be inclined? Reason cannot decide this question. Infinite chaos separates us. At the far end of this infinite distance a coin is being spun which will come down heads or tails. How will you wager? Reason cannot make you choose either, reason cannot prove either wrong.[4]

Pascal may also be said to have merely preached what Ibn al-ʿArabī practiced (when he left his homeland at the midway point of his life)—the wisdom of *living dangerously*:

> If we must never take any chances we ought not to do anything for religion, for it is not certain. But how many chances we do take: sea voyages, battles. Therefore, I say, we should have to do nothing at all, for nothing is certain. And there is more certainty in religion than that we shall live to see tomorrow.

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[1] (*Italics* mine). See *John* 5: 31.

[2] *Pensées* (A.J. Krailsheimer, tr., 1966; 1984), p. 33.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

> For it is not certain that we shall see tomorrow but it is certainly possible that we shall not. We cannot say the same of religion. It is not certain that it is true, but who would dare to say that it is certainly possible that it is not?
>
> Now, when we work for tomorrow and take chances we are behaving reasonably, for we *ought* to take chances. . . .[5]

This, I believe, was Ibn al-ʿArabī's sufficient justification for claiming to be the ultimate Seal of sainthood. It remains for students of the Shaykh al-Akbar to discover for themselves the full implications of the doctrine.

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–25.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

Selected Commentaries, etc., related to the text of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*

[**Page-number**, footnote and **source:**]

228, n. 1 (**Q**): [*Preamble to the text:*]
Thus said the Master, the Imām, the knower most-knowing, perfectly perfect, pious and abstemious, the Truth-realizing exemplar, the gnostic, the model of Truth-realizers, Master of his age, unique in his time, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Ṭāʾī al-Ḥātimī (May God seal his affair with the fairest end!).

228, n. 2 (**S**):
Man being made up of an [outer] sense (*ḥiss*) and an [inner] meaning (*maʿnā*), the former is the body and the latter the spirit. [Further, the "sense"] is as the "vessel" (*al-wiʿāʾ*) to the spirit, which is the meaning, the body being "sealed" (*makhtūm*) upon the spirit until the time of the disengagement of its parts (*infikāk ajzāʾi-hi*).

228, n. 4 (**H**):
As this "heart" is an "isthmus" (*barzakh*) between the Holy Spirit and the soul and natural sense (*ṭabīʿat al-ḥiss*), the spirit invokes Holiness and the perfection of man by [the name of] its Lord, the Lord of the *jinn* and of mankind (*rabb al-jinn wa-l-ins*),[1] while the soul calls to the evil of sense and vile nature (*sūʾ al-ḥiss wa-ṭabīʿat al-rijs*); and the judgment between them goes one way and the other.

228, n. 5 (**H**):
The "mighty" secret from the Holy Spirit alights in [the mystic's heart] and calls forth perfect joy; but when figments of imagination and fantasy and the evil insinuation of sense (*waswās al-ḥiss*) fill [the heart], they cause utter "distress"; and [the mystic] wavers between the two [extremes]. [H denies that Ibn al-ʿArabī was subject to such vacillation, however].

229, n. 16 (**H**):
Union without separation, continuity with no interruption, are qualities of the Seal of the noble saints (*Fa-l-wiṣālu bi-lā fiṣāl*^{in} *wa-l-ittiṣālu bi-ghayri nfiṣāl*^{in} *khiṣālu khatmi l-awliyāʾi l-kirāmi*).

229–30, n. 17 (**H**):
For the messenger of my Lord (*rasūl Rabb-ī*) indeed came to me, "informing me of the appointment of the noble Seal of the saints"—he being the

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[1] *Cf. Qur.* 114: 6.

trustworthy, Holy Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-qudus al-amīn*), who brought him a sure announcement (*nabaʾ yaqīn*). . . .

230, n. 25 (**H**):
But the Master, al-Tirmidhī (May God have mercy on him unto eternity!), did not reveal that secret, but, rather, he expounded [only] its exoteric aspect, never plumbing the depths of its esoteric level, because he was not entirely acquainted with it. For the exoteric has its scholars and the esoteric its saints, and the one does not infringe upon the territory of the other.

[Our commentator modulates this rather obtuse judgment on the next page, allowing that al-Tirmidhī may simply have been duly cautious, allowing that, after all, there is a venerable tradition of Muslim mystics who have managed to balance the external and the internal aspects of religion, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Junayd and al-Ghazzālī, down to Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.]

231, n. 26 (**S**):
[The Seal of the saints, or Jesus] is superior to the *Ṣiddīq* [*sci.*, Abū Bakr] by virtue of [his] inward prophethood (*nubūwah bāṭinah*) and outward sainthood (*walāyah ẓāhirah*)—[the first of] which the *Ṣiddīq* lacks, having only one aspect.

231, n. 27 (**H**):
Know that the station of the Seal is the station of the "Fabulous Gryphon" (*rutbat ʿanqāʾ mughrib*), . . . because the station of the Seal is the "exalted Encounter" (*al-liqāʾ al-ʿalī*), which perception [*al-baṣar*] cannot reach—and neither can the insights [s., *baṣīrah*] of the *ṣiddīq*s—because it is "existent in name, non-existent in body" (*mawjūdat al-ism, maʿdūmat al-jism*).

231, n. 30 (**H**):
[Al-Ḥijāzī's comm. on this verse, based on a trad. deriving from *Matt.* 7: 6, illustrates the saints' "jealousy" for the Divine secrets:]. . . . As [the Prophet] said (May God bless and keep him!): "Do not cast pearls into the mouths of dogs. For the world is a cadaver (*jīfah*) which [only] dogs would want. And do not bind jewels around the necks of swine [symbolizing love of the world]. . . ."

232, n. 37 (**H**):
[All of the grades of sainthood below that of the Seal are affected] in accordance with their [particular] conditions with a kind of dim-sightedness (*ramad*) which "startles" them from the perception of their Lord; and for that very reason they are ardently desirous of the vision [of God] (Be He Exalted!), ever imploring [Him]: "Show us, that we might gaze upon You!"[2] But their longing for the vision is simply indicative of their detachment and separation [from God]. For in them is a mountain of external description (? *jabalu rasm*^{in})[3] and a heaviness of mass (*takaththufu jism*^{in}), and it is in them a kind of disease and a sickness.

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[2] *Cf.* the words of Moses in *Qur.* 7: 142.

[3] The mountain mentioned in the above-cited verse.

232, n. 38 (**M**):
By the first "five" is meant (But God knows best!) that man as such is capable of becoming an apostle, a prophet, a scholar (*ʿālim*, "knower"), a saint or a ______;[4] . . . while the second "five" (But God knows best!) signifies the perfect man's capability of becoming one of the "poles" (*aqṭāb*), one of the "stakes" (*awtād*)—who are the ministers (*wuzarāʾ*)—or one of the élite (*khawāṣṣ*), one of the "substitutes" (*abdāl*), or the "chiefs" (*nuqabāʾ*); . . . and the third "five" (But God knows best!) signifies that man might become a believer or an infidel, or obedient or sinful, or neither obedient nor sinful (as with the lunatic).

232, n. 39:
A class of saints styled the *Rajabīyūn* (men of Rajab) are said to number forty in the *Fut.-Y.*, XI, 285–86), while another class, the *nujabāʾ* (nobles), are 40 in *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 57. As we see in the foll. note (n. 40), however, these latter are clearly described as being *eight* in the pages preceding the above-cited *Futūḥāt* passage. To increase the confusion, *cf.* also n. 41, where yet another class seems to be the referent!

233, n. 42 (**H**, **M** & **S**):
All of the comms. use the later reading, *dāl*, in place of *jīm*, and none of them attempt to reckon the numerological value of this patent cryptogram (but see *infra*), but, instead, simply interpret the *khaʾ* as standing for "the expiry of the end (*ā**kh**ir*) of time"; and the *dāl*, for "the passing away of the state of the world (***d**awlat al-**d**unyā*)" [in H]; while *fāʾ* is glossed [by M] as "the annihilation (***f**anāʾ*) of the succesive signs [of the eschaton?] (*al-ʿalāmāt al-mukarrarah*)." What is most interesting to note is that M and, consequently, S, are here clearly based on the interpretation of H, though they do not elsewhere demonstrate much familiarity with it. This might be taken to indicate that in the mid-10th/16th-cent., al-Ḥijāzī's *Aghrab* (H) was available, although its extremely idiosyncratic approach did not lend itself to use for serious study of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[Under the rubric of *fanāʾ madlūl al-kurūr*, all three comms. then go on to recount trad. eschatological material, M and S quoting the foll. *ḥadīth* (related in Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 28; *cf.* also Abū Dāʾūd, *Malāḥim*, 12):]

The Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) emerged from an upper chamber while we were conferring together about the [last] Hour, so he said: "The Hour will not be until ten Signs (*āyāt*) come to pass: the rising of the sun from its place of setting (*ṭulūʿ al-shamsi min maghribi-hā*), [the appearance of] the Antichrist (*al-dajjāl*), the smoke (*al-dukhān*), the beast (*al-dābbah*), Gog and Magog, the emergence (*khurūj*) of Jesus, son of Mary (Peace be upon him!), the occurrence of three lunar eclipses (s., *khusūf*)—one in the East, one in the West, and one over the Arabian peninsula—and the eruption of a fire from a pit in Aden, which will drive people to the gathering-place [for the Judgment] (*al-maḥshar*). . . ."

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[4] The word is deleted here, but *"malamī"* (a type of Ṣūfī who deliberately sought the disapprobation of common society) appears to be written in the margin.

[At this point, al-Saʿdī, having added up the numerical value of certain of Ibn al-ʿArabī's words in this verse, announces that the last day(?) will occur in 1054/1644, exactly one-hundred lunar years in the future from the time of the redaction of his comm. (in 954/1547). Thus, we can appreciate why the comms. failed to decipher the *khāʾ*, the *jīm/dāl*, and the *fāʾ* of the verse: the time had already passed (*cf.* Ibn Khaldūn's account of the commentators' discomfiture when the year, 683, had elapsed [in *Muqaddimah*, II, 190]).

[Al-Ḥijāzī's remarks in this context bear quoting for their inherent interest. Apropos of the emergence of Jesus (as "the Mahdī's brother"), H proceeds to broach the subj. of al-Khaḍir's esoteric management of the world's affairs, then imperceptibly reverts to the descent of Jesus at the end of time:][5]

[Al-Khaḍir] is wise in the management and free disposal of [the world's affairs] (*ḥakīm fī l-tadbīr wa-l-taṣarruf fī-him*), and oppression and injustice on his part are inconceivable even if they appear to occur outwardly, as in the case of al-Khaḍir's actions with Moses and others.[6] He is the free-disposer of things in the corporeal and the spiritual worlds (*al-mutaṣarrif fī l-mulk wa-l-malakūt*), and the manager in the world of Divine power, as well as in the things of Divinity and of humanity (*al-mudabbir fī l-jabarūt wa-l-lāhūt wa-l-nāsūt*); for all creatures derive their livelihood and their sustenance from him although they are heedless and ignorant of him, turning away from him or else opposing him, even fighting with him and arguing with him, intending to kill him! . . . as they have always done also with their Creator and Provider, their Preserver, Helper and Supporter [*sci.*, God]. For [al-Khaḍir] is a verifier (*mutaḥaqqiq*) of the secret of his Gracious Lord's saying, "He it is Who in Heaven is a God, and on Earth is a God—He being the Wise and the Knowing"[7]—but mankind has no knowledge or understanding of him.

That is the Great Caliphate (*al-khilāfah al-kubrā*) and the Mighty Deputyship (*al-niyābah al-ʿuẓmā*), . . . for the Lordly command and Divine permission have come to him to descend from the exalted station of the Unity (*al-maqām al-aḥadī al-ʿālī*) to the space of the "Fields of the Merciful-Oneness" in Syria (*faḍāʾ al-riyāḍ al-Raḥmānī al-wāḥidī al-Shāmī*)[8]. . . .

[In *Gen.* 7: 11, the deluge is said to have come in Noah's six-hundredth year, on the 17th day of the second month. If, instead, we read "*after* the 2nd month on the *27*th day," we get 600 + 83 = *683* ! (*cf.* p. 532 at n. 51 of the trn.)]

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[5] *Heb.* 6: 20–7: 3*sq.*, based on *Psalm 110*, likens Christ to Melchizedek (in *Gen.* 14: 18–20), another prototype of the ever-living al-Khaḍir.

[6] See *Qur.* 18: 65–82.

[7] *Qur.* 43: 84.

[8] The expression, impossible to render into Eng., has ref. to the epithet of Damascus, *al-Rawḍah al-Khaḍrāʾ*, the "Green Meadow" (see *infra*), where, acc. to Middle Eastern trad., Jesus Christ will descend from Heaven to slay the Antichrist at the end of time.

233–34, n. 45 (**H**):
[Damascus] is called the "Green Meadow" because it is the station to which the Special Seal (*al-khatm al-khāṣṣ*) descends, the station between the first intellect and nature—that is, the station of the universal soul. Now the first intellect is a white Pearl, while nature is a black Opal, so that the soul, which is [intermediate] between them, is green. Noble Syria is the place of manifestation of this station, and so it is called the "Green Meadow."

234, n. 46 (**H**):
[Apropos of his diatribe against the man of ignorance (*jāhil*), al-Ḥijāzī digresses to a moral defence of the social role of the Seal of the saints, which is the spiritual caliphate:]

The service of the Seal and the Great Caliphate (*khidmat al-khatm wa-l-khilāfah al-kubrá*) is the bringing-down of the [lower-] soul's arrogance and frivolity, along with [its] ungodliness and tyranny (*al-dajjālīyah wa-l-firʿawnīyah*), and the calming of it and submitting it to the legal regulations of the Divine law and the traditions of the [Prophet's] way (*aḥkām al-sharīʿah wa-āthār al-sunnah*); and, finally, the binding of it to the service of the people and the community (*al-raʿīyah wa-l-ummah*), especially this confirmed and praiseworthy, acceptable and laudable, blessed Muḥammadan Community [of the Ṣūfīs]. For this service is service to God in His servants [= mankind] and service to the Apostle of God in his community, as well as the service of [God's] law and the [Prophet's] way; and it is the protection of the kingdoms of Islam and the towns and countries of the Muslims when the hands of [their] enemies are reaching out, as well as the firm resolve (*al-himmah*) to seize the towns and countries of the enemies in every quarter, east and west. Thus, between the exoteric and the esoteric caliphs there is a perfect symmetry and coöperation and a making of common cause in which the one never departs from the other, despite their appearing not to know [each other] (*tajāhul*). . . .

[H goes on to attribute the contemporary advent of the tribes of the Qïzïlbāsh[9] to the weakness (*khiffah*, "slightness") of the Ṣūfī masters of the time, along with the religious scholars and the political and military rulers, due to their lack of constancy in upholding the Divine law.]

236, n. 60:
[The foll. passage was ascribed to an Arab gnostic of the second cent. C.E., Monoïmus ([ʿAbd al-]Munʿim?), by *pseudo*-Hippolytus, who quotes him in his *Elenchos*, better known as the *Philosophumena* (G.R.S. Mead, tr., *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, p. 223):]

> Cease to seek after God (as without thee), and the Universe, and things similar to these. Seek Him rather from out of thyself, and learn Who it is Who once and for all appropriateth all in thee unto Himself, and sayeth: "My God, my Mind, my Reason, my Soul, my Body." And learn whence is sorrow and

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[9] Turkish tribes which emigrated to Anatolia from the late-7th/13th cent. onward, later becoming extremist Shīʿite (see *E.I.* 2, *s.v.* *Ḳïzïl-bāsh*).

> joy, and love and hate, and waking though one would not and sleeping though one would not, and getting angry though one would not and falling in love though one would not. And if thou shouldest closely investigate these things, thou wilt find Him in thyself, One and Many, just as the Atom; thus finding from thyself a Way out of thyself.

238, n. 14:
Cf. Qur. 30: 47: "To help believers is incumbent upon Us." The important verse, 8: 72, associates the notions of *naṣr* and *wālāyah*, the latter of which would become the Islamic designation for "sainthood": "Those who believed and left their homes and strove with their lives and their wealth in the way of God, and those who gave them refuge and assisted (*naṣarū*) them—these are protecting friends (*awliyāʾ*), one of another."

239, n. 21 (**M**):
Jesus, son of Mary, will descend [from Heaven] after the corruption of the Earth and kill the seceders (*al-khawārij*) and the Great Antichrist (*al-dajjāl al-akbar*), resurrect justice in the land, strengthen Islam and faith, and produce spiritual blessings (*al-barakah*) in the world until the coming of the Command of God [for Judgment].

239, n. 22 (**S**):
The first thing that God created out of His Light was the light of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), which He placed in a lamp/candelabrum (*qandīl*) of jacynth suspended from the Divine Throne [whence, in the Light of God's Self-manifestation, the Muḥammadan light] "sweats" out of awe (*al-haybah*), . . . and from a drop thereof Adam (Peace be upon him!) was created. Thereafter, [? one-hundred and] twenty-four thousand drops fell, from each one of which the spirit of a prophet was created. [Thus, Jesus and all of the other prophets are descended from Muḥammad].

240, n. 36 (**S**):
Man is so-named (*insān*) because of the distinguishing characteristic (*ṣifatuhu*) which appears in him. For he has forgotten (*nasiya*) the command of his Lord, as He has said (Exalted be He!): "Verily, We made a covenant with Adam before, but he forgot (*fa-nasiya*), and We found in him no firm will (*ʿaẓm*)."[10] Thus, [God] teaches us that man does have a purpose (*gharaḍ*) but he let it fall from the [high] degree of those with firm will (*darajat ūlī l-ʿaẓm*).

246, n. 1:
—As well as in ancient Middle-Eastern Gnosticism (see, *e.g.*, the "Hymn of the Pearl" in Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, pp. 112–29). Regarding the expression, *baḥr ṭāmis* (a fathomless/undifferentiated sea), Ahmed Ateş ascribes a treatise entitled *Baḥru Ṭams*^{in} *wa-Mawqifu Hams*^{in} (The Ocean of Obliteration and the Station of Whispering) in *Ms. Manisa 1183*/13 (ff. 142b–199) to Ibn al-ʿArabī in his art., "Al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah fī Maktabāt al-Anāḍūl,"

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[10] *Qur.* 20: 115.

Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah, 4 (1958), pp. 25–27. On a cursory inspection of the microfilm, it seems to me that this rather lengthy work may be by a disciple of Ibn al-'Arabī (Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Anṣārī's name appears on the last page), but it is worth noting that cryptographs not unlike those in our present text (see App. III) are inscribed on the final pages.

246, n. 2:
[An *ishārah* is a subtle allusion or sign (*cf. Qur.* 19: 29), as opposed to the explicit ref. of an *'ibārah* (expression). They were *termini technici* in Qur'ānic hermeneutics as early as Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), and were commonplace by the time of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, pp. 210–11, *et al.*). Ibn al-'Arabī devotes an entire chap. (*54*) of the *Futūḥāt* to a highly sophisticated gnosis of the *ishārat* (see *Path*, 246–50), but here it is interesting to note that he is evidently writing with a specific passage from the *Bayān al-Farq* (p. 58) in mind, where the author of that treatise has written:]

The breast (*al-ṣadr*) is the place to which the knowledge of expression (*'ilm al-'ibārah*) is issued, while the heart is the source of the knowledge which underlies the knowledge of expression—namely, wisdom and allusion (*al-ḥikmah wa-l-ishārah*). Now, the knowledge of expression is God's confutation of mankind (*ḥujjat Allāh 'alá l-khalq*) [when] He will question them: "What have you done as regards that which you knew?" while the knowledge of allusion is the way of the true servant to God (*maḥajjat al-'abd ilá Llāh*) by His guidance of him.

[Note that in our present passage (see nn. 2 & 3) Ibn al-'Arabī hints at the same correlation between *ishārah* and *maḥajjah* on the one hand, and *'ibārah* and *ḥujjah* (proof, confutation), on the other—exc. that he voc. the latter as *ḥajjah* (pilgrimage) as the context indicates. This, then, is a good example of the multivalency of Ibn al-'Arabī's text].

249, n. 29 (**S**):
Were it not for the sun's praise [of God?], it would not have the surplus of light to extend to the essence of its full-moon; for the moon's brightness is derived (*muktasab*) from the light of the sun. But if the sun neglects praise, then its light diminishes. . . . Similarly, if the moon neglects praise, the sun outpaces it on the occasion of the earth's intervention (*ḥaylūlat al-arḍ*) [between them], and its brightness is eclipsed and its essence veiled.

249–50, n. 32:
By way of accounting for the "five" with ref. to the *wujūd al-Ḥaqq*, M mentions the five "pillars" of Islamic practice, and in the margins three other suggestions are offered: that the ref. is to the five senses, five Divine attributes (power, will, knowledge, life and unity), or the 5 letters of the name, *Allāh*. S also lists most of these, and includes a detailed explanation of the *modus operandi* of the spirit's inspiration (*nafth* = *nafkh*) of the gnostic's heart (ff. 17–17b).

250, n. 35:
[Al-Ghazzālī wrote in his *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn*:] The pilgrim who sets out for the Kaʿbah should bear in mind that he goes to see the Lord, and that, by the Lord's own promise, the sight of the House will be accepted as a claim to being vouchsafed the sight of the Lord's Face in the World to come . . ., even though the lover will seek the presence of the Beloved without looking toward a reward" (tr. by G.E. von Grunebaum, in *Muḥammadan Festivals*, p. 45).

253, n. 59:
Al-Saʿdī inserts a long quote from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tadbīrāt*, 216–17, at this point (ff. 19–19b), which he represents as a description of the Black Stone (= *ḥajar al-bayt*), but which actually describes the *ḥajar al-baht* (= *al-bāhit* or *bahtah*), a certain stone, variously described (see J. Ruska, ed. and tr., *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, pp. 8–14), which was found by the Atlantic Ocean and was highly prized in the Maghrib for its marvelous properties.

254, n. 64 (**M**):
Consider how he has established for you, after the completion of the noble pilgrimage, the tangible image (*al-ṣūrah l-maḥsūsah*) by way of his return (*rujūʿu-hu*) . . . to [his] homeland and people. . . .

254, n. 71 (**S**):
[Al-Saʿdī paraphrases *Qur.* 7: 143: "Moses] said to his Lord, 'Show me [Your Self] that I may look upon You.' He said, 'You will not see Me' [end *Qur.* quote] because you will be in the intermediate world of mystic annihilation (*barzakh al-fanā'*), and the transitory (*al-fānī*) cannot see Me because the transitory cannot see the Enduring (*al-bāqī*)." [But from what follows it is clear that by *al-fānī* here S means "he who is in the state of mystic annihilation (*fanā'*)."]

255, n. 74 (**S**):
All created things (*al-makhlūqāt*) beside the [cosmic] Footstool are as a grain cast out in the desert, while the Footstool next to the [cosmic] Throne is, likewise, as a grain cast in the desert. The Self-manifestation of the Lord to the "Moses of piety" (*Mūsá l-taqwá*) [consists in] the "Throne" of faith becoming concealed in the "Footstool" of the heart, the Moses of piety falling down unconscious and the mountains of the lower-soul crumbling to dust, as the universal passing-away (*al-fanā' al-kullī*) takes place. . . .

255, n. 76 (**M**):
Do you not see in the case of Moses (The blessings and peace of God be upon him!) when the Real revealed Himself to him, how the mountain crumbled to dust and [Moses] fell down overwhelmed by fear of the Theophany? How, then, will it be in the case of the saint, whose degree is below that of the prophet? It is quite likely that in the state of the Theophany the saint would die (*yufāriqu l-ḥayāta*).

257, n. 8 (**S**):
[The "state of the Mighty Ruler" is] Egypt, for all rulers of Egypt are called "the Mighty" (*al-ʿazīz*), even as every ruler of Rome/Byzantium is named

"Caesar" (*Qayṣar*) and every ruler of Persia, "Khosrau" (*Kisrá*). In short, then, among the signs [of the eschaton] is the emergence of the "state of the Mighty Ruler" [*sci.*, Egypt as the "Babylon" of *Rev.* 17: 5 and 18: 10 & 21?]; and with its passing away shall come the Seal of the saints, or the one whom God strengthens with His victory—that being the heart. [Later, al-Saʿdī suggests that the *ʿazīz* might be either Jesus, the Mahdī, or both.]

258, n. 16 (**S**):
That is, after the emergence of the Mahdī. For the *Sufyānī* will send an army to battle with him. They will go to the "Fragrant" city (*al-fayḥā'*), the City of the Prophet,[11] and make war upon it for three days and nights. Then they will head for Mecca, until, . . . in the desert, God will send Gabriel (Peace be upon him!) to destroy them. When he reaches them he will stamp the earth with his foot so that they are swallowed up [in the earthquake].

Similarly, when the "Mahdī of your being" (*Mahdī wujūdi-ka*) emerges and Satan sends out an army [against you], as God has said, "Urge your horse against them!" (*Qur.* 17: 64), for they will enter the "city of your being" in a moment of heedlessness, and the army of Satan will master all that is within, spreading corruption therein. . . .

260, n. 30:
I do not understand the full relevance of this passage relating to the story of al-Khaḍir and Moses, nor even the precise significance of the symbols of the "servant", the "fish", the "breakfast", *etc.*—not to mention the meaning of *sarab* (see next note). Ibn al-ʿArabī's obscure remarks on the subject in his *Isrā'*, 114–15, raise more questions than they answer.[12] As Chodkiewicz has shown in his ground-breaking exposition of the Qur'ānic correlations with the *faṣl al-manāzil* -section of the *Futūḥāt* (in Chap. 3 of *An Ocean without Shore*), Ibn al-ʿArabī's reflections on the "*Sūrah* of the Cave" inform Chap. 366 of the *Futūḥāt*, so that the refs. to "sustenance" (*rizq, ghidhā'*) there may be taken to signify the *qūt* of our present passage. On the general subj. of Moses in Ṣūfī thought, see L. Gardet's app. in his *Mystique musulmane*, pp. 261–71.

260, n. 31 (**S**):
You, O questioner, if the Moses of faith is your "servant", the Prophet's way your "sustenance", and the Qur'ān your "sea", then the signs (*al-ʿalāmāt*) will appear manifestly to you.

261, n. 40 (**S**):
[Al-Saʿdī turns Ibn al-ʿArabī's subtle critique of the prophets *vis-à-vis* the saints into a criticism of the prophet of Judaism in particular:] The prophets [such as Moses] do not have authority as to inspiration (*al-ḥukm bi-l-ilhām*)

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[11] That is, Medina, called by its old name, Yathrib, in some trads. "The Fragrant" is actually an epithet of Damascus, whence comes the Sufyānid force.

[12] The ed.'s note (p. 114, n. 42) to the effect that "the son of Nūn" (*Ibn Nūn*) is Jonah (= *Dhū l-Nūn*) may be incorrect. Rather, I think it is Joshua, *Yuwashshaʿ*, or *Hūshaʿa b. Nūn* (see *Num.* 13: 16), Moses's young successor.

even though they are well-versed in the reality of it, because legal commandment (*al-taklīf*) bears upon the lower-souls (*al-nufūs*), not the essences and inner spirits (*al-ḥaqā'iq wa-l-asrār*). Hence, when the Moses of faith follows the Khaḍir of Divine secrets and requests of him guidance [*al-irshād*] in the knowledge of the realities, the things which God commanded him to bring together [?] at the place where the two seas of the Law and the Truth meet [*cf. Qur*. 18: 60], [al-Khaḍir] says to him: "You will not be able [to bear] that, because [you are] harsh in the matter of religion (*ṣāḥib al-ghilẓah fī l-dīn*) and you censure that which does not occur in your law (*tadhummu mā lā yakūnu fī sharʿi-ka*)."

264, n. 9 (**S**):
The doors of the Mightiest King (*al-Malik al-Aʿẓam* [*viz*., God]) in the time of prophecy are the prophets (Blessings and peace be upon them!), and their entry unto the King [in that age] is in the fulfilment of the [social and religious] necessities (*qaḍā' al-ḥawā'ij*)—or, rather, by [God's] sending of the Revelation concerning that of which they had need;—while, in the time of sainthood [*sci*., since the mission of Muḥammad, the "doors" are] the saints, because they are the deputies of the prophets (*khulafā' al-anbiyā'*).

264–65, n. 10 (**S**):
The prophets are the doorkeepers of the Mightiest King, so that whoever enters unto [Him] without [their] permission, straightway they are delivered to execution. Similarly, regarding the [Divine] Unitary Presence (*al-ḥaḍrah al-aḥadīyah*), whoever enters into It without the permission of the lawgiver is destroyed [and] delivered up to the sword of the law.

270, n. 59 (**S**):
[*Sūrat Yāsīn*] is called "the superabundant" (? *al-miʿammah, q.v.* in Lane, *s.v. miʿamm*) because it makes universally accessible (*ʿammama*) [for] him who is its devotee the goodness of both Abodes [*sci*., This world and the Hereafter], and it is the prophylactic (*al-dāfiʿah*) *par excellence* against every evil and the provider (*al-qāḍiyah*) for him of every need. And it is the heart of the Qur'ān, pre-existent (*qadīm*) before the first creation of the world, for it is the [veritable] Speech of God (*kalām Allāh*) . . . [concerning which the various theological schools do not differ except] in the matter of its temporality and its eternity (*ḥudūthu-hu wa-qidamu-hu*). For the people of the Real (*ahl al-Ḥaqq* [the Ṣūfīs]) the Speech of God is not of the nature of [perceptible] letters and sounds, but is an eternal attribute established in the Divine Essence [with which the very idea of] silence is incompatible. . . .

270, n. 66 (**M** and **S**):
When I concealed myself with my primal element (*aṣl ʿunṣur-ī*), being hidden within it, it kept me from his knowing in the concealment of my substance (*ghaybat ṭīn-ī*) [—after which, M quotes the *ḥadīth qudsī*: "I was a hidden Treasure, but I desired to be known," *etc.* (see pp. 361–62, n. 86, *et al.*). For his part, S comments:]

Because, while Adam (Peace be upon him!) was created out of the Light from which the Muḥammadan Arising (*al-nash'ah al-Muḥammadīyah*) was also created, that [pure origin] became concealed in deepest secrecy (*fī katm al-khafā'*) [throughout], stage after stage, until it came to the condition of clay (*al-ṣalṣāl*), and it [the Light] was deposited therein to await the term of its appointed time. . . .

279–80, n. 29 (**M**):
[God] manifests to [the perfect man] the sign (*al-ʿalāmah*) that he is (himself) the Seal of the imāmate (*khātam al-imāmah*) with respect to particular Muḥammadan sainthood, which is the universal station of the Pole (*al-quṭbīyah al-kullīyah*). [In this, however, al-Maqābirī anticipates too much, since Ibn al-ʿArabī nowhere specifies in the *'Anqā'* that either he himself or anyone other than the "Solar figure" here described is the Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood. Moreover, he did not indicate in the passage from the *Futūḥāt* discussed in the preceding note (n. 28) that he was the Seal—or even, in fact, that he knew at that time (594/1197–98) the actual identity of the Seal, which he *could* have learned only at the beginning of the foll. year (see next chap.). Finally, Ibn al-ʿArabī seems never to have confounded the Seal or the Mahdī with the *quṭb* (but *cf.* below, p. 286, n. 45). Notwithstanding all of this uncertainty, however, it is true that Ibn al-ʿArabī makes statements in the *'Anqā'* (see, *e.g.*, Q2, pp. 83–84) which clearly imply that, as far as the individual mystic is concerned, the real Seal of sainthood is *within*.]

282–83, n. 15 (**S**):
[That is, he beheld the Seal of the saints of the Real by means of] mystic inspiration (*al-ilhām*). Thus, it is related in *ḥadīth* [source?] that the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) used to practise mystical devotions (*kāna yataḥannafu*) in the cave of Ḥirā' until the prophetic inspiration (*al-waḥy*, "revelation") came to him. It is similar with the gnostic if he accedes to the seat of the comprehensive Imāmate in truth (*maqʿad al-imāmah al-iḥāṭīyah bi-l-ṣidq*).

292, n. 39 (**S**):
[After quoting a trad. to the effect that certain peoples of the latter days (*aqwām ya'tūna fī ākhir al-zamān*), who would believe in the Prophet despite never having seen him, would stand face to face with his very brethren (*ikhwān*), al-Saʿdī continues with this peculiar comment:] Similarly, the time of the external senses (*zamān al-ḥawāss al-ẓāhirah*) will catch up with the time of the internal (*al-bāṭinah*) senses, for internal-sense time "precedes" external-sense time. And when the external catches up with the internal and acquires the praiseworthy qualities from the internal senses, the [external-sense] organs will be developed and [their scope] extended. [After this, S quotes the well-known *ḥadīth qudsī*, ". . . he will hear by Me and see by Me," *etc.*].

297, n. 46:
[The foll. passages treating of the "two imāms" who are subordinate to the *quṭb* (the head of the Ṣūfī hierarchy), are from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn* (in *Rasā'il*, *r.* 19, pp. 1–2):]

Know (May God grant you success!) that God (Exalted be His Praise and sanctified be His Names!) made the station of the Pole of the Presence (*manzil al-quṭb min al-ḥaḍrah*) to be the resting-place of the Secret (*manzil al-sirr*) and the custom of the Divine Names (*hijjīrat al-asmāʾ al-ālihah*).[13] Then He made the station of the Imām who stands at the Left-hand of the Pole to be the resting-place of Glory and Intimacy (*al-jalāl wa-l-uns*). He has the name, "the Lord" (*al-Rabb*), for to him pertains the restoration of the world and plant-life (*ṣalāḥ al-ʿālam wa-l-nabāt*)—with him being the secret of nourishing (*sirr al-taghdhīyah*)[14] and in his hand the keys (*al-maqālīd*). He is the Righteous Lord in the world (*al-sayyid al-ṭāhir fī l-ʿālam*), the Sword of the Pole (*sayf al-imām al-quṭb*).

Next, [God] made the station of the Imām who stands on the Right of the Pole to be the resting-place of Beauty and Fear [of God] (*al-jamāl wa-l-haybah*). To him belongs Dominion and Authority (*al-mulk wa-l-sulṭān*), *de jure*, not *de facto*,[15] and in his hands are the keys of the world of spirits (*maqālīd ʿālam al-arwāḥ*) freed of oppressive forms (*al-ṣuwar al-musakhkhirūn*) and the modality of their organization (*kayfīyat hayʾati-him*)[16] in the Divine Presence. . . .

[God] made the Imām of the Left to be one with two countenances (*dhū wajhayn*), a composite face which is directed toward the world, and a simplex one facing the Pole; while He made the Imām of the Right to be of one face (*dhū wajh wāḥid*) and the back of a head (*qafᵃⁿ*, "occiput"),[17] after which He caused him to lose consciousness of the back of his head, so that, if asked, he would say that he was a face without a back thereof.

We have already explained the station of the two imāms in the sphere of the heart in our book, *Mawāqiʿ al-Nujūm*[18]. . . .

306, n. 33 (**M**):
[M glosses "the presence of Divine colloquy (*ḥaḍrat al-munājāh*)" as] the presence of God (*ḥaḍrat Allāh*), in which [the mystic] abides to the extent of his capacity. . . . [This is crossed out by the copyist, however, and the foll. is given in the margin:] Rather, it is the [presence of Divine] Oneness (*al-aḥadīyah*). For it is clear from the words of the Master that all that he speaks of in this and his other works is from the mouth of the Real (*ʿalá lisān al-Ḥaqq*), since he received instruction from Him in the "sure abode" (*maqʿad al-ṣidq*, the "seat of truthfulness" of *Qur.* 54: 55).

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[13] *Hijjīrah* (as voc. in *Ms. Carullah 2080*, f. 110): "custom, manner; state, condition". We could also read *hajīrah* (high noon; apex?). Is this cognate with *hijrah* (the Prophet's emigration)?

[14] Foll. *Ms. Carullah 2073*, f. 113b.

[15] *Bi-l-maqāmi lā bi-l-fiʿli.* That is, spiritually and in secret, but not in actuality; or, perhaps, rather: "by mystical insight and inner standing, but not effectively." The imām of the right ranks below his counterpart on the left, who is the heir-apparent to the Pole.

[16] As in both mss. noted above. *Kayfīyah*: "modality; state" (= Gr., *poiotēs*).

[17] As in both mss.

[18] See pp. 138–39*sq.* therein. This chap. of the *Mawāqiʿ* is the one that was added

313, n. 11 (**M**):
Desire—that is, love (*al-maḥabbah*)—cannot be comprehended except by one who bears it—that is, undergoes it [*yuʿāliju-hā*]. "Love" is an expression for attachment (*al-ḥubb*), which is made up of the two letters, *ḥā'* ("ḥ")—which is of the spirit (*al-rūḥ*)—and *bā'* ("b"), of the body (*al-badan*). For man cannot evoke love until he distinguishes between spirit and body.

314, n. 25 (**M**):
[This revelation takes place] through the mediation of the spirit of inspiration (*bi-wāsiṭat rasūl al-ilhām*). What is meant by "revelation" (*al-inzāl*) is [simply] knowledge of [revelation's] meanings, which is cast into [the saint's] heart, that he might behold wisdom and the secrets, and be illuminated by the lights.

322, n. 34 (**M**):
Do not imagine that the Master is claiming a station (*rutbah*) above that of the prophet, Moses (Blessings and peace of God be upon him!) in this account, but, rather, [he simply points therein to a certain] deficiency, weakness or shortcoming in his nature (*nafsu-hu*). [The remainder of the passage is unclear, but seems to read:] For the spiritual striving of [Moses] (*mujāhadatu-hu*) led him to deviate from his essential nature (*kharaja ʿan dhāti-hi*), as in the case of his killing the enemy of God . . ., while he would not have killed the Copt, except by leave from God and [on account of] a wisdom with which God acquainted his heart, despite. . . . For he was commanded to undertake, in the first place, the holy struggle of his lower-soul (*mujāhadat nafsi-hi*) and its forcible restraint (*zajru-hā*) from its base cravings and intoxications (? *shahawātu-hā wa-mustaḥashshātu-hā l-madhmūmah*)[19] . . . [but *cf.* p. 323, n. 37 (end)].

328–29, n. 6 (**M**):
[*Yāqūt* is a Persian word denoting the sapphire (or jacynth, hyacinth) of whatever variety: *aḥmar* (ruby, or carbuncle, *jamrī*), *aṣfar* (topaz), or *azraq/kuḥlī* (blue sapphire). By itself, the term generally designates the ruby, considered the finest of the types (see Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristotelis*, pp. 99*sq.* and 135*sq.*). ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī defines the *yāqūtah al-ḥamrā'* as "the soul, (so colored) because of the mixture of its luminosity with the darkness (of the body). . . ." (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyah*, p. 66; but *cf.* Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Iṣṭilaḥāt*, 68, where the universal soul is the emerald, *al-zumurrudah*). This is not the actual signification of the expression here, however, as we see, also, below, on p. 335 at n. 71. Al-Maqābirī comments as follows:]

The ruby (*al-yāqūt al-aḥmar*) is a metonym for the great secret and mighty principle (*al-sirr al-ʿaẓīm wa-l-rukn al-ʿazīz*). It is described as being red [= ruby] because that is the most precious of all gems and the rarest in existence, not to be found except in the treasuries of kings because of its nobility.

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a few years after the orig. composition, acc. to a note in the *Ḥilyat al-Abdāl* (in *Rasā'il*, *r.* 26), p. 8.

[19] See *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 63, *s.v. mujāhadah*.

329–30, n. 16 (**M**):
But as it was decreed in pre-eternity that our Prophet, Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), would [behold] the Divine Self-manifestation without mediation when "he was distant two bows'-length or closer,"[20] he was the "Master of the age" (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*) absolutely, none of the [other] prophets supporting him (*yuwāsī-hi*) or equalling him (*yusāwī-hi*). For he is the source of wisdom (*aṣl al-ḥikmah*) and the wellspring of prophecy and sainthood (*yanbūʿ al-nubūwah wa-l-walāyah*). . . .

339, n. 1 (**M**):
[Al-Maqābirī writes of the Divine attributes (f. 78):] The attributes [of God] (*al-ṣifāt*) are [what] is not the [Divine] essence, nor other than that.[21] They are divided into two classes, the attributes of essence and of [Divine] acts (*al-afʿāl*). The first are life, power, knowledge, will, hearing, sight and speech, and nothing besides. The attributes of actions are also divided into two classes: the attributes of beauty (*al-jamāl*) and those of majesty (*al-jalāl*). For God created out of the attributes of beauty the spirits of the prophets, religious scholars, saints, and Paradise and its people, as well as the angels and other good things (*al-umūr al-murḍiyah*); while He created with the attributes of majesty the *jinn* and the devils, Hell-fire and its myrmidons (*al-zabānīyah*: 'a class of angels who torment the damned in Hell') and every despicable—."

342, n. 26 (**M**):
[M understands the "free will" to apply to God rather than man:] The free-will in [Him] is indicative of the fact that the Creator (*al-Bārī*) is a free agent (*fāʿil mukhtār*) rather than a necessary agent (*fāʿil mūjab*), contrary to the teachings of the philosophers (*al-ḥukamāʾ*). [He then continues:] But the Real's willing of sainthood for His servant, as well as His purification and sanctification of him and drawing him near, takes place in pre-eternity, before the writing of the [cosmic] Pen. Then the Pen renders compensation [to all creatures] in accordance with the precedent Will of Divine providence. . . .

344, n. 39 (**M**):
["The heights" (*al-aʿrāf*) are] the heights of the partition (*aʿrāf al-ḥijāb*) [separating off] the "upper chambers" (*aʿāliyah*). It is the wall (*al-sūr*) placed between them [*viz.*, Heaven and Hell?]. It is the plur. of *ʿurf*, as in the *ʿurf* (mane) of a horse,[22] that being something that rises above a thing. For the "men" (*rijāl*) [of the heights are therein] shown to be higher (*aʿraf*, "more knowledgeable") than others, a group/sect of the Unitarians (*ṭāʾifah min al-muwaḥḥidīn*) placed . . . between Paradise and Hell until such time as God should determine His will concerning them. They are said to be a people

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[20] *Qur.* 53: 9, treating of Gabriel's approach to the Prophet.

[21] This is, of course, the "orthodox", Ashʿarite position on the status of the Divine attributes.

[22] Also the crest or comb of a rooster.

(*qawm*) made up of all degrees of the prophets and martyrs, or else the best of the believers and the learned among them, or the angels. . . .

344, n. 41 (**M**):
That is, [God] created [Adam] in the form in which he died (*'alá ṣūrati-hi llatī māta 'alay-hā*).[23] For the definition of man (*ta'rīf al-insān*) is "a body (*jism*) which grows, senses and is moved by will," whereas Adam was not such a growing body, since the Creator created him all at once in the form in which he [later] died. . . . But do not imagine any other [interpretation of the phrase, "his image"] than this, or else you will be an heretical anthropomorphist (*mutashabbih mulḥid*)—May God keep us from that!

350, n. 48 (**M**):
It is said that when Nimrod (Namrūd) declared, "Verily, I give life and I cause death,"[24] [Abraham] responded to him that the life-giving of God is the return of the spirit to the body. But Nimrod asked if he had actually seen [God do that], and [Abraham] was not able to say yes, . . . [so, thereafter] he asked his Lord to show him in order that his heart might be put at rest (see *Qur.* 2: 260). [Regarding the four birds mentioned in the remainder of the verse, M identifies them as a peacock (symbolizing vainglory), a rooster (meanness), a crow (hopelessness), and a dove (concupiscence)—or, as some say instead of the latter, a vulture, no doubt signifying rapaciousness. He then concludes that God chose to use birds in the demonstration because they are of all animals the closest to man.]

352, n. 64 (**M**):
God bestows that authority and free disposal (*al-amr wa-l-taṣarruf*) on whomsoever He wills of His servants, for the states (*aḥwāl*) of the saints are quite various. Among them are those by whose hands God has manifested His favor (*al-karāmah*), instructing their souls therein, and these are the people of saintly miracles (*ahl al-karāmāt*); and among them also are those who are higher than this class, these being those who are concealed (*mastūrūn*),[25] who offer no demonstration of miracles, but who do not depart from this world before they have seen their place in Paradise.

357–58, n. 46:
[In *Fut.-Y.*, II, 386, Ibn al-'Arabī tells of a sage named al-Kāsib (an heir to Luqmān), who was known for his knowledge of the esoteric correspondence (*'ilm al-munāsabāt*) between the worlds, which he apparently inculcated in the form of a gnosis of the *raqā'iq* (s., *raqīqah*), or "subtle rays" (*ashi''ah*). He quotes al-Kāsib as saying:]

Truly, God has placed all knowledge in the celestial spheres (*al-aflāk*), and He has made man to be a totality (*majmū'*) of all of the "subtle rays" [therefrom]. For from man to every thing in the world a subtle ray extends

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[23] That is, he was created in his mature adult form.

[24] *Cf. Qur.* 2: 258.

[25] Or: "blameless in the eyes of the law."

(*mumtaddah*), by means of which God channels to [the corresponding aspects in] man that which He entrusts to those things; and by means of that ray the gnostic can activate (*yuḥarriku*) the [corresponding] thing whenever he wills. For there is nothing in the world without an influence (*athar*) on man, and nothing that man cannot [magically] influence.

361, n. 75 (**M**):
The name of the Reckoner (*al-Ḥasīb*) adjures the name of the Witness (*al-Shahīd*) to bear witness that He is the One in charge of the registration of who opposes or obeys Him and the recording of what He grants and bestows, reckoning every speck and tittle, "for whoso does an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso does an atom's weight of evil shall see it" (*Qur.* 99: 7–8).

372, n. 2 (**M**):
For [God] created the arising of Muḥammadan prophecy (*nash'at al-nubūwah al-Muḥammadīyah*) in the most-perfect semblance and most-original form. Do you not see that [the Reality of Muḥammad] is the glory of the prophets (*zayn al-anbiyā'*), the crown of the pure (*tāj al-aṣfiyā'*), and the ornament of the saints (*ḥilyat al-awliyā'*)—he being the Prophet of mercy (*al-raḥmah*) and the Prophet of battle (*al-malḥamah*), as well as the brick of completeness (*labinat al-kamāl*)—May God bless and keep him and his family, his companions, his followers and his helpers!

375, n. 30 (**M**):
[Al-Maqābirī misreads this line, commenting:] Because the Theophany as such is undifferentiated, the difference (*al-tafāwut*) arising in reference to our capacity (*qābilīyatu-nā*). . . . But the Theophany in the Hereafter is beneficial for knowledge (*mufīd li-l-iḥāṭah*)." [Rather, it is the Theophany in This world which is the more comprehensive (*iḥāṭī*)].

377, n. 43 (**M**):
Because inasmuch as the existential secret (*al-sirr al-wujūdī*) pervades all of the stages [of being] (*jamʿ al-aṭwār*), and the branch is secondary to the root, each [stage] manifests what is in accordance with—. Thus, the self-manifestation of the First (*tajallī l-awwal*) is [both] a summation and an elaboration (*majmal wa-mufaṣṣal*); while the second self-manifestation is a summation and the Divine presence (*al-ḥaḍrah al-ʿāliyah*) is the elaboration/particularization of it (*tafṣīlu-hu*). [Similarly] the exalted Pen is a summation, and the [preserved] Tablet is its particularization; and the hylic substance (*al-māddah al-habā'īyah*) is a summation, and the ideal world (*ʿālam al-mithāl*) its particularization; even as the Throne and the Footstool are to each other, and the [etheric] element (*al-ʿunṣur*) and the heavens and their [respective] materials (? *madīdātu-hā*). . . .

[Moreover] Adam (Peace be upon him!) is a summation, and the apostles, prophets and others of his children are an elaboration/particularization of him; whereas Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), insofar as he is one of [Adam's] children, is a particularization/instantiation of him, while, in his capacity as the [veritable] "Tree" (? *thamarah*) of the world and Spirit of its spirit (*rūḥū rūḥi-hi*), existence branches out from him and grows up out of his comprehensive reality (*ḥaqīqatu-hu l-jāmiʿah*). Indeed, [Muḥammad] is the unity of the whole (*aḥadīyat al-jamʿ*) and the keys of the unseen (*mafātīḥ al-ghayb*). All are his children, his parts (*abʿāḍu-hu*), his particularizations (*tafāṣīlu-hu*) and his consummations (? *mutakammalū-hu*), while he is complete (*mutakammal*) in his parts and his portions. . . .

378, n. 50 (**B**):
[Foll. is the orig. text of *Ms. Berlin 3266* (copied in 597/1201), before the marginal notes were added which were incorporated in all of the later ss.:]

As for the Prophets (*al-nabīyūn*), [they are] a perfect copy/replica (*nuskhah . . . ʿalá l-kamāl*) of those two [*viz.*, Adam and Muḥammad; or, the "sublime Secret" and "subtle Signification"]; while the Gnostic-Inheritors (*al-ʿārifūn al-wārithūn*) [are] a copy of Adam and the Heart (*wasaṭ*) of Muḥammad (Peace be upon them!) in accordance with a most-exact Image (*ʿalá atqani mithāl*^{in}). And as for the believers (*al-muʾminūn*), [they are] a copy of Adam and the exterior (*ẓāhir*) of Muḥammad (Peace be upon them!) in the presence of the [Divine] Majesty (*ḥaḍrat al-jalāl*).

[It seems to me that this orig. version is clearly liable to the interpretation that the "saints" (*awliyāʾ*) are in some way superior to the prophets—a most dangerous tenet in Islamdom even as late as the 7th/13th cent. It is for this reason, I believe, that Ibn al-ʿArabī authorized the interpolations added to B, indicated by square brackets [ ] in our text. The two short phrases marked by curled brackets { } are not found in B, but appear in all later ss. (exc. for once in R). *Cf.* next note.]

378, n. 51 (**Q**):
[The 1934 Cairo edn. (Q) presents a version of the orig. text in the preceding note somewhat different from the other later ss.:]

As for the Prophets sent with scriptures and those not sent with scriptures, and the Gnostics and the Inheritors among all of the nations, and the Believers among us, [they are] a copy of Adam and the Heart of Muḥammad (Peace be upon them!) in accordance with the most-exact Image. [The remainder of the passage is as in our text.]

378, n. 53 (**M**):
Consider how the Master equates the believers among us and the gnostic-inheritors of all other nations, in that he makes them to be of [the same] copy of Adam by the mediation (*bi-wāsiṭah* [*sic*]) of Muḥammad (Peace be upon them!). That is because of the nobility of this Muḥammadan community (*sharafīyat hādhihi l-ummah al-Muḥammadīyah*), they being honored because of the nobility of their Prophet. And do you not see how the gnostic of this community reaches [the level of] the prophets and apostles [of other communities], in that they are [all, equally] a copy of Adam and Muḥammad . . . ?

[Such chauvinism, however, is *not* the purport of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own words, either in its orig. text or in the redaction of B, as I show in my own comm. for p. 378, n. 50, above.]

394, n. 65 (**M**):
Then God (Exalted be He!) created the [Divine] footstool from the light of the Muḥammadan Reality in the most-complete form and most-perfect meaning—though there is no "footstool" in reality, nor One seated [thereon] (*qāʿid*) [?]. It is said that [God's] footstool is a symbol for His knowledge or His dominion (*ʿilm-hu aw mulku-hu*), derived from the [notion of the] footstool/throne of the religious scholar and the king (*kursī al-ʿālim wa-l-malik*).

It is said to be a body/form (*jism*) in front of the throne (*al-ʿarsh*), styled a "footstool" encompassing the seven heavens, in accordance with the saying [of the Prophet] (Blessings and peace upon him!): "That which is contained within the seven heavens and seven earths below the footstool is as [within] a ring [dropped] in barren lands (*ka-ḥalqat*^{in} *fī falāt*^{in})."[26] The superiority of the throne over the footstool is as the "intellect" of the [above-mentioned] "barren lands" (*ka-ʿaql tilka l-falāh*) over that "ring". . . .[27]

395, n. 79 (**M**):
[Al-Maqābirī paraphrases *Qur*. 6: 38:] "We have left no qualitative determinations (*aḥkām*) except We have substantiated them in [man]"; or: "We have left no precious thing in existence [*nafīsat al-kawn*] except We have confirmed it in the [external] structure of man (*haykal al-insān*)."

397, n. 94 (**M**):
If man's spirituality (*rūḥānīyatu-hu*) is purified and cleansed of the flaws of heedlessness, and his "human-nature" (*nāsūtīyatu-hu*) is abolished [thereby] and stripped away from his "Divine-nature" (*lāhūtīyatu-hu*), then he can be described as the Spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-qudus*) and sovereign Power (*al-wilāyah*) over the world—to rule, to warn, to arouse, and to terrify—accrue to him. [Despite his misuse of Ḥallājian nomenclature, al-Maqābirī's meaning is clear.]

398–99, n. 105 (**M** & **W**):
[M reads this important passage as follows:] Thereafter, the eleventh [station] comes as the counterpart of the first—attached thereto, if you consider carefully—and it is *also* the counterpart of the twelfth; while the thirteenth, *etc*. [W makes a full-stop after *al-thānī*, reading:]—are the counterpart of the second, while the third is of the fundamental principles, *etc*.

405, n. 162 (**M**):
Do you not see that the earth (*al-arḍ*) was originally a jewel (*jawharah*)? For the Real manifested [this jewel], then gazed upon it with a gaze of Majesty (*naẓaru jalāl*^{in}) until it liquified into water. Then it became an encompassing ocean (*baḥr muḥīṭ*) with crashing waves, which turned to foam [*ẓabad*]. Then God (Exalted be He!) created the earth of that foam, and it settled upon

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[26] *Cf.* Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 78 and 184 (I, 5).

[27] But in the *Futūḥāt* (-*Y*., II, 231), Ibn al-ʿArabī actually correlates the throne with the *body* of man (*jism al-insān*), and the footstool with the soul (*nafs*)!

the water, but began to shake on the surface of the water. Then God created the mountains as pegs (*awtād*) to hold [the earth], and it became still.

406, n. 171:
I read this finely-crafted conundrum, thus: *Wa-kullu khalq*^{in} *bi-l-iḍāfati, ilá mā khuliqa min-hu yasīru; wa-ilá mā kuwwina min-hu ba'da l-khilālati yaṣīru.* The rhyming verbs should be read first to make sense out of these lines.

408, n. 1:
Although none of the western dictionaries (exc. for Wehr) list "vapor" (in the sense of "mist or steam") as a possible trn. of *dukhān* (smoke, fume), it may be the meaning intended here, as well as in *Qur.* 41: 11 and 44: 10 (and the title of *Sūrah 44*). *Dukhān* is rendered there as "smoke" by most translators, however, although N.J. Dawood has "a cloud of vapour" for the first occurrence (see also Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 140 [trad. 8] and 142–43 [29 and 31], where the same usage is tr. as "steam"). As the word also connotes "dearth, drought; hunger", I would suggest that the *dukhān mubīn* appearing to the hungry "between him and the sky" (see Lane, *s.v.* [end]) could be s.th. like a vaporous *mirage* (*sarāb*) rather than "dust rising from the earth in drought", as the lexicographers prefer to explain (*cf.* pp. 411, at n. 38, and 446, at n. 8, *et seq.*).

408, n. 5 (**M**):
For the supernal world (*al-'ālam al-'alawī*) is devoid (*khāl*^{in}) of the obscurities of matter and form (*ẓulumāt al-hayūlá wa-l-ṣūrah*), contrary to the [case of the] corporeal world (*'ālam al-juthmānī* [*sic*]), which is dense (*kathīf*).

409, n. 17 (**M**):
That is, the seven "much-frequented" heavens (*samāwāt maṭrūqah*), [so called] because the angels [continuously] ascend and descend in them as if they had highways (*ṭuruq*).

410, n. 28 (**M**):
If the star (*al-najm*) falls [from the sky], the sphere (*al-falak*) continues to revolve eternally without it. In this is an intimation that the "perfect man" is as the sphere to the stars, while the secrets and the spirits, the sciences and the gnoses are as the stars.

411, n. 35 (**M**):
[At this point al-Maqābirī engages in a lengthy exposition of what he takes to be "these intimations." He begins:] The "perfect man" includes these four elements which are the root of his constitution, some of them being subtle (*laṭīfah*) and some dense (*kathīfah*)—[his] nature (*al-kayfīyah*) being variegated, depending upon its material constituents (*mawāddu-hā*) . . . in accordance with the [Divine] providence.

Variation in [man's] natural dispositions (*al-ṭabā'i'*) and alternation in [his] grades [of being] (*al-marātib*) accrue to him because of [these various elements in his being]. . . . Thus, blue and red are the qualities (s., *ṣifah*) of [Divine] Majesty and Justice, yellow and white are the qualities of Beauty and Grace, as is green. For white and green are [the colors of] the clothing of the people of Paradise,[28] while the people of Hellfire are [dressed] in blue and red. . . .

[In the remainder of the passage, al-Maqābirī discusses (somewhat incoherently) a theory of the transformations (s., *tabdīl*, "conversion") of one earth into another.]

414, n. 61 (**M**):
God (Be He Exalted!) created Adam (Blessings and peace be upon him!); his head of the first earth, his neck of the second earth; his breast [and arms] of the third; his hands of the fourth; his back and belly of the fifth; his thighs, his genitals[29] and his backside of the sixth; and his legs and feet of the seventh earth; and he was called "Adam" because he was [made] of the "skin" of the earth (*adīm al-arḍ*).

418, n. 110 (**M**):
What is meant by the "ruby" is the heart (or the spirit) while the "topaz" is the soul/mind (*al-nafs*). [Al-Maqābirī then goes on to explain that when the *nafs* becomes perfect, the ruby, which is the "deposited secret" (*al-sirr al-mūdaʿ*), appears within and seals the *nafs* with the seal of Divine accommodation and guidance (*khātam al-tawfīq wa-l-hidāyah*).]

421, n. 126:
The interpolations found in the texts of V, B2 and Q here and in nn. 127 and 140, below, were possibly glosses in the hypothetical ms. source which I have labeled [X3] in Fig. III (p. 198), which were mistaken as parts of the text by V (but not by M). Their fairly complete nature suggests that they may have originated in some genuine comm. of the *ʿAnqāʾ* other than any of which I am now aware.

425, n. 167 (**M**):
In short, the Master establishes that the acquisition (*al-talaqqī*) of Divine secrets without the mediation of an angel (*wāsiṭat malak^{in}*) is better than that [which takes place] through mediation. For this reason the Muḥammadan community [of the Ṣūfīs] is superior to all other communities, since most of their mystical states (*aḥwālu-hum*) are receptive to the noble secrets and subtle lights from the [Divine] presence without any [angelic] mediation, contrary to the practice of [all] previous communities. But beware of understanding the Master (May God benefit us by him and his teachings!) to be giving preponderance (*rajjaḥa*) to general sainthood (*al-walāyah al-ʿāmmah*) over the station of prophecy (*maqām al-nubūwah*), as some have contended![30]

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[28] In the margin a note is added to the effect that yellow has much the same significance as green.

[29] *Madhākīru-hu*, a plur. form of *dhakar* (*q.v.* in Lane).

[30] *Ka-mā zaʿama-hu baʿḍu-hum.* I take this to refer to both friends and foes of Ibn al-ʿArabī, as, indeed, was the case. Regardless of the Master's real position on the *walī-nabī* controversy as to *tarjīḥ* (preponderance), al-Maqābirī's argument as presented in this passage is both invalid and irrelevant. In the first place, Ibn al-ʿArabī

For [Ibn al-ʿArabī] has already explained in the first place that the [Divine] command comes down upon the prophets and apostles in two ways: sometimes by mediation and sometimes not by mediation. Thus, [both] virtues (*al-faḍīlatān*) are established for them.

428, n. 8 (**M**):
In that state of mystical annihilation (*al-ḥālah al-fanā'īyah*) he [continues to] seek the effect of the Divine-legal provision (*athar al-ḥukm al-sharʿī*). . . . For the servant never arrives at a state in which the obligation to observe the law (*al-taklīf*) is lifted from him. So, consider the path (*maslak*) of this Master (May God benefit us by him!), how he does not neglect the legal courtesies (*ādāb al-sharʿīyah* [*sic*]) for a single moment.

429, n. 15 (**M**):
This is the station of the Seal of the saints, that being the highest station of sainthood. But do not dare allege that these glorious attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-jalīlah*) can accrue to just anyone, or that the intermediate level of sainthood can realize them. Rather, none but the most-perfect of spiritual souls (*kawāmil al-nufūs al-rūḥānīyah*) [can do so].

437, n. 84 (**M**):
"The saint shall become a prophet": Because for every mission of prophecy there is a sainthood. We have already explained that you cannot obtain the station of prophecy by your own efforts (*bi-l-kasb*) but only by [God's] gift (*bi-l-wahb*)—contrary to [the case of] sainthood. [After the lines quoted in n. 84, al-Maqābirī continues:] The doctrine of our Lord, the [Great] Master, has been [falsely] attacked, but beware lest you understand it to be other than [what I have just explained; and, if you *do* misunderstand it so] then condemn it, since it would be [in that case] a part of deceptive lore (*al-maʿlūm al-ghurūrī*), for there shall be no prophet after our Prophet (May God bless and keep him!).

". . . And the prophet a saint":—He being the prophet of God, Jesus, son of Mary, in particular. That is, when he descends to earth and slays the Antichrist (*al-dajjāl*), as his descent to earth and his dominion (*ḥukmuhu*) in the world shall be by virtue of [his] sainthood, not [his] prophethood. [For] his prophethood will be hidden (*bāṭinah*) at that time, all of his judgments being in accordance with the law (*sharīʿah*) of our Prophet (May God bless and keep him!).

437, n. 85 (**M**):
[Identifying the Caliph/Mahdī and the Seal as Jesus and the other "élite saints of God who have reached the highest degrees of sainthood," M

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does not usually employ the expression, "general sainthood", but, rather, "general *prophethood*," which is, in reality, tantamount to sainthood itself. The question is, then, whether "general" or "legislative" prophecy is superior, and this issue, as M notes, is not decisively determined in the present discussion. Finally, M has overlooked the implication of the fact that the Prophet Muḥammad received the Qur'ān *by angelic mediation.*

continues his description of the latter:] For they are the caliphs of God (Be He Exalted!) on His earth: Whenever one of them dies, another individual is appointed caliph in his place (*ustukhlifa shakhṣ*^{un} *makāna-hu*), except that the grade of the saint is [always] below that of the prophet, there being a barrier (*barzakh*) between them which neither can violate.

447–48, n. 22 (**M**):
The difference between the "verifier of the truth" (*al-muḥaqqiq*) and the meticulous [scholar] (*al-mudaqqiq*), is that the former substantiates [real] issues (*al-masāʾil*) with proofs (*al-dalāʾil*), whereas the latter merely proves proofs with proofs. . . .

450, n. 40 (**M**):
"I was a hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, so I created mankind (*al-khalq*) that they might know Me."[31] While the world of sense-testimony (*ʿālam al-shahādah*) is the gathering-place of the secrets (*majmaʿ al-asrār*), the showing-place of the essences of affliction and benefaction (*maẓhar aʿyān al-niqmah wa-l-niʿmah*) and the abode of censure, legal encumbrance and ritual worship (*dār al-taʿnīf wa-l-taklīf wa-l-ʿibādah*) . . ., its people are dominated by two adversaries, one of them from within their own natures—namely, the lower-soul (*al-nafs*)—and the other from outside of them sometimes and from inside at others—namely, Satan. But whoever is freed (*al-khāliṣ*) of these two enemies from among the natures of man (*jawāhir al-insān*) is more excellent than the very élite of the people of the Unseen world (*ʿālam al-ghayb*), they being the angels.

454, n. 77:
[Foll. is C.D. Ginsbury's trn. of a passage from the *Ẓohar* (I, 51a), in which the flame of a lamp (= *sirāj*) is used as a symbol for the Divine unity. It can be compared with what follows in the tenth "jewel" of the *ʿAnqāʾ*:]

> Whoso wishes to have an insight into the Sacred Unity, let him consider a flame rising from a burning coal or a burning lamp. He will see first a twofold light, a bright white and a black or blue light; the white light is *above*, and ascends in a direct light, whilst the blue or dark light is *below*, and seems as the chair of the former, yet both are so intimately connected together that they constitute only one flame. The seat, however, formed by the blue or dark light, is again connected with the burning matter which is *under it* again. The white light never changes its colour, it always remains white; but various shades are observed in the lower light, whilst the lowest light, moreover, takes two directions—above, it is connected with the white light, and below with the burning matter. Now this is constantly consuming itself, and perpetually ascends to the upper light, and, thus, everything merges into a single unity (*The Kabbalah*, pp. 107–08).

457, n. 96 (**M**):
If the winds of love and desire (*riyāḥ al-maḥabbah wa-l-shawq*) grow brisk upon him and he reach the place of passionate love (*maḥall al-shaghaf*) in

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[31] On this trad., see pp. 361–62, n. 86, above. In line with his misreading of Ibn al-ʿArabī's text (see f.n.), al-Maqābirī takes *al-khalq* to signify the world.

his heart, his very being ceases to exist (*ʿudima wujūdu-hu*), as he joins with the object of his worship (*laḥiqa bi-maʿbūdi-hi*).

463, n. 12 (**M**):
[The glorious Scripture (*al-kitāb al-ʿazīz*) [*sci.*, the Qurʾān] contains the Divine-legal judgments and Lordly secrets, so that it is, truly, an *imām* for us, our dependence upon it in [matters of] right conduct and spiritual guidance (*al-rushd wa-l-irshād*) being like our dependence on the "speaking Imām" [*sci.*, the Prophet?].

467–68, n. 54 (**M**):
In reality the allusion is to Adam (The blessings and peace of God be upon him!), but metaphorically it refers to every "perfect man" with magical power (*insān kāmil mutaṣarrif*), by God's permission, inasmuch as [such a one] is "the caliph of God on His earth." Or, if you will, you may say [that the latter, in] the "city" of humanity (*madīnat al-insānīyah*) is the heart—with the secrets and the lights that it contains—while the spirit and the inner essence (*al-rūḥ wa-l-sirr*) are its two ministers (*wazīrān*), the outer and inner senses its subjects (*raʿīyatu-hu*), and the spiritual states proceeding from the [Divine] Unitary Presence, its army (*jundu-hu*).

468, n. 57 (**M**):
[M begins by explaining that this means man's "affecting the nature of God's attributes (*al-takhalluq bi-ṣifāti-hi*)"; but then he goes on to quote *Qur.* 2: 31–32, and to add:] So Adam is "in the image of the Merciful" as regards knowledge, power and magical control (*al-taṣarruf*) in the world, giving life [to the dead], . . . and healing the blind and the leper, with God's permission [*cf. Qur.* 3: 49], and the display of preternatural feats of miracles (*iẓhār khawāriq al-ʿādāt min al-karāmāt*). [Finally, he makes ref. to the trad. which Ibn al-ʿArabī partially quotes here (see p. 344, n. 41, *et al.*), glossing "His image" as "the locus of the issuance of the [Divine] influences and effluences (*maḥall ṣudūr al-infiʿālāt wa-l-taṣarrufāt*)."]

475, n. 11 (**M**):
Part of the . . . nobility of the Prophet and his pre-eminence over all of existence—that being the world—is his sending forth (*irsāl*) the Seal of the saints for the restoration of the world (*iṣlāḥ al-ʿālam*) and the slaying of the Antichrist (*al-dajjāl*) at the hands of this human individual and Lordly secret (*al-shakhṣ al-insānī wa-l-sirr al-rabbānī*), until the [whole] earth is filled with justice. For the existence of this Seal at the end of time is an increase (*ziyādah*) in the nobility of our Prophet (May God bless and keep him!), in whom is the very feeder-line of [the Seal's] essence (*farʿ ḥaqīqati-hi*) and the source of his inner heart and his lights (*maʿdin sirri-hi wa-anwāri-hi*).

482, n. 73 (**M**):
[That is to say] I mounted the "Burāq" of the secret of my love (*sirr maḥabbat-ī*) and I cared not at that time that I would be separated from my homeland and my family (*waṭan-ī wa-ahl-ī*). Rather, I (easily) relinquished my lover (*ilf-ī*), for the riding-animal of my desires (*maṭīyat ashwāq-ī*) no longer drove me to meet [my earthly] beloved (*liqāʾ al-maḥbūb*), so that the

fever of [his carnal love] (*ḥummā-hu*) was kept from me and I understood the rapture of his [spiritual] essence (*fa-samiʿtu ladhdhata maʿnā-hu*). Then I returned to my homeland and my people, crowned with the crown of favor (*tāj al-karāmah*) and donning the garb of salvation (*ḥullat al-ikhlāṣ*), possessed of the attributes of mercy and patience (*al-raḥmah wa-l-ḥilm*), versed in gnosis and knowledge (*al-ʿirfān wa-l-ʿilm*). This, then, is the journeying of the gnostics and the stations of the [mystic] travellers....

488, n. 28 (**M**):
The faith of Pharoah [cannot be considered valid] because his faculties [to act] (*quwā-hu*) had ceased and he became like one chosen for sacrifice (*madhbūḥ*),[32] [who has no capacity to choose between good and evil] so that his [belated] faith is not counted but, rather, his [previous] infidelity.... This is the [real] doctrine of the Master (*madhhab al-shaykh*) according to oral evidence (*al-dalīl al-samʿī*), and that which has been transmitted from him which is contrary to this has no basis in reality....

489, n. 39 (**M**):
Like the angels, according to the view of some, who say that angels are incorporeal spirits (*arwāḥ mujarradah*), while others say that they are subtle bodies (*ajsām laṭīfah*). But in the Master's language there is [something of] *exaggeration* regarding the ineffability of this "treasure" (*ʿadam idrak hādhā l-kanz*) inasmuch as it is described in terms of sensual, human qualities (*al-ṣifāt al-nāsūtīyah al-ḥissīyah*) elevated to the spiritual, Divine qualities (*al-ṣifāt al-ilāhīyah al-rūḥīyah*).

492, n. 60 (**M**):
And [the two orphans] will be hedged in (*yuḥayyaṭāni*) by the gnosis of [that treasure]. In this is an allusion to the fact that sainthood has a fixed term (*amad maʿlūm*).

494, n. 82 (**M**):
That is, with respect to [perfect man's] magical control (*al-taṣarruf*) in the world as to commanding and prohibiting[33] and [granting] life and death, by God's leave....

497, n. 105 (**M**):
What is meant by the "Black Stone" is the lower-soul (*al-nafs*). Its "blackness" is in reference to the shortcoming (*al-taqṣīr*) which appears in [the soul]. But in the beginning it was, in accordance with its innate character (*al-fiṭrah*), white, just as the Stone was originally. But when the hands of the disobedient touched it, it became black.[34]

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[32] *Ṣāra fī maqāmi ḥarakati madhbūḥ*^{in}—*e.g.*, like Isaac (or Ishmael, as most Muslims held), the son of Abraham. *Madhbūḥ* signifies both "one who has been sacrificed or chosen for sacrifice" and s.th. that *does not require to be slaughtered* since it is already clean, or pure, such as a thing taken from the sea (see Lane, *s.v. madhbūḥ*).

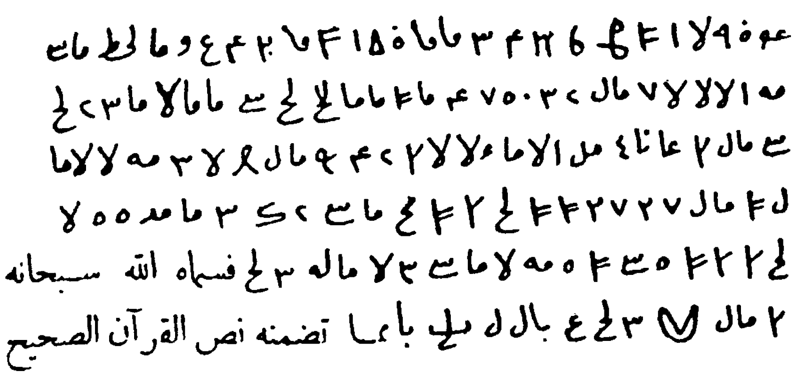
[33] That is, his commands to do good and injunctions against evil must be obeyed.

[34] See p. 253, n. 59.

506, n. 17 (**M**):
[Jesus's] singularity (*fardānīyatu-hu*) is in regard to his having no equal (*naẓīr*) in degree of sainthood, since he is its Seal (*khātamu-hā*), having been sent forth first as a prophet and apostle, and, secondly, as a saint. [But, at the same time, the Seal of sainthood is said to be manifold (*muta'addidah*) in that it is not limited to Jesus] but, rather, many might attain unto it in their own time. . . .

507, n. 31:
The point is that the real criterion of the Seal's high status is his spiritual merit or station (*maqāmu-hu*) rather than the conditioned time of his appearance (*zamānu-hu*)—that is, his physical being.[35] If we were to add an art. to *maqām* in our text, reading the phrase as a simple (rather than a complex) *iḍāfah*-construction, it would be possible to read *al-'iyān* in its secondary signification as an adj. meaning "clear, manifest" (= *ẓāhir*), and thus shifting the focus of import from *al-'iyān* to *al-maqām* (the spiritual station). Moreover, Lane notes (*s.v. 'iyān*) that the Arabic-Persian dictionary, *Kanz al-Lughah*, voc. the term as *'ayān* (= Per., *āshkār*, "manifest, evident"), which would have the advantage in our present context of providing a better rhyme with *zamān* (though Lane doubts the transcription).

511, n. 1 (**Q**):
[At this point, the first printed edn. of the *'Anqā'* (Q) inserts some lines of cryptograms which I have not been able to tr., exc. for random words (*e.g., 'Īsá* and *bi-l-masīḥ*). Nothing corresponding to these particular letters is to be found in any ms. (inc. V and B2, closely related to Q's source), nor do they even entirely conform to the key provided by Q (see below, p. 580 [l. 6]). I give the passage here in case anyone might be able to make sense of it:]



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[35] Hence, the adj., *ṭīnī* (corporeal, physical), was contraposed to *maqāmī* (spiritual, mystical) in determining the Mahdī's relation to the Prophet, above, on p. 239 at n. 22.

515, n. 34 (**M**):
[This refers to Jesus's] relinquishing of his way (*ṭarīqatu-hu*) which he used to follow—that is, in accordance with the legal provisions of the Gospel (*aḥkām al-injīl*)—in favor of the [more-]exalted way, that of the judgments of the Qur'ān (*ṭarīqat aḥkām al-furqān*). . . .[36]

519–20, n. 59:
Al-Maqābirī goes on to quote a more detailed version of the strange trad. of the Mahdī's descent to Damascus (tr. by Rosenthal in *Muqaddimah*, II, 194), parts of which appear in the second *ḥadīth* in this note.

520, n. 60:
See al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis*, p. 409 (*no.* 1213); and al-Nubāhī, *Ta'rīkh Quḍāt al-Andalus*, p. 180). Baṭṭāl < Baṭalyūsī? There was another Ibn Baṭṭāl, ʿAmr b. Zakariyā' al-Burhānī (Abū l-Ḥakam), of Seville (d. 549/1154), acc. to Bağdatlı (in *Hadīyat al-ʿArifīn*, vol. I, p. 803) [unless the similarity of deathdates evinces a confusion here]. Al-Maqqarī (*Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, vols. V, p. 44, and VI, p. 484) quotes Ibn Ghālib as referring to an Ibn Baṭṭāl al-Ṣanhājī who wrote a famous book on agriculture.

520, n. 61:
See also *Hadīyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. II, p. 88. Abū Bakr Muḥ b. Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179) was in correspondence with al-Māzarī after his emigration to al-Mahdīyah, whence he received an *ijāzah* to teach the *K. al-Muʿlim* (see his *Fahrasah*, p. 196). Al-Ishbīlī also mentions the sequel, the *Ikmāl al-Muʿlim* (in *ibid.*). Kâtib Çelebi lists a *Muʿlim fī Sharḥ* [*Ṣaḥīḥ*] *Muslim*, not further described; and also a *K. Muʿallim al-Ṭullāb*, by Ahmad b. Bakr al-Maghribī, but this is a didactic poem (see *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. II, p. 1741). The *Muʿlim bi-Mubhamāt Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, by Ibn al-ʿAjamī al-Ḥalabī (see *G.A.L.*, I, 160), evidently dates from the 8th/14th cent.

523, n. 85:
Al-Maqābirī's rather lame attempt to explain this ref. is based on the popular (Jewish) derivation of the name, *ʿĪsá* (Jesus), from *ʿĪsū* (Esau; see MacDonald's art., "ʿĪsā," in *E.I.* 1).

524, n. 89 (**M**):
That this [hidden] treasure might not be revealed, nor anyone come to know of it, except for the one who has sold his life to God (*cf. Qur.* 9: 111) . . . and become detached from the human genus and assimilated to the character of the angels, his spirit ascending to the presence of Divine Oneness.

525, n. 96:
In an attempt to explain the ref. to the number, 30, M cites *Qur.* 21: 105: "Verily, we have written in the Psalms (*al-Zabūr*), after the Remembrance

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[36] On the various meanings of *furqān*, see Jeffery, *s.v.* Here al-Maqābirī's idea is as plain as it is obtuse, since Ibn al-ʿArabī's point is that the Seal left a higher for the *lower* way (*al-ṭarīqah al-suflá*).

(*al-Dhikr* = the Torah): 'My righteous servants shall inherit the earth'" (*cf. Psalms* 37: 29), evidently because of the number of letters, 30, foll. and inc. the word, *al-dhikr*; but the copyist has crossed this out and quoted 4: 171, inc. the words: "The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, the Apostle of God (*rasūl Allāh*) and His Word . . .," which, however, comes to thirty-*one* letters (but if we substitute *rūḥ* for *rasūl* we will arrive at the correct number). For his part, W adds up the values of the letters in the expression, *thalāthīna ʿadad*^an^, to get 1170, but offers no explanation for its significance. It could be that the thirty Qur'ānic passages (*mawāḍiʿ*) relating to Jesus as the Seal of the saints (as opposed to the Mahdī) alluded to in pp. 511*sq.* (*cf.* also p. 93) are somehow intended.

530, n. 35 (**M**):
—This being the usage of the people of this affair [*ahl hādhā l-sha'n*, the Ṣūfīs] (May God benefit us by means of them in This world and the Hereafter!) of that which has come to them in the station of revelation. [Al-Maqābirī glosses *al-naṣṣ* with "traditional evidence" (*al-dalīl al-samʿī*), *i.e.*, knowledge received on the authority of a *shaykh.*]

531, n. 40 (**M**):
Because the door of interpretation (*bāb al-ta'wīl*) is very wide, but only he from whose inner perception (*baṣīrah*) God has removed the veil of heedlessness (*ḥijāb al-ghaflah*) can attain unto it, this being a place of trial (*maḥall li-l-balwá*).

531–32, n. 45:
The copyist of M cites a trad. in the margin which foretells the Mahdī's appearance in the year, 599 H., but he adds that al-Qurṭubī pronounced it spurious (*mawḍūʿ*). Then he goes on to point out that, in any event, the time had passed w/o any trace of the Mahdī coming to light, exc. that "the Master himself claimed to have met him in Fez"—an apparent ref. to Ibn al-ʿArabī's statement in *Fut.* II, 49 (21–23) that he met the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood in that city in 595.[37]

532, n. 52 (**B, E, R** & **W**):
[The last page of B (f. 48b) is badly damaged, esp. at the bottom where the colophon occurs. In my microfilm all that is visible is: . . . *sanata sabʿ*^in^ *wa-tisʿīna wa-khamsi-mi'ah* (the year, 597). There is also some writing in the outside margin, which I cannot read.

[E has a marginal note at the end (f. 47) which is illegible exc. for the expression: *Balaghat al-muqābalah.*

[The colophon of R reads:] In the glory of God and by His aid, the [copying of this] book was completed on the third [day] of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, in the year, 629 [= 29 Dec., 1231]—Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds! There is no power and no strength save in God, the Exalted, the Mighty! [This, of course, is a late copy of the orig. colophon in the source I have called (X).

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[37] But *cf. Fut.* III, 514 (11–14).

[W ends (on f. 69b) with the foll. partly erroneous comments:] My Lord, the Master, Muḥyi l-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī[38] was born on a Friday night, the 17th day of Ramaḍān, in 561 [*sic*], and he died on a Friday night, the 22nd of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, in 638, . . . aged seventy-seven years.

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[38] W may have been copied in Iran, as the marginal glosses are occasionally in Persian.

APPENDIX TWO

AL-ḤIJĀZĪ'S COMMENTARY ON THE *ʿANQĀʾ MUGHRIB* (H)

I have given a brief account of this commentary, entitled *R. al-Aghrab min al-ʿUjālah al-Aʿjab* (The Most-Astounding of Astonishing Sketches), and its reputed author, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. al-Ḥijāzī (fl. 907/1501), in the introduction (pp. 210–13). In this appendix I will present: 1. a summary of the exordium of the *Aghrab* (pp. 2–12 of *Ms. Haci Mahmud Ef. 2347*/1), which adumbrates al-Ḥijāzī's intricate system of states/stages (*aṭwār*) of cosmic manifestation/development; 2. a summary of the commentator's own "philosophical eschatology" (pp. 67–78) following his verse-by-verse exegesis of the opening poem of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (pp. 12–67); and 3. al-Ḥijāzī's synopsis of [some of] the remaining sections of the book on pp. 78–86.

Part 1: A summary of the exordium

[Bold numerals in brackets refer to page-numbers of *Ms. Haci Mahmud Ef. 2347* (inscribed by the orig. copyist, beginning with title-page)].

[**2**] God made the world to be [divided into] states/stages (*aṭwār*: s., *ṭawr*), causing it to be throughout these states a cycle and a course (*dawr wa-sayr*), manifesting its external and internal phenomena (*āthār wa-asrār*) at each turn. [**3**] And God made certain of His servants to excel in these several stages, ordaining some of them to be righteous (*abrār*) and others pure in origin (*aḥrār*), of which there are four states of the former, surmounted by four of the latter.[1]

These eight states/stages correlate with the eight cosmic spheres of the seven "planets" and the earth (while the ninth sphere is the Divine throne, encompassing all of the spheres of the universe): the first corresponds to the world of the five senses;[2] the second corresponds to the world of the imagination (*al-khayāl*) [**4**];[3] the third, to the world of suprarational "instinct"

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[1] The *abrār* may be conceived as "righteous" by virtue of dutiful actions ("thus it becomes us to fulfill all righteousness"), while the *aḥrār* (freeborn, aristocrats) are the same from birth—that is, by their inherent virtue (though both conditions are viewed as the effects of God's will, of course). Hence, in spirituality as in sociology, there is a patent distinction between established wealth and the *nouveaux riches.*

[2] In *this* world, which, acc. to H, contains most of mankind, the soul is occupied with sense-objects and is obscured thereby from ascending to holiness. At this level man is just an animal, albeit in human form.

[3] Here the mystic is occupied with the experiences of imagination (*adhwāq al-khayāl*), whether associated with the "lower soul", the *nafs al-ammārah bi-l-sūʾ* ("the

(*al-wahm*);[4] [**5**] the fourth, to the world of vision (*al-ʿiyān*), with the rising of the "Sun of the reality of man" (*shams ḥaqīqat al-insān*) therein.[5] [**6**] For the mystic dies the "death of the will" (*al-mawt al-irādī*) at the onset of the second stage, and is on the verge of extinction from this cause until he completes the third stage, in which, indeed, he dies and is buried; for, as Jesus has said, "No one can enter the kingdom of the heavens and the earth (*malakūt al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ*) who is not born a second time (*lam yūlad marratayn*)."[6]

[**7**] The fifth stage is that of the spiritual élite (*al-khawāṣṣ*), the preceding four having comprised the commonality (*al-ʿawāmm*). Here, again, al-Ḥijāzī makes some intriguing allusions to the Alexander legend: "If the wayfarer travels to the west, the 'west' of nature (*gharb al-ṭabīʿah*), and beholds there the Western Sun, the 'Sun' of the reality of man when it rises upon him out of the terminus of nature's 'west' (*ʿan nihāyat gharb al-ṭabīʿah*), as the Greek Master-King (*al-shaykh al-malik al-Rūmī*)—May God sanctify his exalted soul!—beheld and witnessed with his own eyes the [fabulous] Gryphon of the West (*ʿanqāʾ al-maghrib*)," *etc.* In brief, the wayfarer is made to behold here in detail all of the signs of the eschaton (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*), "for there shall appear in his own being the 'saints' of the imaginative and the intuitive faculties (*awliyāʾ al-quwá l-khayālīyah wa-l-wahmīyah*) and the 'prophets' of the rational faculties (*anbiyāʾ al-quwá l-ʿaqlīyah*)" divested of the lower, imaginal and sensual powers.

[**8**] Because of the "death of the [lower-self-] will" (*mawt al-irādah*) these "prophets" and "saints" are virtually free of all connection with the human soul and its faculties which are constrained by the Divine law, until, ultimately, the Antichrist of nature (*dajjāl al-ṭabīʿah*) appears at the end of the

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soul which incites to evil", foreshadowing of the Freudian *id*) or the higher *nafs al-lawwāmah* ("the soul which blames" = the *super-ego*). The luminary (*nūr*) of the former is the intellect, its theatre (*maẓhar*) the moon, and its guide (*murshid*) Adam; while the luminary of the second is the heart, manifest in Mercury, the "Metamorphoser" (*al-munqalib*), and its guides, Jesus and John the Baptist.

[4] "Where rational discernment (*al-fahm*) is knocked out, overcome by the onslaught of something like a troop of warriors (*hujūm ḥukm al-bahm* [for *il-buham* ?]), and the mystic ceases to be human, passing to the level of animals (*rutbat al-bahm*, 'the rank of sheep')." The luminary of this, the third heaven, is the "particular spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-juzʾīyah*), manifest in Venus; and its guide is the prophet, Joseph.

[5] H explains that as man appears as man in this fourth *ṭawr*, and as an animal in the first, so he was as one of the *jinn* (genii) in the second stage and a *shayṭān* (devil) in the third, "for in the third stage [the mystic] reaches the place of the setting of the sun (*maghrib al-shams*) and finds it descending into a hot spring (*ʿayn ḥāmiyah*); . . . and there he learns what King Alexander, the Greek, learned . . ." (see *infra*). Is this the Orphean-Dionysian plumbing the depths of the infernal in order to rise to the heights of the eternal, as the bowstring is drawn back to release the arrow upward?

[6] *John* 3: 3 & 5 (*cf.* also *1 Peter* 1: 23). In this section and elsewhere our commentator develops an elaborate theory concerning the denizens of the hereafter and the interworld (*ahl al-ākhirah wa-l-barzakh*), which, unfortunately, we cannot go into here.

third stage,[7] laying claim to Lordship (*mudda‘iy*^{an} *li-l-rubūbīyah*) and performing miracles through his manipulation of the powers of imagination, until nature is corrupted and destroyed. Then Jesus, personifying "the soul at peace" (*al-nafs al-muṭma’innah*), will descend upon the blessed land of Syria, the Verdant (*al-khaḍrā’*), and slay the Antichrist.

Thereafter, Gog and Magog (*Ya’jūj wa-Ma’jūj*) of the delusive, phantastical powers (*al-quwá l-wahmīyah . . . wa-l-khayālīyah*) pour over the whole earth, except for the stronghold defended by Jesus with the rational and spiritual faculties (*al-quwá l-‘aqlīyah wa-l-qalbīyah*), but these wild hordes are slain to the last of them in a single night. [**9**] Then God will send a pleasant breeze which will gently end the lives of all who remain, thus setting the stage for the universal Resurrection.

There follows a very elaborate account of the real, *spiritual* nature of the resurrection from the tomb of the human heart, which, however, would take us too far afield to do it justice. Suffice it to say that there are two Resurrections, the one special and particular to the individual, and the second universal and consummate—which latter, for the Ṣūfī, is annihilation in, and continuation with, God (*al-fanā’ fī Llāh wa-l-baqā’ bi-Llāh*).[8]

[**10**] Continuing with his description of the fifth stage, al-Ḥijāzī makes some casual remarks which are quite relevant to our concern in the present study: "When a single [Divine] insufflation (*nafkhah wāḥidah*) is breathed into the wayfarer, 'dead and buried' in the tomb of his heart, and he emerges from this tomb into the fifth stage (which is the Hereafter), there will appear all in order in his being the 'prophets' of the external intellections (*anbiyā’ al-‘uqūl al-ẓāhirah*) and the 'saints' of the interior faculties (*awliyā’ al-quwá l-bāṭinah*),[9] and there shall become manifest in him the [various] seals of the saints (*khitām al-awliyā’*) and the Seal of the seals (*khatm al-khitām*). . . .[10]

"Thereafter, in the sixth stage shall emerge the saints [known as] the 'Chiefs of the faithful ones and those brought near [to God]' (*awliyā’ al-nuqabā’ min al-ṣiddīqīn wa-l-muqarrabīn*). . . .[11]

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[7] The discrepancy in the sequence of events here seems not to have troubled the expositor.

[8] This "future, universal, total Resurrection (*al-qiyāmah al-tāmmah al-‘āmmah al-āfāqīyah*) shall take place at the end of time, and its well-known signs and symbolic secrets serve to manifest the universal, total, Muḥammadan 'resurrection'. . . ." That is, the signs of the future, time-ending state are realized in the time-suspension of the present, mystical experience. Note the complete identification of eschatological and mystical paradigms: The objective, universal content of apocalyptic "fore-history" (= prophetic myth) is relegated to subjective experience elevated to "meta-history" (= mystical initiation).

[9] Here it appears that the saints are superior to the prophets, contrary to the impression given on the preceding page (= [**7**]); see also *infra*.

[10] Note that, with his customary hyperbole, H proliferates Ibn al-‘Arabī's Seal of the saints into a multitude of seals topped, of course, by a "Seal of the seals" (*khitām* is an uncommon plur. form of *khatm*).

[11] This terse statement is all that describes the sixth *ṭawr*. In Ibn al-‘Arabī's

[**11**] "Then, in the seventh stage the 'Peerless ones' (*al-afrād*) appear;[12] while, in the eighth, come the 'Guarantors' (*al-umanā'*): There shall come forth among them the most-perfect, the most-complete of them, their special Seal, for in each age there is a special Seal (*khatm khāṣṣ*) and an Imām proper to it—there being many Seals and numerous imāms." But at the end of time the Seal of all seals and Imām of all imāms shall come in the power of Jesus and the promised Mahdī (counted among the noble house of the Prophet)—[**12**] concerning which subject al-Ḥijāẓī invites the reader to profit from his exposition of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿAnqā' Mughrib*, which he now proposes to explicate.

But al-Ḥijāẓī's full commentary only covers the long opening poem, entitled *Al-Wi'ā' al-Makhtūm* (The Sealed Vessel). [I have quoted from this section of H brief passages relevant to the *ʿAnqā'* in my footnotes to the trn. and in App. I]. Thereafter, H again launches into a long and involved discourse on the wide-ranging themes of his own peculiar eschatology:

Part 2: Summary of al-Ḥijāzī's esoteric eschatology

This section of the *Aghrab* is extremely abstruse (well deserving of its name, "Most-strange"), and I offer here no more than the barest account, hardly a "summary", to give some idea of the grist and drift of the work. Though I cannot claim to fairly represent its overall form and significance, the details and disconnected observations which it spews forth here and there are certainly worth our noting, if only because it will be the only opportunity for us to consider what any of the commentators made of Ibn al-ʿArabī's (largely unexplained) symbolism of the "fabulous gryphon" (*ʿanqa mughrib*).

[**67–68**] Al-Ḥijāzī begins by establishing that the third and fourth stages of his octonary system correspond to the seventh and eighth, being the "particular" (*juz'ī*) counterparts of the latter, which are "universal" (*kullī*); and that these correlate, further, with the West and the Sun of the West (*shams al-gharb*), which is the "Gryphon of the land of the setting sun" (*ʿanqā' al-maghrib*). Apparently the idea is that the third/seventh stage signals the manifestation of the principle of evil and tyranny (personified by the Antichrist and Pharaoh in the 3rd, and Abū Jahl, Walīd b. al-Mughīrah and Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith—all pagan enemies of the Prophet—in the 7th), while the fourth/eighth evokes its antithesis, the "Gryphon of singularity" (*ʿanqā' al-fardānīyah*) and the "Moses of spirituality" (*Mūsá l-rūḥānīyah*),[13] in the former, [**69**] and the men of [Divine] Majesty and Beauty (*rijāl al-jalāl*...

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hierarchy, the *nuqabā'* are twelve high-ranking personages corresponding to the zodiacal signs (see *Fut.* II, 7 [27–35]; *cf.* also *Qur.* 5: 12).

[12] Again, the author offers no more information on this stage. The *afrād* are treated of in numerous passages in Ibn al-ʿArabī's works (for refs., see *Seal*, 106–07, n. 7).

[13] It is interesting to note that one of the constitutive strands of the Middle Eastern myth of the *ʿanqā'* associates Moses with the fabulous creature (orig. the *kerūbim* which protect the ark of the covenant [see *Exo.* 25: 18–22, *et al.*]).

wa-l-jamāl) in the latter. Moreover, the spirit of the Seal and the Caliph [*sci.*, Jesus and the Mahdī] is none other than the strong dam (*sadd ʿaẓīm*) which holds back the chaotic forces of Gog and Magog until the coming of the great tribulation.[14]

"The Spirit of God, the Messiah, son of Mary (May God bless and keep him!), . . . is the universal Spirit and the special Seal and Epitome of this time (*al-khatm al-khāṣṣ bi-hādhā l-waqt, wa-l-khāliṣ la-hu*)," writes al-Ḥijāzī—in this diverging significantly from Ibn al-ʿArabī's nomenclature, in which Jesus is the *universal*, as opposed to the *special*, Seal.[15] "And all of this is quite wonderful and strange (*ʿajīb gharīb*), for which reason, therefore, [Jesus] is called 'fabulous' (*al-mughrib*), 'Sun of the West' (*shams al-maghrib*),[16] and the 'Gryphon of the land of the setting sun' (*ʿanqāʾ al-maghrib*)." All of these bizarre, apocalyptic personae, as well as everything else in Heaven and Earth and Hell, are manifest in miniature in man, the microcosm, [**70**] and especially in the soul of mystic man, the wayfarer to God, the All-Possessing (*al-sālik al-sāʾir ilá Llāh al-Mālik*). Similarly, al-Ḥijāzī explains the relationship between physical, or natural death (*al-mawt al-ṭabīʿī*) and mystical, "psychological" death (*al-mawt bi-l-irādah*), and how the Ṣūfīs follow the Prophet's advice to "Die [the mystic 'death'] before you perish; settle your accounts before they are settled [for you], and weigh [your deeds yourselves] before you yourselves are weighed."[17]

Next, al-Ḥijāzī returns to the apocalyptic forces of evil, quoting *Qur.* 21: 96–97:

> . . . Until, when Gog and Magog are unloosed, and they hasten down from every slope, and nigh has drawn the true Promise (*al-waʿd al-ḥaqq*) . . .

—[**71**] which latter expression he evidently applies to "the Seal and the Caliph," embodying the Divine knowledge, Lordly gnosis, and Merciful justice which become manifest in the east and west of the being of the Ṣūfī on the path. For, as the Prophet said, "Each of you is a Shepherd, and each of you is responsible for his flock"[18] "—even he who has no one under him," the commentator points out, "for his flock is his own soul and form, his faculties and members, which it is incumbent upon him to administer with justice."

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[14] *Cf. Qur.* 21: 96–97 (quoted below).

[15] Exc. for the apparent anomaly discussed below (on p. 572 [**79**]), as with the other two commentators, al-Maqābirī and al-Saʿdī, H appears to be unaware of Ibn al-ʿArabī's implicit (and, eventually, explicit) claim to the special "Muḥammadan Seal of sainthood".

[16] Or: the "amazing sun" (*shams al-mughrib*), if the former is considered a proper name. Otherwise, non-native writers of Arabic sometimes (wrongly) omit the art. before a def. noun.

[17] *Mūtū qabla an tamūtū, wa-ḥāsibū qabla an tuḥāsabū, wa-zinū qabla an tūzanū.* I do not find this trad. in any canonical collection (but *cf.* Ibn Mājah, *Iqāmah*, 78: "Repent [*tūbū*] to God before you die"; and Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzanfār, *Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī*, *no.* 352), although the first clause, at least, was very commonly cited by Ṣūfīs.

[18] This *ḥadīth* was quoted twice in the *ʿAnqāʾ* (pp. 241 and 467 at n. 46).

[**72**] From here al-Ḥijāzī takes up the theme of man as microcosm, and returns to the idea of the manifestation of "the Gryphon of your west" (*ʿanqāʾ maghribi-ka*) in the fourth stage of his grand scheme, when "you will behold the exaltedness of the Gryphon of your autonomous self" (*ʿaẓamat ʿanqāʾ sulṭāni-ka*). This latter corresponds to the "Sun of the unitary Essence (*shams al-dhāt al-aḥadīyah*) and the Gryphon of the singular Exaltedness of your Lord (*ʿanqāʾ ʿaẓamat Rabbi-ka l-fardānīyah*), when the Seal of the saints of your own time will appear, for you will have gone beyond all and surpassed them.[19] And you will seal the grades of Muḥammadan sainthood, for you will have attained unto the end and obtained the "Lotus-tree of the Furthest Limit" (*sidrat al-muntahá*), entered the Garden of refuge (*jannat al-maʾwá*) and beheld with your own eyes your Lord and Master (*Rabbu-ka l-Mawlá*)." This is nothing less than "the consummate annihilation and universal death (*al-fanāʾ al-tāmm wa-l-mawt al-ʿāmm*)," [**73**] which al-Ḥijāzī now asserts is illustrated in the penultimate verse of the opening poem of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see pp. 234–35 at n. 52).[20]

"In each century and each epoch there is a Seal special to that time, a Caliph who epitomizes it, and an Imām over all of the imāms; and he is one . . ., not two, originally."[21] His purity is such that he is the very spirit of the world, which would cease without him.

[**74**] On the next page al-Ḥijāzī begins to elaborate his extremely intricate theory of the passage of souls through the intermediate world and their rebirth in the kingdom of Heaven, all after the same pattern as the mystical experience of the perfect [man] (*al-kāmil*)—which, in reality, is a kind of spiritualization of trad. Islamic eschatology, with its courtyards and its razor-thin bridge cast over the descending steps of Hell, its gardens of Paradise and their eternal delectations. "For the external coincides with the internal, the first joins the last, and multiplicity and unity meet. And the invalidity (*buṭlān*) of the heretics and the philosophers becomes patent when they teach, contrary to what is given in the Divine law, that the world is eternal, that Jesus has died, . . . [**75**] that the [order of] the starry spheres is never disrupted, that there is no coming [of the last Hour (*qiyām al-sāʿah*)], . . . and that the Signs of the Hour and the things of the Hereafter are all just [phantasies] derived from esoteric interpretation (*muʾawwalah* < *taʾwīl*), being no more than what is [contained] in the human soul. But all of these [tenets] are just perverted interpretations (*al-taʾwīlāt al-zāʾighah*) springing up out of imperfection, growing out of rebellion [against God's Revelation] and oppression [of men].

"Existence is vast, but the Power of God is more vast, and the perfect man is the 'vast' place of manifestation of God (*maẓhar Allāh al-wāsiʿ*), for he is interpreted as corresponding to reality (*yuwāfiqu l-wāqiʿa*)." He knows both the [exoteric] written text (*nuskhah*) and the [esoteric] glosses thereupon (*ḥāshiyah*), reconciling them in his comprehension.

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[19] *Li-ʾanna-ka jāwazta l-kulla wa-sabaqta-hu.*

[20] It is interesting that H hardly remarks on this verse at all in his comm. proper (*Ms. Hacı Mahmud 2347*, pp. 65–66).

[21] Or so the terse statements seem to read. Though Ibn al-ʿArabī is usually careful to formally distinguish the Seal and the Mahdī, I have argued that, in fact, the two roles are conflated in the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

Next, al-Ḥijāzī turns his attention again to the Antichrist, who is the utmost of [all] pretentious imposters ["antichrists"] (*nihāyat al-dajjālīn al-mudda'īn*), and Jesus, who is the end-all of rightly-guided guides (*nihāyat al-hādiyīn al-mahdīyīn*),[22] the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood (*khātam al-walayah al-Muḥammadīyah*)[23] "and the [real] Messiah [who] will slay the false one."[24] Then he duly proceeds to differentiate between Jesus, on the one hand, and the Mahdī and the Seal on the other, identifying "the promised Mahdī" as Jesus's "helper" (*mu'īnu-hu*) and the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood as his "assistant" (*ẓahīru-hu*), perhaps not intending more than a formal distinction between these functionally identical personages, though he does go on to specify that the former is descended from the Prophet's house and the latter is of "pure saintliness/closeness [to God]" (*al-walāyah al-maḥḍah*).[25]

[**76**] Jesus (and even moreso, Muḥammad) as the perfect man is, thus, the mainstay of the world, and his withdrawal therefrom would lead to its immediate collapse. Al-Ḥijāzī now applies this truism to v. 26 of the *Wi'ā' al-Makhtūm* (see p. 233 at n. 42), depending upon a far-fetched interpretation of the word, *al-kurūr* (succession, sequence, order), there as signifying "the ropes (= *asbāb*) of a ship (s., *karr*)"—*i.e.*, the stays or supports of the world, a function commonly allotted to the Divine names. The *asbāb* and *wasā'iṭ* also connote the intermediary "causes", or connections, between God and the world. If these mediating, mollifying influences separating transcendent Reality from the world of appearances were to be cut off, the uncompromising judgment of Divine authority (*ḥukm al-salṭanah li-l-dhāt*) would come to the fore and the world would be annihilated.

[**77**] "The prophets are the loci of manifestation of [God's] exoteric prophethoods (*maẓāhir nubūwāti-hi l-ẓāhirah*), while the saints are the loci of manifestation of His esoteric sainthoods (*maẓāhir walāyāti-hi l-bāṭinah*)—all of them being true guides for the community [of believers] (*hudāt^{un} li-l-ummah*). But the infidels (*al-kuffār*) manifest the exoteric [aspects of the Divine] name, the "Leader-astray" (*al-Muḍill*),[26] and the heretics and imposters manifest the esoterism of [that] name; even as the prophets and religious scholars (*al-'ulamā'*) represent the exoteric and esoteric [aspects of] the name, the Guide,[27] while the saints represent the esoterism of the Guide (*bāṭin al-Hādī*)." War on earth between believers and infidels is actually the ineluctable terrestrial reflection of the paradoxical polarity of the Divine names.

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[22] *Sic.*

[23] Again, this is definitely contrary to Ibn al-'Arabī's teachings, in which Jesus is the universal (*kullī, muṭlaqī*) Seal, but not the particular, Muḥammadan one (see pp. 55–60, *et al.*).

[24] *Fa-yaqtulu l-Masīḥu l-masīkha.*

[25] *Maḥḍah*: "of pure descent, pedigree".

[26] This is a derived name based on *Qur.* 4: 88 and 30: 29, where God is said to lead astray the wrongdoers.

[27] *Ism al-Hādī al-ẓāhirah wa-l-bāṭinah* (*sic*). The second adj. is perhaps a cautious afterthought.

Al-Ḥijāzī closes this section with an unequivocally ambiguous statement of the relation between the Mahdī and the Prophet's family (as well as, implicitly, the relation between the Mahdī and the Seal, which is one of essential identity). He writes: "The saintly Seal of the end of time, the Mahdī,[28] must be of the people of the noble house [of God's Prophet]. But the House of God which is vast enough for Him and for others than Him is the heart of the Seal of the prophets and apostles (Peace be upon all of them!),[29] and [the Ṣūfī] who arrives at this House and enters therein—[in that] being of the people of the Prophetary sanctum (*al-ḥaram al-nabawī*)—is, verily, of the people of the House of the Chosen one (*ahl al-bayt al-Muṣṭafawī*). . . . Thus, all of the Seals (*al-khītam kullu-hum*) are of the people of the House, effectively and by real descent;[30] and he [whose heart] the Real and His Beloved [*viz.*, Muḥammad] have made broad, he truly has the most-exalted extraction and the most-elevated, brilliant descent[31]—indeed, [he is derived from] the Origin of [all] extractions, the Source of [all] descents, and the Epitome of [every] means and medium."[32]

Part 3: Al-Ḥijāzī's synopsis of sections of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*

For the most part, al-Ḥijāzī's "commentary" in this section evinces little more than a casual acquaintance with the contents of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, and that only in parts. Nevertheless, as usual, some of his observations are quite interesting, and bear quoting here.

[**79**] ***A Trustworthy Hoopoe Bringing Sure Tidings***: "Here [Ibn al-ʿArabī?] reveals to us the sign (*al-ʿalāmah*) that he is the Seal of the imāmate (*khātam al-imāmah*)—that is, the particular Muḥammadan imāmate, not the universal, absolute imāmate." [This is a very intriguing misquotation of a line from the *ʿAnqāʾ* (pp. 279–80 of the trn.) which, as it stands, seems to state that Ibn al-ʿArabī has announced that he is the special Muḥammadan Seal. If so, however, al-Ḥijāzī is technically mistaken, since Ibn al-ʿArabī actually writes there that *God* had shown *him* the sign that the Muḥammadan Seal was the mysterious "solar-figure" that he had beheld in an ecstasy described on pp. 277*sq.*, and which the author there clearly appears to imply is *someone other than himself.* Nevertheless, as we have already noted in the intro.,[33] there can be no serious doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī knew himself to be the Muḥammadan Seal by the time the *ʿAnqāʾ* was written.]

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[28] *Khatm ākhir al-zaman al-walī al-mahdī*: "the rightly-guided saintly Seal", *etc.*

[29] That is, the heart of the Prophet. This is said with ref. to the well-known *ḥadīth qudsī*: "My earth and My heavens cannot contain Me; the Heart of My believing servant contains Me" (see p. 470, n. 81), which is quoted by H on the next page.

[30] *Sabab^{an} wa-nasab^{an}* = "indirectly and directly".

[31] "Extraction": *nasab*; "descent": *ḥasab*. These words have many connotations which are operative here.

[32] *Majmaʿu l-ansābi wa-mujtamaʿu l-aḥsābi wa-munḥadu l-wasāʾili wa-l-asbābi. Cf.* Chap. 29 of the *Futūḥāt* (I, 195–99) on the *maʿrifat Salmān.*

[33] See pp. 55–60.

The Lifting of a Veil (*rafʿu sitr*^{in}) ***and the Holy Struggle of an Unpierced Pearl*** (*mujāhadatu bikr*^{in}): "An allusion to the caliphate of Abū Bakr in the 'sure abode' (*maqʿad ṣidq*) by a powerful Ruler (*malīk muqtadir*),[34] and to the grade of supreme faithfulness (*rutbat al-ṣiddīqīyah*) after that of prophethood." [Actually, Ibn al-ʿArabī specifically declares in this chap. (pp. 295–96) that, while the rank of *ṣiddīqīyah* is superior to that of the Mahdī, it is *below* that of the Seal—which, thus, itself mediates the grade of prophecy.]

[**80**] ***A Marriage Is Contracted and a Wedding Attended***: "An allusion to [the mystic's][35] passing beyond the grade of [Divine] Majesty (*rutbat al-jalāl*), and his passionate love [for the Beloved] (*haymānu-hu*) and his arrival at [the station of Divine] Beauty (*al-jamāl*). The 'bride/bridegroom' of [Divine] Beauty (*ʿirs al-jamāl*) is a Muḥammadan Reality [which is] a Fair-ʿĀ'ishan Reality (*ḥaqīqah Ḥumayrā' ʿĀ'ishīyah*)."[36] [But Ibn al-ʿArabī's meaning is hardly so commonplace.]

An Eternal Conference (*muḥādarah azalīyah*) ***on an Everlasting Plane*** (*ʿalá nash'ah abadīyah*): "An allusion to the gathering of some of the Divine Names with others, and Their request for the external existence of the theatres of [Divine] manifestation and the worlds; and to the recourse of all [of the Names] to the Imām of imāms, the Greatest Name of God (*ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*) [*sci.*, the name, *Allāh*, itself] and to the exalted, transcendent [Divine] Essence (*al-dhāt al-munazzah al-muʿaẓẓam*)."

[**81**] ***The Source of Genesis*** (*aṣl al-bad'*) ***and the First Arising*** (*awwal al-nash'*):[37] "which is our Lord and Master (*sayyidu-nā wa-mawlā-nā*), Muḥammad (The blessings of the One, the peace of the Eternal, and the protection of the Everlasting be upon him!)."

At this point al-Ḥijāzī's synopsis becomes too cursory to follow. On p. 83 a space is left for the "*madīnah*-talisman" (*cf.* pp. 499, above, and 587–88, below), but the diagram has not been drawn in. Finally, on p. 85, as part of his rather extravagant concluding benediction, al-Ḥijāzī prays that God will make him to be among those who love Ibn al-ʿArabī and rightly esteem him, following his way and holding fast to his path and his piety, [in order to] attain his perfection and obtain his wealth of science and gnosis. . . .

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[34] *Qur.* 54: 55.

[35] The lover appears to be denominated "the 'Antichrist' of majesty" (*dajjāl al-jalāl*)—which seems almost too audacious even for H.

[36] *Sic. Ḥumayrā'* (Little Fair One) is an epithet of ʿĀ'ishah, daughter of Abū Bakr and favorite wife of the Prophet (see p. 315, n. 34).

[37] H actually reads *inshā'* ("creation; generation", as inf.).

APPENDIX THREE

SOME NOTES ON THE CRYPTIC SCRIPT (*QALAM MARMŪZ BI-HI*) AND "*MADĪNAH*-TALISMAN" OF THE *ʿANQĀʾ MUGHRIB*

The chap. or subsection treating of selected Qurʾānic passages beginning on p. 511 of our trn. is in a chaotic condition in most of the later ss. (ironically, the "bazaar edition" of Cairo, 1954 [**Q2**], is comparatively dependable, at least in its order, in this chap.). It appears that the confusion here may have been occasioned in the first place by the likelihood that the hypothetical codex, [X2], in Fig. III (p. 198), the evident common source for all of our later ss. (exc. for Q2), gave the section only in cryptographic form (see *infra*). A later source, [X3], may have provided both cryptograms and Arabic text. On the basis of my theoretical scheme of the interrelations of the ss. in Fig. III, this hypothesis would account for why P and W have only the cryptic letters and are lacking the section in Arabic.

In our earliest source, **B**, this section is found on ff. 45 and 46b, which have been inadvertently reversed in the binding of the ms. (see Plates XI and XII, below). Thus, f. 46b has in the bordered area cryptic transcriptions of the Qurʾānic verses, 2: 87 (& 253), and 3: 45, 46, 48, 49, 55 & 59, which are the prooftexts from the second and third *sūrahs* alluded to on pp. 511–13. In the margins on three sides around the enclosed cryptograms the Arabic text of the section has been scribbled in, apparently by the orig. copyist (though the condition of these folios and the microfilm leave over half of the Arabic text illegible). For convenience I give the text of these encoded verses here:

> [See Plate XI:] Verily, We gave the Scripture to Moses, and We made a series of Messengers to come after him. And We gave the clear Proofs (*al-bayyināt*) to Jesus, son of Mary, and We supported him with the Spirit of Holiness (*rūḥ al-qudus*) [*Qur.* 2: 87; *cf.* also v. 253].
>
> And when the angels said: "O Mary! God gives you Glad-tidings of a Word from Him (*kalimah min-hu*), whose name is the Messiah (*al-Masīḥ*), Jesus, son of Mary—high-honored (*wajīh*) in This world and the Hereafter, and one of those who are brought near [to God] (*al-muqarrabūn*)" [3: 45]. He will speak to men in the cradle[1] and in his maturity, and he is of the Righteous (*al-ṣāliḥūn*) [v. 46]. . . . And We [*sic*][2] will teach him the

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[1] This verse was sometimes supposed to signify the meaning of the word, *Mahdī*: "he who spoke [as a child] in the cradle (*fī l-mahd*)." The address of the angels to Mary continues here (see next note).

[2] It is interesting to note that in the text of B (followed in this by most of the

> Scripture and Wisdom (*al-kitāb wa-l-ḥikmah*), and the Torah and the Gospel [v. 48], to be a Messenger (*rasūl*) to the Children of Israel, [saying:] "I come to you with a Sign (*āyah*) from your Lord: I will create for you out of clay as the likeness of a bird; then I will breathe into it and it will become a bird, by God's leave. And I will heal the blind and the leper, and bring the dead to life, by God's leave. And I will inform you of what things you eat, and what you store up in your houses. . . ." (v. 49).
>
> When God said: "O Jesus, I am taking you and causing you to ascend to Me, and I will purify you of those who do not believe and make those who follow you to be above those who disbelieve until the day of Resurrection" (v. 55).
>
> Verily, the likeness of Jesus with God (*mathal ʿĪsá ʿinda Llāh*) is as the likeness of Adam: He created him of earth, then said unto him "Be!" and he was (v. 59).

The enclosed text on f. 45 begins with the passage already quoted on p. 517 n. 45, of the trn., inc. partial quotations of *Qur.* 3: 45 and 19: 30–31, and continues with the one given on pp. 519–20 (n. 59), which I repeat here {cryptography in curled brackets}:

> [See Plate XII:] For God (Be He Praised!) has called him: {"The Messiah, Jesus (*al-Masīḥ, ʿĪsá*)."} And God (Praised be He!) has called him in another place in His glorious Book through {the mouth of ———}(May God bless and keep him!): {the "Servant of God" (*ʿabd Allāh*).} For He said {(Be He Exalted!): "Verily, I am the Servant of God. He has given me the Scripture and made me a prophet. And He has made me blessed wheresoever I may be. . . ."}
>
> Thereafter, [the Prophet Muḥammad] (May God bless and keep him!) said of [Jesus], according to what Muslim in his *Musnad*,[3] and al-Bukhārī and [Abū ʿĪsá] al-Tirmidhī (May God be pleased with them!) have related, . . . {that "Jesus, son of Mary, will descend upon you as a just Imām and upright Judge (*imām muqsiṭ wa-ḥakam ʿadl*), and he will break the cross and destroy the swine."} Then he (May God bless and keep him!) {described him and portrayed him (*naʿata-hu wa-waṣafa-hu*),} saying

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other ss.) Ibn al-ʿArabī has *wa-nuʿallimu-hu* (and *We* will teach him) rather than *wa-yaʿallimu-hu* (and *He* will teach him) [see 2nd cryptogram from the right, l. 7, in Plate XI, p. 581], which latter is the *qirāʾah* of both ʿĀṣim and Nāfiʿ—and the two most common readings today in the Muslim world in general and the Maghrib in particular, respectively (the variant is the reading of Ibn Kathīr, Abū ʿAmr, Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī). At any rate, the subj. of the verb is usually understood to be God, although the variant could be applied to the angels, continuing their address to Mary from the preceding verse.

[3] In a sense, with its characteristic focus of attention on the *isnād* (chain of transmitters), Muslim's collection of trads. is a *musnad* (though, of course, it is commonly called *Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*). In what follows, al-Maqābirī has mistaken the traditionist, [Abū ʿĪsá] al-Tirmihdī (d. 279/892), compiler of another so-called *Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, for the Ṣūfī gnostic, Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (concerning whom, see p. 230, n. 25, *et al.*).

{concerning him: "His hair will be dripping wet, as if he just emerged from a vault/dungeon (*daymās*)."}[4]

The fact that these folios are arranged out of place in B, as well as the comparatively untidy state of their organization and script, suggest the possibility that they were orig. separate leaves, not meant to be bound with the text. Whether or not this was actually the case with B, I think it almost certainly was with [O], the *Urtext*, for reasons which will become clearer below. Thus, in the orig. text of the *'Anqā'* which was kept with Ibn al-'Arabī, only *small leaves* (*waraqāt*), covered for the most part with cryptograms, such as the enclosed portions of the two folios of B in Plates XI and XII, were inserted separately in the codex, with the understanding that they were not to be transmitted in subsequent copies but only read and memorized by those who had the key to the script (*fakk al-qalam*). At some point later, whether still during the lifetime of the author or after, two of the separate leaves of cryptograms were either copied or pasted onto full-size folios and the margins filled up with the text of the section on Qur'ānic *mawāḍi'* (trn., pp. 511–19), as we now have it in B. Meanwhile, transcripts in the form of [X2][5] had already been produced, which later yielded such products as W and P, which contain some or all of the cryptic script but lack the *mawāḍi'*-section. Codices based on [X3], on the other hand, consist of both bodies of material, but generally in a rather *ad hoc* fashion verging on chaos. I suspect that originally there were separate leaves of cryptograms, perhaps as many as a dozen, comprising all of the Qur'ānic verses hinted at in the *mawāḍi'*, and only the first and last of these have been preserved in the new form presented in B. If so, the loss of the other leaves is unfortunate since it is not always certain which verses are intended in the Master's sibylline riddles.

These speculations are sustained by the situation we find in our next earliest ss., C and E (7th/13th cent.): In the margin of the former, next to the Qur'ānic *mawāḍi'*-section, is inscribed in large letters by the orig. copyist: *ḥāshiyah ramzīyah* (encoded/cryptographic superscriptions). That the ref. is to the *āyāt* transcribed in other ss. is evidenced in the fact that *Qur.* 2: 87 is also written in the margin here (there is no room for any more of the verses). But the marginal note at this point in **E** is the most revealing. It reads: "At this place in the text (*al-maḥall*) is found the cryptic script (*al-qalam al-marmūz*) which is called [Ibn al-'Arabī's own secret] script (*qalamu-hu*), contained[6] in the small [detached] page (*al-waraqah al-ṣaghīrah*) placed here, which is not to be translated/passed on (*lā tunqalu*), God willing." This comment (which is written in very poor Arabic) may not be in the hand of the orig. scribe, but, nevertheless, it seems to confirm my hypothesis that the encoded verses were orig. contained in detached leaves inserted in the mss.

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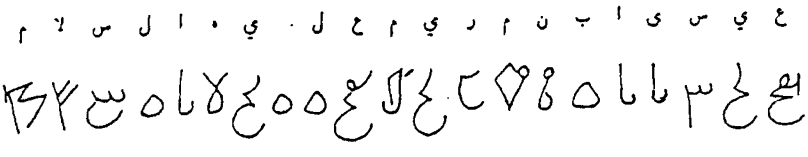
[4] *Sci.*, "a bath" (*ḥammām*). For refs. to these two trads., see above, pp. 519–20, n. 59 (end). *Cf.* also Rosenthal, tr., *Muqaddimah*, II, 194.

[5] See Fig. III, p. 198 of the intro.

[6] The part. actually reads *maktūn*, which is a mistake for either *maknūn* (contained) or *maktūm* (meaning much the same).

The information in these separate leaves, then, was to be memorized by the elect readers who were provided with a key to the cryptography. This is apparently the meaning of the expression: *min-mā yuḥfaẓu* (among that which is to be memorized [w/o being written down . . .]), which is inscribed in C (by a later hand) next to the two lines of secret letters occurring on pp. 523–24 of our trn. These particular cryptograms certainly *were* intended to appear in the text of the *ʿAnqāʾ* from the beginning. In this, then, Dr. Yahia's assertion (in *Histoire et classification*, p. 158) that *ʿAnqāʾ* mss. anterior to the 8th/14th cent. do not contain the letters is incorrect, since, indeed, every ms. that I have seen features them at this point.[7] Moreover, it is worth noting that generally the letters are carefully inscribed by the orig. copyist.[8] On pp. 523–24 I have reproduced the letters in our two earliest ss., B and C, primarily to show the essential difference between the two systems (exc. in the ل, the م and the ه). Of these, the former appears to be the source of all of the other systems in extant mss., while C remains unique.[9] Here I give a free copy of the first line in E (the second line does not appear there), which can be compared with that of B:[10]



This brings us to the most important question in connection with the cryptic script: Why did Ibn al-ʿArabī use it in the *ʿAnqāʾ*? Other than a few doubtful cases,[11] I know of no other treatise by the Shaykh that employs this obscurantist device, which I do not view as characteristic of his esoteric style. If it is not simply a literary affectation, then, we must assume that the author thought it expedient to actually conceal from casual readers of his book that *the Seal of the saints is Jesus, son of Mary*. While it may be difficult for us today (with the benefit of our familiarity with explicit statements that would later be published in the *Futūḥāt* and elsewhere)[12] to realize that there was a time in Ibn al-ʿArabī's career when his particularly high estimation of Jesus's sainthood would have been a dangerous secret, this was, in fact, the case in 595–96/1199–1200, in Mālikite Andalusia, when the still young Ṣūfī was composing the *ʿAnqā'*: By the time five years had elapsed since the supposedly decisive Almohad victory of imported, North African armies over the Christians at Alarcos, the fate of Islam in western Europe was written plainly on the wall. The moment would hardly seem opportune to advance a doctrine that might be construed as positing merit in an enemy ideology.[13] Similarly, since the commentators (esp. al-Maqābirī) are constantly reminding us that Jesus is the Seal of the saints (exc. for H, they apparently are not aware that Ibn al-ʿArabī himself claimed to be the Seal of *Muḥammadan* sainthood), again, it is necessary to understand that the earliest readers of the *ʿAnqā'*—esp. in the Maghrib, but also even later in the East—would not have been able to be sure who (if anyone in particular) the author had in mind. The one chap. in which suspicion would have crystallized into discernible shape, the *mawāḍiʿ*-section, occurs late in the book, and may not have been included as an integral chap. in the orig. text.

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[7] Though E has only one line (see *infra*). The only other exception is R, with its blank spaces which were to be filled in later with red or gold ink.

[8] This is evident in the important case of C, which has the letters inscribed in the margin and interlinear space in the brown ink of the orig. hand rather than the black of a later ed. (see Plate XIV, p. 584 [ll. 15–20]).

[9] This indicates, by the way, that C is probably based on [O] rather than B. Even Q2, which ultimately derives, in part, from a source related to C, uses the system of B.

[10] As on p. 523 (see n. 88), the letters read: *ʿĪsá ibn Maryam ʿalay-hi l-salām* (Jesus, son of Mary—upon whom be peace!). Note that the second letter of *ibn* is miswritten and the second letter of *ʿalay-hi* is (wrongly) doubled.

[11] See App. I, pp. 542–43 (comm. on p. 246, n. 1). Also, in *Ms. Esad Ef. 1448* (copied in 981/1573), in the *K. Mirʾāt al-ʿĀrifīn* (sometimes wrongly attr. to Ibn al-ʿArabī), there is a similar secret script on the *insān al-kāmil* (see f. 84).

Finally, although Ibn al-ʿArabī's cryptic device might appear rather inefficacious by modern standards, it undoubtedly served its purpose in the more *laissez-faire* "medieval" period. All of the earliest and most of the mid-level ss. are w/o keys to the secret script (s., *fakk al-qalam*), though many are transcribed into Arabic between the lines, whether by the orig. or a later hand. The oldest key to the (putative) complete cryptographic system of Ibn al-ʿArabī will evidently be that of *Ms. Şehid Ali 1340*, f. 100b, copied by the 8th/14th-cent. Akbarian Ṣūfī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī Bakr al-Jabartī,[14] if we are to accept Yahia's dating of this ms. to 789/1387.[15] An examination of the system from this source in the table, below [Fig. VII, p. 580, l. 2] does not inspire confidence in its genuineness, however. It appears that this copyist has simply invented the cryptograms which had not occurred in B (*e.g.*, the symbols for ض, ظ and غ). In this he has been more or less followed by the scribes of *Ms. Şehid Ali 1344*, f. 56b (copied in 948/1541–42)[16] and *Ms. Karaçelebi Ẓade 345*, f. 199 [l. **3** on the table, *infra*], copied in 980/1572–73.[17] Ll. **4–6** reproduce the keys given in our 9th/16th-cent. ss., V and B2, and the first printed edn., Q. Note that the three letters mentioned above are different in these ss., suggesting that the whole idea of a complete cryptographic system belonging to Ibn al-ʿArabī is a late fabrication, based solely on the evidence of the *K. ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib.*

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[12] See, *e.g.*, *Fut.* II, 9 (9); 49–50; IV, 195; and *Dīwān*, 259 (all exc. for the first are tr. in App. IV, *infra*).

[13] Although Muslims have generally failed to discriminate between their estimates of Christianity (*a priori* high) and Christians (*a posteriori* low), they have not found it difficult to exculpate Jesus—divorcing him from those who have taken his name.

[14] *Cf.* Yahia, *no.* 536.

[15] See *ibid.*, p. 157. As indicated earlier (p. 196, n. 1), I was not able to find a date on the ms. myself, though al-Jabartī's name is given. If Yahia simply based his statement on the latter's *floruit*, this assumption would not take into consideration the possibility that *Şehid Ali 1340* may simply be a reproduction of al-Jabartī's copy.

[16] That is, if *Şehid Ali 1340* is not, in fact, posterior to *1344* (see preceding note).

The "*Madīnah*-talisman" (see Fig. VI, p. 499)

Unlike most of the cryptography, the figure I have denominated the "*madīnah* talisman" was definitely intended by the author to appear in the text of the *ʿAnqāʾ*. While the majority of mss., early and late, contain the figure, no two of them are exactly alike. Generally, they all have seven concentric compartments, usually square, which, in most cases, are interconnected by a complex series of openings, creating a maze.[18] The innermost compartment is frequently labeled as the heart of man (*qalb* [*al-insān*]), receptacle of the Divine influx and source of mystical aspiration.

It would appear that Ibn al-ʿArabī derived his notion of this seven-walled city from al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's elaborate parable of the seven cities of light in his *K. al-Aʿḍāʾ wa-l-Nafs* (The Book of the Members and the Soul).[19] The "cities" are centered one within another, each with its own moat, or trench (*khandaq*), and wall (*ḥāʾiṭ*) with gate and key.[20] The gates of the concentric circles represent the strata of the human heart (from innermost to outer): *lubāb, ḥabbah, shaghāf, qalb, ghilāf, ḍamīr and fuʾād.*[21] It is interesting to note that in the *ʿAnqāʾ* Ibn al-ʿArabī presents this light-wisdom theme[22] in the context of trad. Islamic eschatology and the conquest of Constantinople.

Al-Maqābirī gives his interpretation of this figure: "What is meant by the 'city' here is the 'city of humanity' (*madīnat al-insānīyah*), and its 'conquering' (*fatḥu-hā*) is the submission of its tyrannical ruler (*inqiyād sulṭāni-hā l-jāʾir*) [that being the lower-soul (*al-nafs*)][23] to the just ruler (*al-sulṭān*

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[17] See above, p. 212 (at n. 82). This codex opens with al-Ḥijāzī's comms. on Shaykh Raslān's *R. al-Tawḥīd* and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Tāj al-Tarājim.*

[18] The examples I have inc. provide exceptions to each of these characteristics: The diagram from B (p. 499) appears to consist of *eight* squares (although this may be inadvertent); the one from E (Fig. VIII, p. 587, below) is *circular*, and Fig. X (p. 588) from Q is not a maze.

[19] Ed. by W.A. ʿAbd Allāh (1990). Acc. to Muḥ. I. al-Geyoushi ("Al-Tirmidhī's Theory of Gnosis," in *Islamic Quarterly*, 15: 4 [1971], pp. 164–88), this same metaphor is developed in al-Tirmidhī's *Ṣifat al-Qulūb*, which I have not seen.

[20] *K. al-Aʿḍāʾ wa-l-Nafs*, pp. 82–86*sq.*

[21] The popularity of similar maze-motifs in esoteric literature is evidenced in a "perspective diagram" of the world of the ten *sefirōt* from a work by Moses Cordovero inc. in Gershon Scholem's *Kabbalah* (p. 97).

[22] *Cf. Matt.* 5: 14: "You are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden."

[23] This and the foll. note are inscribed in the margin of M by a later ed.

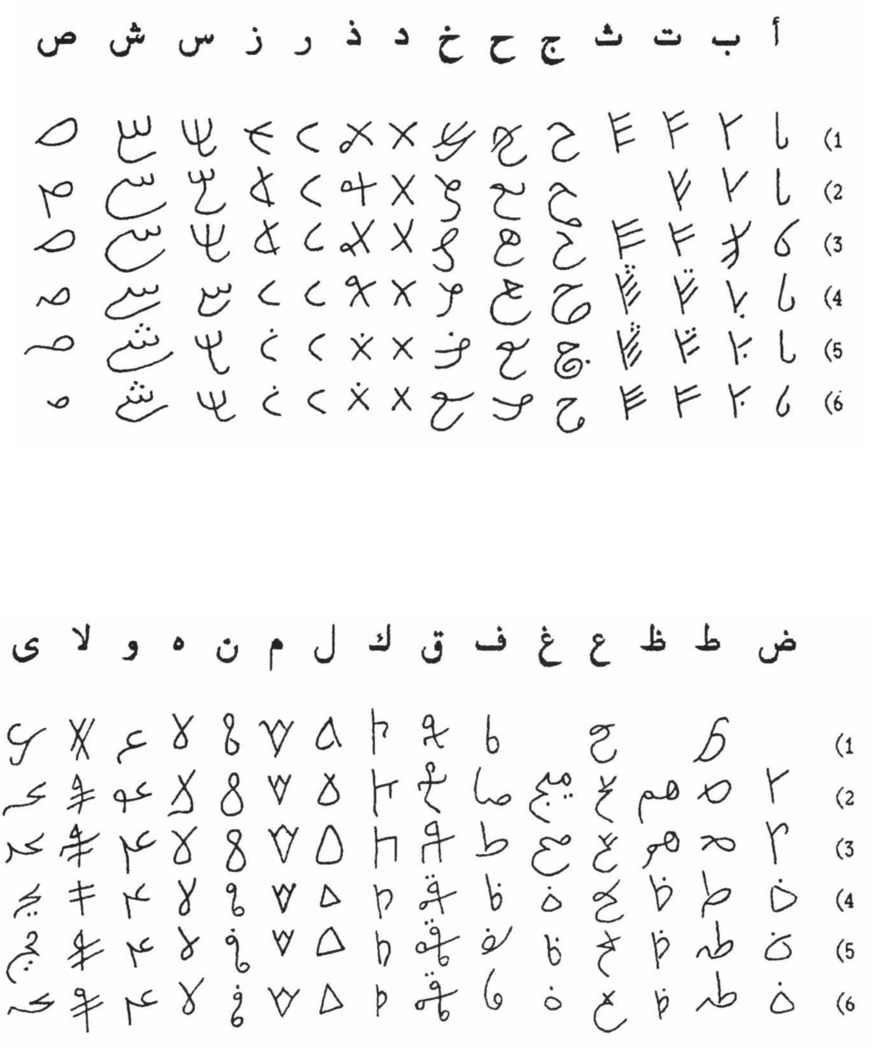
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Figure VII. Table of the cryptographic system of Ibn al-ʿArabī, based on that used in the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*. *Sources of lines*: **1**.) *Ms. Berlin 3266* (**B**) [see Plates XI–XIII]; **2**.) *Ms. Şehid Ali 1340*, f. 100b; **3**.) *Ms. Karaçelebi Zade 345*, f. 199; **4**.) *Ms. Vatican 292* (**V**), f. 49; **5**.) *Ms. Berlin 2895* (**B2**), f. 64; **6**.) the first printed edn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, Cairo, 1934 (**Q**), p. 80.

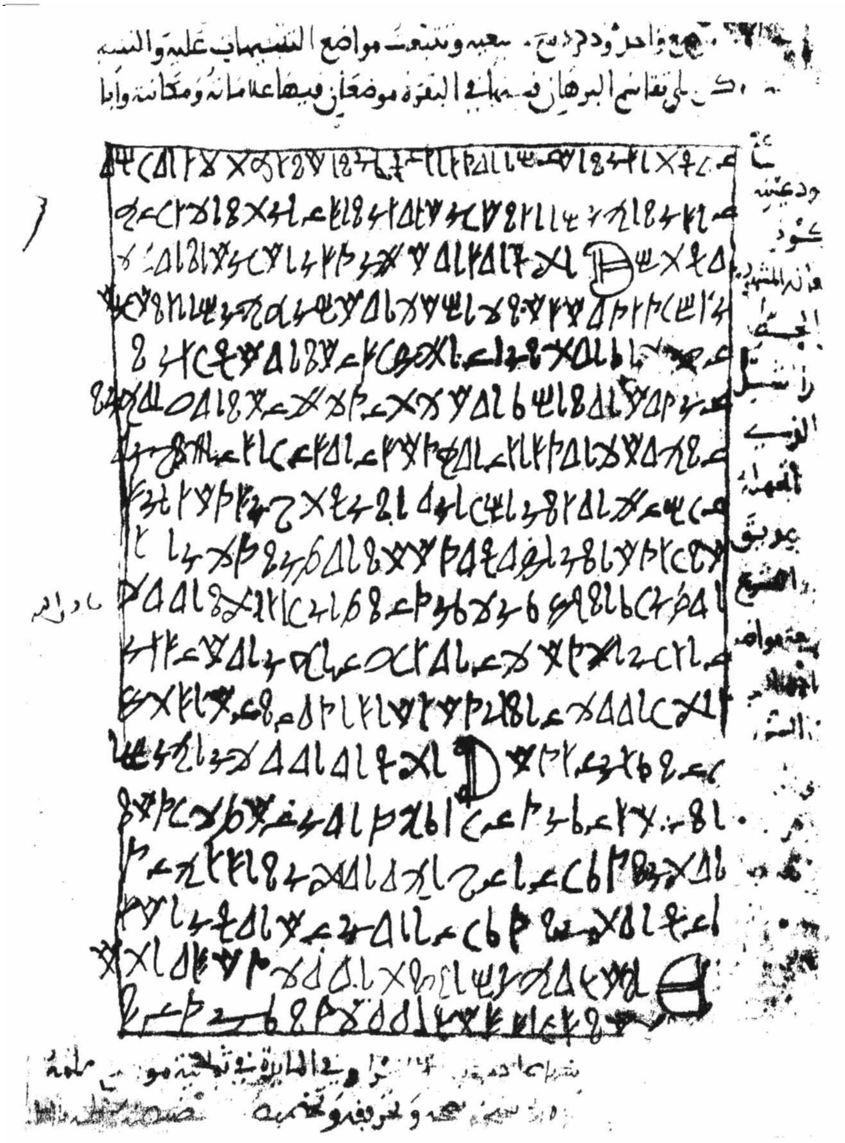


Plate XI. F. 46b [bound out of place] from *Ms. Berlin 3266* (B). In the bordered area are cryptic inscriptions of *Qur.* 2: 87 (& 253) and 3: 45, 46, 48, 49, 55 & 59 (see pp. 574–75 for a trn.). For a key to the script, see p. 580, line 1. Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

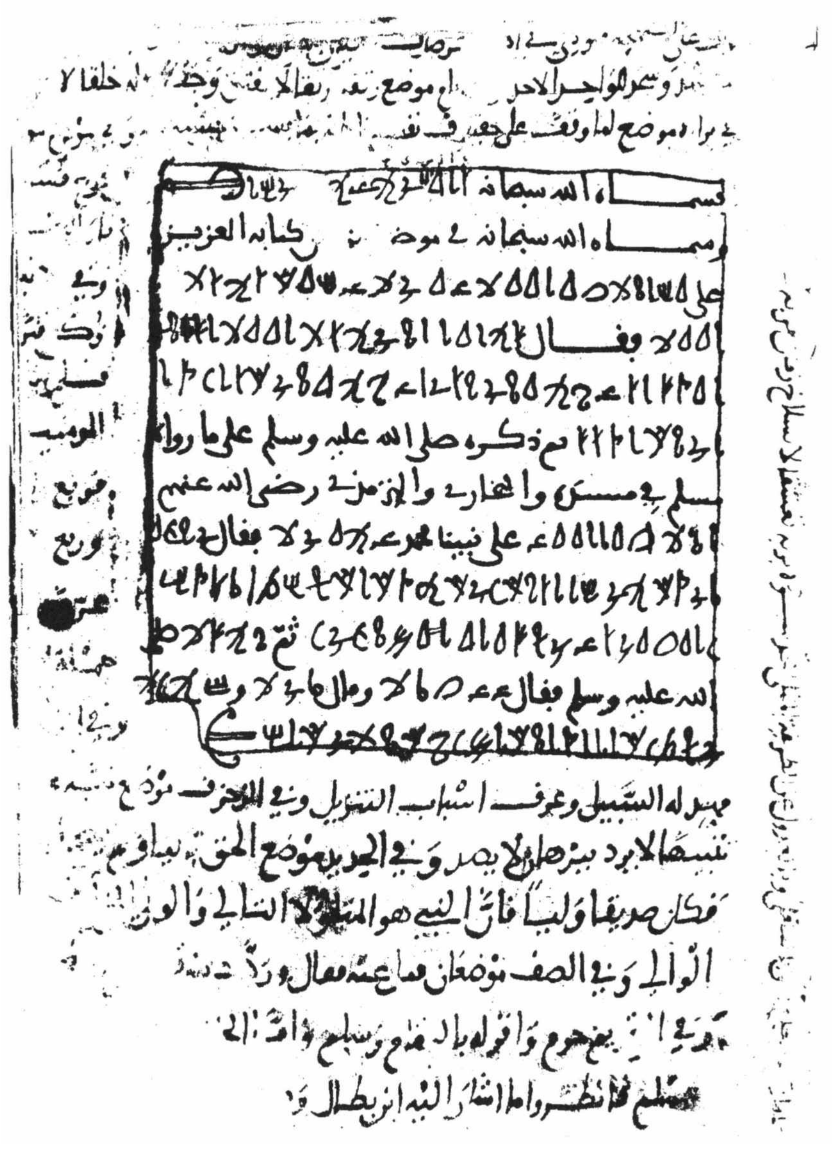


Plate XII. F. 45 of B [bound out of place]. For a trn., see pp. 575–76. Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

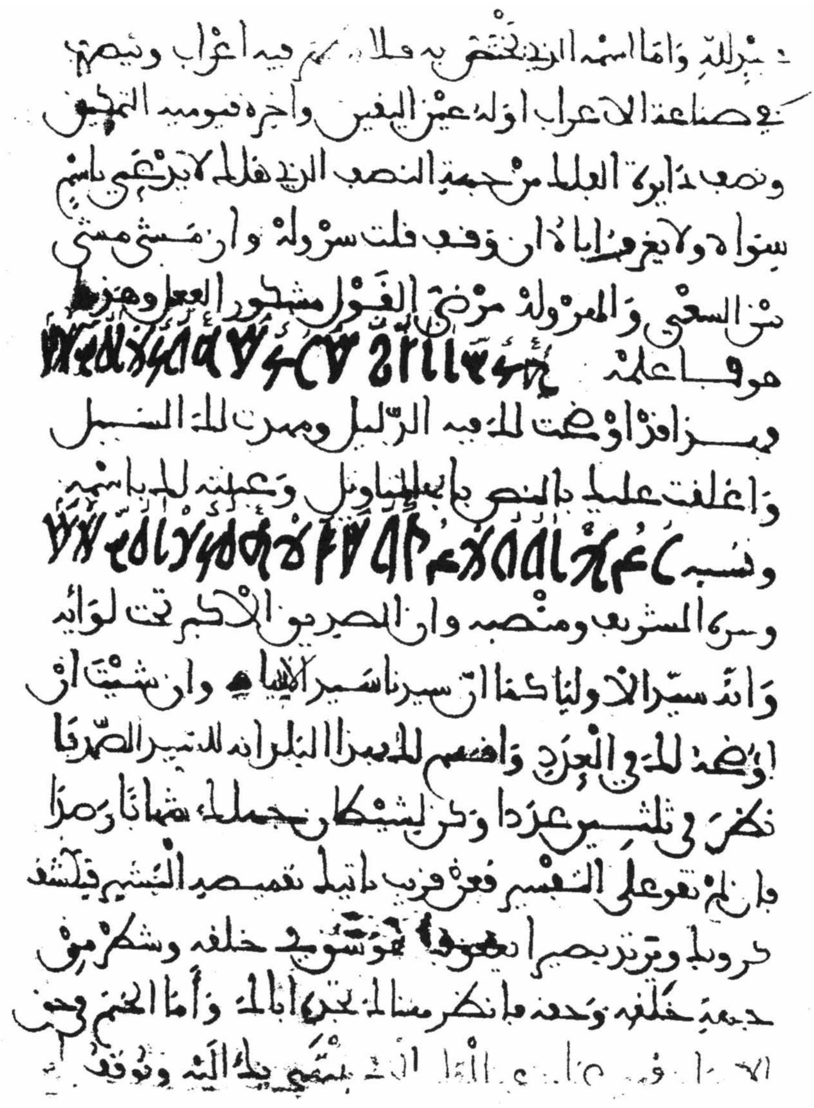


Plate XIII. F. 47 of B [bound out of place]. For the trn., see pp. 522–26.
Courtesy of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

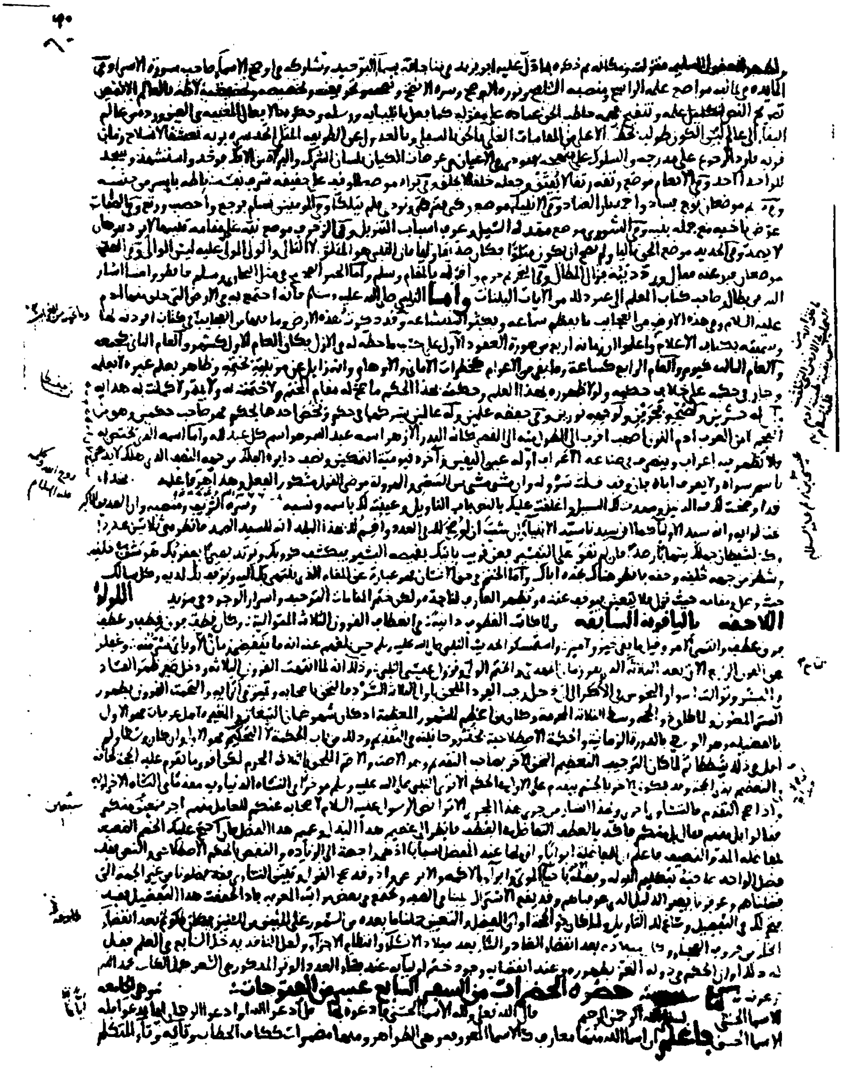
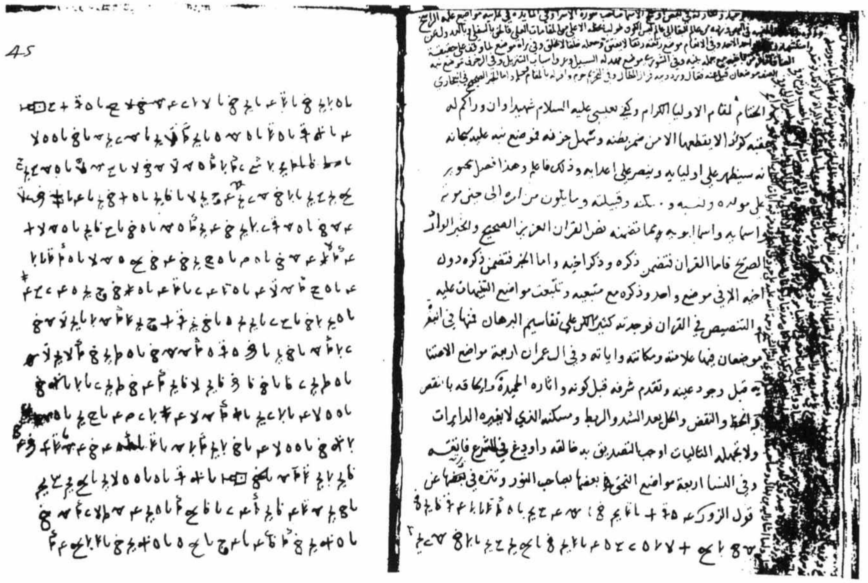


Plate XIV. F. 60 of *Ms. Carullah 986* (C), the last page of the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*. For the trn., see pp. 514*sq*. (At the bottom of the page is the beginning of an extract [Bk. 17] from the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* [see Yahia, *no.* 209]). Courtesy of Süleymaniye Kütüphane, Istanbul.



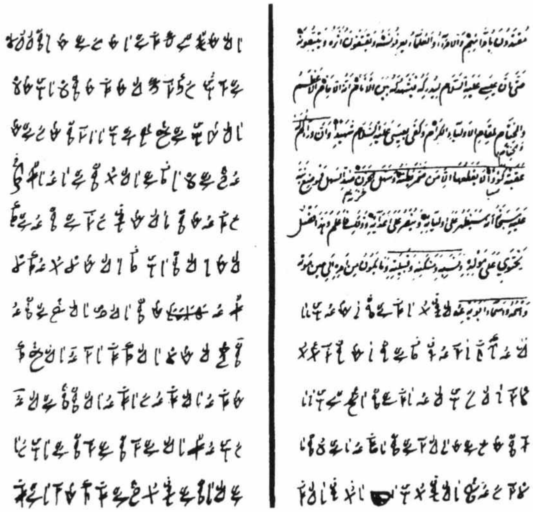


Plate XV. Ff. 44b–45 of *Ms. Vatican 292* (V) [above], showing the cryptic scripts; and ff. 65b–66 of *Ms. Wien 1906* (W) [below]. Courtesy of Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. Courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

al-ʿādil [*sci.*, the heart].[24] The central circle (*al-dāʾirah al-wusṭá*) stands for the heart (*al-qalb*) of man, while the perimeters (*al-dawāʾir wa-l-khuṭūṭ*) adjacent to it represent the spirit (*al-rūḥ*), the innermost-heart (*al-sirr*) and the intellect (*al-ʿaql*). But note that the perimeters are arranged *outwardly* in all directions from the central circle, making seven [concentric] circles, as you see—this being an indication that the constitution of man (*binyat al-insān*) [both] comprises and corresponds to that of the highest celestial spheres and the lower, [sub-lunar] spheres (*al-aflāk al-ulwīyah wa-l-aflāk al-suflīyah*), in that each of these, likewise, consist of seven: seven heavens and seven earths. For man is the microcosm (*al-ʿālam al-aṣghar*) corresponding to the macrocosm (*al-ʿālam al-akbar*) in all of its parts. Indeed, the [world] is as the body of [man, and man] is as its spirit. . . ."

Al-Maqābirī goes on to explain how the concentric "circles" are arranged in the shape of a spiral (or "snail shell", *ḥalzūnah*) opening out from the heart [= Skt., *atman*], the "omnipresent point," to the presence of the [Divine] unity, the expanding "circumference which is nowhere" [= *brahman*]. Our commentator waxes lucid when he tells how the inner-spirit (*al-sirr*) ebbs and flows from God to man and back to God, passing through the whole "city of humanity," so that the latter is illuminated by the emanation of the [Divine] secret (*sarayān al-sirr*) in every district and quarter . . ., it being impossible to veil that light (*cf. Matt.* 5: 14–15).

The three foll. figures are taken from: 1.) *Ms. Esad Ef. 1413* [E]; 2.) *Ms. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 3784*; and 3.) the first printed edn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (Cairo, 1934) [Q]. The first is a 7th/13th-cent. ms. copied by a disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī. It is unique in that it alone of all the copies I have seen depicts a *circular* city, perhaps modeled on the Round City of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the "City of Peace," Baghdad, founded by the Caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762. The second figure, based on one found in a ms. copied in 1320/1902–03 (by Muḥ. Adīb al-Dimashqī), is more representative of the majority of examples. The last, most recent, illustration (Q2 has none) no longer preserves the maze design, and now has twenty-seven *khamsahs* ("fives", represented by the letter, ه), symbolizing protection from evil.[25] As the "city of man" was intended by Ibn al-ʿArabī to be subdued by the conqueror from God *extra muros*, this latter innovation gives evidence of a definite misapprehension of the orig. meaning of the figure. The basic pattern of seven concentric compartments is retained, however.

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[24] The marginal note continues: "Or, the 'city' may signify the Byzantine city [*viz.*, Constantinople], as when Ibn Mājah relates on the authority of Abū Hurayrah: 'The Apostle of God (May God bless and keep him!) said that were there but one day left [before the end] of the world, God (to Whom belong Might and Majesty!) would prolong that day until a man of the people of my house (*rajul*^{un} *min ahli bayt-ī*) might seize the mountain of Daylam and Constantinople'" (Ibn Mājah, *Jihād*, 11; *cf.* also Tirmidhī, *Fitan*, 52 & 26).

[25] If I am not mistaken, *Ms. Princeton 2772/1* (P) has a similar figure.

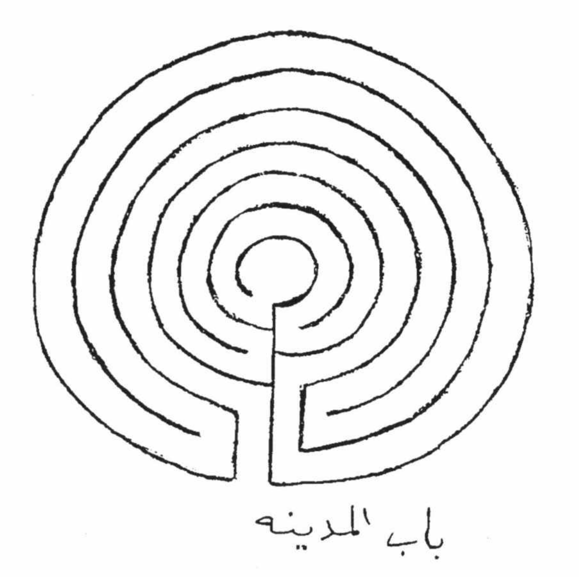

Figure VIII. Based on the *madīnah*-talisman in *Ms. Esad Efendi 1413*/1 (E), copied in the 7th/13th cent.

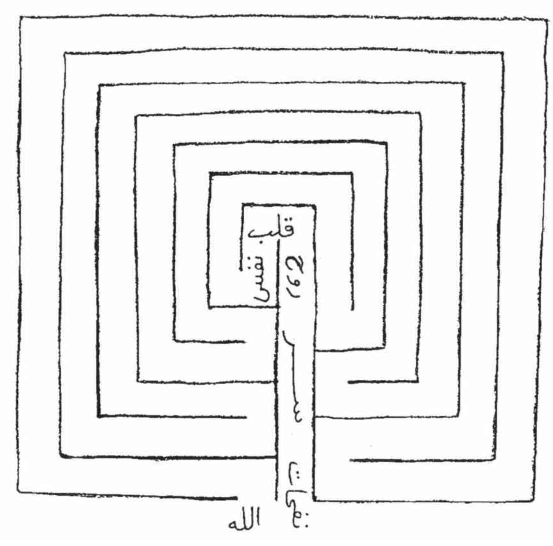
قلب
نفس
روح
سر
الله

Figure IX. From *Ms. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 3784* (1320/1902–03).

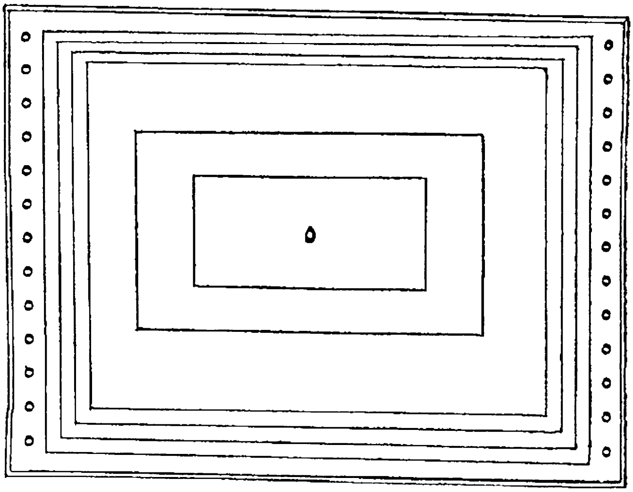

Figure X. From the first edition of the *ʿAnqāʾ* (Cairo, 1934) [Q].

APPENDIX FOUR

SELECTED TEXTS BY IBN AL-ʿARABĪ RELATING TO THEMES IN THE *ʿANQĀʾ MUGHRIB*

Texts translated in this section:

1. From Ibn al-ʿArabī's prologue to the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah.*
2. Ibn al-ʿArabī's responses to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's 13th, 14th and 15th questions concerning the Seal of the saints in the former's *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* and in the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah.*
3. Chap. 557 of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, entitled "The Gnosis of the Seal of the Saints."
4. Selections from the chap. on the *kalimah* of Seth (Shīth) in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
5. Selections from the chap. on the *kalimah* of Ezra (ʿUzayr) in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*
6. Ode on Prime Matter (*hayūlá*) from Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān.*

1. From Ibn al-ʿArabī's exordium (*khuṭbah*) to the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* (I, 2 [24]–3 [15]; *Fut.-Y.*, I, 43–46):[1]

Blessings be upon [Muḥammad] the Secret-Heart of the world and its Epitome (*sirr al-ʿālam wa-nuktatu-hu*), the One Sought by the world and its Object of desire (*maṭlab al-ʿālam wa-bughyatu-hu*), the veracious Master (*al-sayyid al-ṣādiq*) and Night-journeyer to his Lord (*al-mudlij ilá Rabbi-hi*)[2] who passed through the Seven [celestial] Paths,[3] that He Who caused him to journey by night might show him the Signs and the Realities (*al-āyāt wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*) which He has placed in His creations (*al-khalāʾiq*)—he whom I beheld when composing this exordium in the World of the Ideal-Realities (*ʿālam ḥaqāʾiq al-mithāl*) in the Presence of Majesty (*ḥaḍrat al-jalāl*), a Disclosure to the heart (*mukāshafah qalbīyah*) in a Transcendent Presence (*ḥaḍrah ghaybīyah*):[4]

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[1] This passage has been tr. by Michel Vâlsan ("L'Investiture du Cheikh al-Akbar au centre suprême," *Études traditionnelles*, 311 [1953], pp. 300–11; see also *Seal*, 130–31); and by L. Shamash and S. Hirtenstein (in *J.M.I.A.S.*, 4 [1985], pp. 4–6).

[2] *Cf. Qur.* 17: 1. (See Lane, *s.v. duljah*).

[3] *Al-ṭāriqu l-mukhtaraqu bi-hi l-sabʿu l-ṭarāʾiqu.* The latter are the seven celestial spheres (*cf. Qur.* 23: 17).

I beheld him (May God bless and keep him!) in that World as a Master Impeccable in intent, Safeguarded in [every] aspect, Assisted and Supported [by God],[5] and before him in ranks (*muṣṭaffūn*) were all of the Apostles, with his own Community, which is the "Best Community,"[6] gathered (*multaffūn*) around him, [even as] the Angels subjected [to his will] (*malā'ikat al-taskhīr*) surround the throne of his Station (*ʿarsh maqāmi-hi*),[7] while the Angels engendered by the [Divine] Acts (*al-muwalladah min al-aʿmāl*) are arrayed before him.[8] On his precious Right was the "Faithful One" (*al-Ṣiddīq* [*sci.*, Abū Bakr]); on his most-holy Left, the "Discriminator" (*al-Fārūq* [ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb]); and before him knelt the Seal [*sci.*, Jesus], recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthá*),[9] as ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] (May God bless and keep him!) was translating the Seal's [words] into his own language, while "He of the two Lights" (*dhū l-nūrayn*), wrapped in the mantle of his modesty (*ridā' ḥayā'i-hi*), for his part [also] faced [the Prophet Muḥammad].[10]

Then the Supreme Master (*al-sayyid al-aʿlá*), the most-delightful, sweet Spring (*al-mawrid al-ʿadhb al-aḥlá*), the clearest, most-manifest Light (*al-nūr al-akshaf al-ajlá*), turned and, seeing me behind the Seal by virtue of a [kind of] partnership (*ishtirāk*) in predication between us,[11] the Master said to him: "He [*viz.*, Ibn al-ʿArabī] is your Counterpart (*ʿadīlu-ka*), your Son and your Friend (*ibnu-ka wa-khalīlu-ka*). Set up for him the Pulpit of Tamarisk (*minbar al-ṭarfāʾ*) before me!"[12]

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[4] I take this expression to imply that the entire "vision" as experienced and herein described by Ibn al-ʿArabī is effectively a construction of his subjective imagination, albeit initiated by an objective, transcendent event.

[5] *Shahidtu-hu . . . sayyid*^{an} *maʿṣūma l-maqāṣidi, maḥfūẓa l-mashāhidi, manṣūr*^{an} *mu'ayyad*^{an}.

[6] See *Qur.* 3: 110. Ibn al-ʿArabī's ref., I think, is to the highest *awliyā'* (in contradistinction from the *rusul* of the preceding clause).

[7] The predicate, *ḥāffūn* ("surround"), here, was applied to the angels mentioned in *Qur.* 39: 75 (*cf.* also next note).

[8] The predicate, *ṣāffūn* ("arrayed"), relates to *Qur.* 37: 164–65: ". . . they who are arrayed [in ranks] . . . they who sing [God's] praise" (*cf.* v. 1 of the *sūrah*). V. 166 refers to the type of angel mentioned in the preceding note, who "surround the [Divine] throne, singing the praise of their Lord" (*Qur.* 39: 75). The two angelic categories apparently correspond to the two human groups, the apostles and the élite (saints), the second being closer (*aqrab*) to the Prophet in each case. See the *ḥadīth* quoted by Yahia (in *Fut.-Y.*, I, 44, n. 1).

[9] This is Jesus, presumably "recounting the story" of his mother, Mary (*cf.* *Qur.* 19: 29–34).

[10] *Ḥayā'*: "honest shame, shyness, or pudency". It seems to me that "he of the two lights" is Ibn al-ʿArabī himself as the Muḥammadan Seal (corresponding to the Seal proper, Jesus), "cloaked in his personal attributes," or his body. Yahia thought that he detected in the above mention of ʿAlī (with the benediction usually accorded only to the Prophet) a pro-Shīʿite sentiment (see his n. 1), and it is true that ʿAlī is given a certain prominence in the scheme.

After that, he beckoned to me: "O Muḥammad, mount [the pulpit] and give praise to Him Who sent me and to *me.* For within you is a small part of me[13] which cannot bear to be apart from me, and which is the Dominant [trait] (*al-sulṭānah*)[14] in your Identity (*dhātīyatu-ka*). But it cannot return to me except in your Totality (*kullīyatu-ka*), and it must needs return to the Reunion (*al-rujūʿ ilá l-liqāʾ*). Truly, it is not of this world of misery (*ʿālam al-shaqāʾ*), for, after my Mission, there was nothing of me in anything except it experienced felicity and was of Him Who is Thanked and Praised among the Heavenly Host."[15]

The Seal then set up the Pulpit in that most-solemn Assembly (*al-mashhad al-akhṭar*), and on the front of it was written in radiant light:

> THIS IS THE MOST-PURE MUḤAMMADAN STATION (*al-maqām al-Muḥammadī al-aṭhar*). HE WHO ASCENDS IT INHERITS IT, AND THE REAL SENDS HIM FORTH AND DELEGATES HIM AS A PRESERVER OF THE SANCTITY OF THE LAW (*ḥāfiẓ li-ḥurmat al-sharīʿah*).

—And at that moment I received the gifts of [all of the modes of] Wisdom (*mawāhib al-ḥikam*), so that it was as though [like the Prophet] "I was given the sums of the Words (*jawāmiʿ al-kalim*)."[16]

I gave thanks to God (To Him be Glory and Majesty!) and rose to the topmost [step of the Pulpit], reaching the place of [the Prophet's] Standing and his Level (May God bless and keep him!).[17] The sleeve of a white cotton shirt was spread over the [top] step and I stood upon it so that I might not come in contact with the place that [the Prophet's] feet had touched (May God bless and keep him!). [This was by way of] elevating and honoring him, at the same time reminding and informing us that the Station of his Lord which [the Prophet] had witnessed cannot be witnessed by [his] Heirs (*al-warathah*) except from behind his Mantle (*min warā' thawbi-hi*).[18] Were that not so, we would have revealed what he revealed and made known what he made known.[19]

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[11] *Li-shtirāk^{in} bayn-ī wa-bayna-hu fī l-ḥukmi.* Jesus and Ibn al-ʿArabī each participate in the attributes of the Seal of sainthood.

[12] The *minbar* of tamarisk here signifies the "Muḥammadan throne," as Chodkiewicz explains (see *Seal*, 141, n. 11). Probably orig. a simple dais, the *minbar* came to be a pulpit in the form of a movable wooden staircase.

[13] *Shaʿrat^{un} min-nī*: "a hair of mine." *Shaʿrah* is a metonym for "daughter".

[14] Fem., in agreement with *shaʿrah.*

[15] Foll. Yahia's voc.

[16] See Muslim, *Masājid*, 5–8, and *Ashribah*, 72; Bukhārī, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyah*, 11; Tirmidhī, *Siyar*, 5; and *Musnad*, II, 172, 212, 250, *et al. Cf.* also Bukhārī, *Jihād*, 122, *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyah*, 22, *Iʿtiṣām*, 1; and al-Nasāʾī's *Sunan*, *Taṭbīq*, 1, and *Jihād*, 1. "The word, 'sum' [= *jawāmiʿ*], expresses the total and final nature of the Muḥammadan Revelation" (Chodkiewicz, *Seal*, 142, n. 12).

[17] Whereas the Prophet Muḥammad had stood on the top—the third—step of the *minbar*, Abū Bakr had instituted the custom among caliphs of ascending only

Do you not see [that this is so in the case of] one who would follow in [the Prophet's] tracks in order to learn of his Knowledge (*khubru-hu*)?[20] You cannot see what he has seen of the Path he has taken (*ṭarīq sulūki-hi*), nor do you know how to experience [that which is] devoid of qualities (*salb al-awṣāf ʿan-hu*). He saw, for example, a level ground without any distinguishing mark,[21] and he walked upon it; while you, [following] in his tracks, see nothing but the trace (*athar*) of his feet.[22] Here is a hidden Secret, which, if you search for it, you will reach—on account of its being an "Imām," while the Imām had [himself] come upon it, neither bearing witness to any trace [before him] nor recognizing any.[23] Thus, I have unveiled that which he will *not* unveil. Now, this Station was manifested in the [incident of the] denial of Moses (May God bless our Lord and him!)[24] of [the esoteric Knowledge of] al-Khaḍir.[25]

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to the second step. As Seal of the saints and ultimate Muḥammadan heir, however, Ibn al-ʿArabī follows *en plein* in the footsteps of the Prophet and ascends to the top.

[18] *Thawb*: "a garment, such as a mantle; s.th. which veils, covers, protects", *etc.*

[19] Or: "knew what he knew." Regarding this passage, *cf.* al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's *K. Khatm al-Awliyā'* (Yahia, ed.), p. 16 (ll. 7–10).

[20] *Khubr*: "experience, first-hand knowledge" (*e.g.*, in *Qur.* 18: 68). The ref. is evidently to the Prophet as a kind of proto-Khaḍir figure (see *infra*).

[21] *Turāb mustaw^{in} lā ṣifata la-hu. Turāb* generally connotes "dust, or fine, dry earth", of which we may imagine here a layer smoothed by the wind, untouched by any footprint.

[22] The deeply contemplative is aware of the "level ground" of apperception, or undifferentiated consciousness, whereas most people can appreciate only the lines of well-trodden convention.

[23] The sentence is quite as awkward (and obscure) in the Arabic. As we infer below, the ref. is apparently to al-Khaḍir, whom Moses found after "retracing his steps" (see *Qur.* 18: 64–65).

[24] "Our lord": *sayyidu-nā*. The latter is presumably the Prophet Muḥammad.

[25] See *Qur.* 18: 65–82 (esp. vv. 71, 74 and 77). Moses was simply following al-Khaḍir, without any real understanding, so he could not recognize the knowledge which guides the latter.

2. Ibn al-ʿArabī's responses to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's 13th, 14th and 15th questions concerning the Seal of the saints in the former's *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* and the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah.*

[The following concise statement is the earliest form of Ibn al-ʿArabī's response to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's thirteenth question, "Who is it that is worthy [of being called] the 'Seal of the Saints' (*khātam al-awliyāʾ*)?" as recorded in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm ʿan-Mā Saʾala ʿan-hu l-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm* (ed. by Yahia in al-Tirmidhī's *Khatm al-Awliyāʾ*, p. 161, n. 53), which was written in 603/1206–07:][26]

The one who is worthy [of being the Seal of sainthood] is a man who is like unto his Father,[27] who is non-Arab (*aʿjamī*), well-proportioned in his physical make-up,[28] and of medium height. The cycle of the Kingdom will be sealed by him,[29] and Sainthood [likewise] shall be sealed by him. He has a Minister (*wazīr*) named John [the Baptist] (Yaḥyá). [The Seal] is spiritual in origin, human in manifestation (*rūḥānī al-maḥtid, insī al-mashhad*).

[*N.b.*—At this point, the Seal of sainthood is still Jesus, as in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, and there is no indication whatever of the identity of the *Muḥammadan* Seal who was mentioned only in passing in that work (see pp. 279–80 of the trn.)—or even, indeed, that the latter is necessarily to be clearly distinguished from the Universal Seal. In the following elaboration of the answer which was later published in the *Futūḥāt* (II, 49 [15–19*sq.*]; *Fut.-Y.*, XII, 119–22*sq.*),[30] however, the dual doctrine is adumbrated:]

We say in answer [to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's question concerning the true identity of the Seal of the Saints]: The Seal is [actually]

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[26] Yahia's source for the *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* here is *Ms. Bayazid 375*, f. 242b. For Chodkiewicz's trn., see *Seal*, 117.

[27] *Rajul*^{un} *yushbihu abā-hu.* Inasmuch as the "male begetter" of Jesus was none other than the Spirit of God, this statement comes perilously close to the heresy of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*)—exc. that it is man who is being assimilated to the Divine, not *vice versa.*

[28] *Nasiq*^{un} *fī khalqi-hi.* In this he takes after his surrogate "father," the holy Spirit (= Gabriel), who appeared to the virgin Mary as a "man well-proportioned" (*bashar sawī*) in *Qur.* 19: 17. *Cf.* p. 523 at n. 85 of the present text.

[29] This is perhaps a ref. to Jesus's messianic role as a Mahdī figure (but *cf.* p. 181, where the cycle of the "Antichrist" [*al-dajl*] replaces that of kingship [*al-mulk*]).

[30] The longer responses are inc., also, in Yahia's edn. of the *Khatm. Cf.* also *Seal*, 117–18.

two Seals—the one with which God will seal Sainthood in the absolute sense, and the one with which He seals *Muḥammadan* Sainthood. As for the [Universal] Seal of Sainthood, it is Jesus (Peace be upon him!), for he is a Saint by virtue of the Absolute [or non-Legislative] Prophethood (*al-nubūwah al-muṭlaqah*)[31] in the time of this [present] Community, having been cut off from the Legislative Prophethood and Apostleship (*nubūwat al-tashrīʿ wa-l-risālah*). For he will descend at the end of time as an Heir and a Seal (*wārith^{an} khātam^{an}*), after whom shall be no [other] Saint in non-legislative Prophethood[32]—even as Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) is the Seal of Prophecy (*khātam al-nubūwah*), there being no Legislative Prophethood after him.

This, even though such [an eminent] one of the Apostles as Jesus (Peace be upon him!)—one of the Steadfast (*ūlū l-ʿazm*)[33] and of the Élite Prophets (*khawāṣṣ al-anbiyāʾ*)—[should come] after [Muḥammad], since [Jesus's own] Mandate in this [Prophetic] Station has ceased in favor of a time [when he is to be a Follower] of another than himself: For [Jesus] will descend [from Heaven at the end of time] as a Saint, possessor of an Absolute Prophethood (*dhū nubūwat^{in} muṭlaqat^{in}*), in which the Muḥammadan Saints shall participate with him. He is one of us; indeed, he is our Master (*sayyidu-nā*). The first in this Matter—I mean [this] specialized type of Prophecy (*nubūwat al-ikhtiṣāṣ*)[34]—was a Prophet—namely, Adam—and the last [will also be] a Prophet—Jesus. On the Day of Resurrection he will have two

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[31] "Absolute, or abstract prophethood," so-called, is that which is not qualified by relation to any particular revealed law, and, so, is actually *not* prophethood at all in the ordinary sense of the term, but is simply more or less syn. with "sainthood" (see pp. 154–57*sq.* of the intro.).

[32] That is, there shall be no other saint at all after the second coming of Jesus as the Seal/Mahdī of the eschaton in the fullness of time. The so-called "Seal of the offspring" (*khātam al-awlād*) of *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 67 (13–14*sq.*), who will simply be the last human being (child of Adam) to be born on earth, will not be a saint but merely a believer (*muʾmin*). He will be Chinese. In a rather remarkable example of historical prescience, Ibn al-ʿArabī foretold that after the birth of this last *homo sapiens* mankind will become sterile, and "those who live after him will be like beasts" (see below, pp. 609–10).

[33] See *Qur.* 46: 35. Whether or not *ūlū* (which functions as a plur. of *dhū*, "possessor of") is cognate with *walī* (saint), there is evidence that it was believed to be so by Ṣūfīs.

[34] *Ikhtiṣāṣ*: "specialization, field of competence, sphere of authority, jurisdiction." This is an unusual choice of words, since, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's parlance, the type of "prophethood" common to the saints is normally called "general" or "indeterminate" (*ʿāmm, muṭlaq*)—which are the contrary of "special" (*khāṣṣ*).

Congregations (*ḥashrān*)—one with us,[35] and one with the Apostles and the Prophets.[36]

As for the Seal of Muḥammadan Sainthood, it[37] belongs to a man of the Arabs, of the noblest of them in lineage and power,[38] who exists today in our own time. I was introduced to him[39] in the year, 595,[40] and I saw the distinguishing Sign (*al-ʿalāmah*) which he has, which the Real has hidden in him, concealed from the eyes of His servants (*sci.*, mankind), but which He revealed to me in the city of Fez, so that I might discern in him the Seal of Sainthood (*khātam al-walāyah*)—he being the Seal of Absolute Prophecy (*khātam al-nubūwah al-muṭlaqah*) about which many people know nothing. God has afflicted [the Seal] with the people who censure him (*ahl al-inkār ʿalay-hi*) concerning that which he has ascertained from the Real in his innermost heart. But just as God has sealed the Prophethood of [all] Laws (*nubūwat al-sharāʾiʿ*) with Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), so has He sealed with the Muḥammadan Seal the Sainthood which emanates from the Muḥammadan Heritage (*al-wirth al-Muḥammadī*)—as opposed to what derives from the other Prophets. For, indeed, among the Saints are those who inherit from [the Prophets] Abraham, Moses and Jesus [*etc.*], so that these may well be found to exist after this Muḥammadan Seal; but after him there shall be no Saint belonging to the Heart of Muḥammad[41] (May God bless and keep him!). This is the meaning of the Seal of Muḥammadan Sainthood.

As for the Seal of General Sainthood after which there shall be no Saint [whatsoever], that is Jesus (Peace be upon him!). We have met a number (*jamā'ah*) of [Saints] who follow the Heart of Jesus or another of the Apostles (Peace be upon them!).[42] I brought together my Companions, 'Abd Allāh [Badr al-Ḥabashī] and Ismā'īl Ibn Sawdakīn,[43] with this [Universal] Seal;[44] he prayed for them, and (Praise be to God!) they benefited from [his prayer].

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[35] This could be understood as signifying either the *awliyāʾ* (as opposed to the *rusul* and the *anbiyāʾ*), or the Muslim community as apart from the religious communities formed around the various apostles and prophets. In the latter case, of course, Jesus would stand as the leader of the Christian church. See also pp. 521–22, n. 72.

[36] Foll. Yahia's emendation in *Khatm*, 161, n. 53 (mid.). The text actually reads: "a congregation with us, a congregation with the apostles and a congregation with the prophets" (*Fut.* II, 49 [20–21]). Jesus is, indeed, an apostle, a prophet and a saint.

[37] The pron., which is fem., actually refers to Muḥammadan sainthood.

[38] While this could well be applied to our author, who traced his descent from the famous Arab knight, Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, Ibn al-ʿArabī does not seem to have seriously claimed any noble Arab pedigree for himself, characterizing himself in the *ʿAnqāʾ* (no doubt accurately enough) as "neither pure-bred Arab nor non-Arab" (see p. 252, n. 54).

[39] *ʿUrriftu bi-hi* (as voc. by Yahia).

[40] Corresponding to the year beginning in Nov., 1198.

[41] *ʿAlá qalbi Muḥammad^{in}*.

[Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's fourteenth question was: "By what attribute (*ṣifah*) is that one who is entitled (to be called 'Seal of the Saints' so entitled)?" Ibn al-'Arabī's earliest response in the *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* (in *Khatm*, 162, n. 54) was later incorporated as the first sentence in the following passage from the *Futūḥāt* (II, 49–50; *Fut.-Y.*, XII, 122–25):]

[He is so entitled] by the Attribute of the Trusteeship (*ṣifat al-amānah*)[45]—in his hand being the "Keys of the Breaths" (*mafātīḥ al-anfās*), and his condition being deprivation and motion (*ḥālu-hu l-tajrīd wa-l-ḥarakah*).[46] This is the characterization (*na't*) of Jesus (Peace be upon him!): He used to give life by breathing (*kāna yuḥyī bi-l-nafkh*);

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[42] Note that, contrary to the apparent meaning of some passages, Jesus does still exist *in his capacity as a prophet* for those who are "after the heart of Jesus" (*sci.*, the *'Īsawīyūn*).

[43] Shams al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī (d. 646/1248 in Aleppo), a close disciple of Ibn al-'Arabī, is the author of a short collection of questions addressed to the Master, the *K. Wasā'il al-Sā'il* (Yahia, *no.* 436), which was ed. and tr. by Manfred Profitlich in 1973 (see Bib. IB). For refs., see *Quest*, 223, n. 29; and my forthcoming art., "Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-'Arabī's Roots in *Sharq al-Andalus*." On Badr al-Ḥabashī (d. 618/1221 in Malatya), see above, p. 47 n. 182.

[44] The ref. could be, rather, to a saint "belonging to the heart" of Jesus, such as, *e.g.*, Abū Ja'far al-'Uryanī, Ibn al-'Arabī's first *shaykh*, who became specially devoted to the prophet, Jesus (see above, p. 36 at n. 121).

[45] *Qur.* 33: 72 reads: "Verily, We offered the Trusteeship (*al-amānah*) to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it and were afraid of it. But man assumed it. Indeed, he is sinful and very foolish!" But *cf.* Ibn al-'Arabī's comm. on this verse, which is typical of the Ṣūfī view: "[God] created Adam in His Image, and, so, He applied to him all of the Most-beautiful [Divine] Names, by the strength of which [man was able] to bear the proffered Trusteeship (*al-amānah al-ma'rūḍah*). Had this essential nature (*al-ḥaqīqah*) not been given [man], he would have declined [the Trusteeship] as the heavens, earth and mountains had refused to bear it, 'but man assumed it. Indeed, he [would be] sinful' if he were *not* to bear it, 'and very foolish,' because the Knowledge of God (*al-'ilm bi-Llāh*) is the essence of '[mystical] Ignorance' (*'ayn al-jahl*). . . ." (*Fut.* II, 170 [6–8]). For more refs. on the *amānah*, see *Mu'jam*, *no.* 58.

[46] Foll. Yahia, who has *wa-ḥālu-hu* (his condition) instead of *wa-ḥālah*. Also, Yahia amends *al-ḥawlah* in *Ms. Bayezid 375* (f. 242b) to read *al-ḥarakah*. Presumably the latter is to be taken in the sense of *taḥrīk*, or *ta'diyah* (setting in motion, putting into effect), as we see in the last clause of the foll. sentence. "Deprivation" (*tajrīd*, "abstraction") relates to Jesus's asceticism and reclusion (see *infra*).

he was one of the Ascetic Apostles (*zuhhād al-rusul*), given to roaming about (*al-siyāḥah*); and he was a Keeper of the Trusteeship (*ḥāfiẓ li-l-amānah*), putting it into effect (*muʾaddī la-hā*). For this reason the Jews used to frequent him, and "the blame of no critic shall seize him as regards God."[47] I have met him [*sci.*, the Seal of the Saints, Jesus] many times in ecstasies (*al-waqāʾiʿ*), and through him I have turned [from sinfulness],[48] as he prayed for me that I might persevere in Religion in This life and in the Next. He called me [by the name] "Beloved" (*al-ḥabīb*),[49] and commanded me to asceticism and self-abnegation (*al-zuhd wa-l-tajrīd*).

As for the Attribute (*al-ṣifah*) which entitles the Seal of Muḥammadan Sainthood to be [called] a Seal, it is the completeness of [his assimilation to] the Noble Character-traits (*makārim al-akhlāq*) that are with God.[50] All that the people receive [of these Noble Characteristics come to them] from him, for it is in the nature of that Character (*al-khuluq*)[51] to distribute the Character-traits relative to God [to all of mankind]. That is so because the purposes (*al-aghrāḍ*) [of people] differ, the Noble Character-traits for him who is assimilated to them being conformable to his own purpose—whether it is praiseworthy in the view of others or blameworthy. But since the general concurrence of the World as to what is truly beautiful cannot be [objectively] established, [the Seal must] contemplate that [situation] in the manner of the Philosopher-Sage (*naẓar al-ḥakīm*) who undertakes to effect what is appropriate as "that which is proper at its proper time."[52] He contemplates [all] existent things (*al-mawjūdāt*) but he does not find a Companion (*ṣāḥib*) like unto the Real—there being no companionship (*ṣuḥbah*) better than His Companionship. And perceiving that happiness (*al-saʿādah*) is in coöperating with and conforming to His Will (*irādatu-hu*), [the Seal] contemplates that to which [God] sets limits and prescribes by Law,[53] that he might stop short thereat or follow it [as the case may be].

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[47] *Lam taʾkhudh-hu fī Llāhi lawmatu l-lāʾimi.* For refs. to many similar trads., see *Concordance, s.v. lāma.* On the last expression, *cf. Qur.* 5: 54.

[48] *Wa-ʿalá yadi-hi tubtu.* The first commandment of Jesus in the Gospel: "Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (*Matt.* 4: 17). On the role of Jesus in the early career of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *Quest*, 39–44.

[49] St. John is referred to (by himself) as "the disciple whom Jesus loved" in *John* 21: 20 (*cf.* also 19: 26 and 13: 23, *etc.*).

[50] *Tamāmu makārimi l-akhlāqi maʿa Llāhi. Akhlāq* (s., *khuluq*): "moral characteristics, dispositions or customs; innate or acquired qualities of mind or soul". The Prophet had said: "I was sent to complete the beautiful character traits" (*ḥusn al-akhlāq*; *Musnad*, II, 381; and Mālik b. Anas, *Al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Ḥusn al-khulq*, 8). On the *makārim al-akhlāq*, see Bukhārī, *Manāqib al-anṣār*, 33; and Muslim, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, 133. On the subj. of the *akhlāq* in general, see *Path*, 21–22, *et al.*

[51] Evidently, this is the comprehensive perfection of all of the *makārim al-akhlāq* which is the "attribute" of the Seal. That would be in line with the Socratic principle that the nature of goodness requires it to share itself.

[52] *Yafʿalu mā yanbaghī ka-mā yanbaghī lammā yanbaghī.* The role of the *ḥakīm* (wiseman or philosopher-sage) is to order all things in their proper places at their proper times, in a kind of moral economy.

Among that which [the Real] prescribes: that [the Seal] teach [the World] how "all that is other than God" should socially interrelate[54]—from pure Angel, venerable Apostle and Imām in whose hand God has placed the affairs of creation, from Caliph to custodian (*ʿarīf*), male and female companion (*ṣāḥib wa-ṣāḥibah*),[55] relatives and offspring, servant and beast of burden, animal, plant and mineral—[how all should interrelate] as to essence, accident and secondary property (*fī dhāt^{in} wa-ʿaraḍ^{in} wa-milk^{in}*)—if, indeed, it be one of those who have property. Now [the Seal] watches over all of those we have just mentioned in compliance with [the will of] the "Companion," the Real (*bi-murāʿāt al-Ṣāḥib al-Ḥaqq*), for he only distributes the [Noble] Character traits (*al-akhlāq*) that are with his Lord (*maʿa Sayyidi-hi*). Thus, in like manner, that which was said regarding the Apostle [Muḥammad] may be said of [the Seal of Sainthood]: "Lo, you are of an exalted Character (*khuluq ʿaẓīm*)!"[56] And [the Prophet's wife] ʿĀʾishah averred: "His [very] Character (*khuluqu-hu*) is the Qurʾān":[57] He praises what God has praised and censures what God has censured with True Speech (*lisān ḥaqq*) "in a Sure Abode (*maqʿad ṣidq*) in the presence of a Mighty King."[58] Thus, when his Roots [of descent] were so excellent and his [Noble] Character-traits pervaded the World, his companies reaching every distant province, he whose Attribute is such shall surely be entitled to be made to seal Muḥammadan Sainthood by Him Who said: "Lo, you are of an exalted Character!"[59]

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[53] *Fa-naẓara fī-mā ḥadda-hu wa-sharaʿa-hu.*

[54] *Kayfa yuʿāshira mā siwá Llāhi.* "All that is not God" is a stock def. of the world, or natural universe. Note the phonetic metathesis between the verb, *yuʿāshiru*, and *sharʿ* (law).

[55] Or, possibly: "master and mistress" (but *cf.* preceding paragraph).

[56] *Qur.* 68: 4.

[57] *Cf.* Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, 139. Yahia's voc. of this trad. ("The Qurʾān is his character") is, I think, incorrect. Ibn al-ʿArabī frequently quotes this *ḥadīth* (see *Path*, 241–42).

[58] *Qur.* 54: 55.

[59] See n. 56.

God has made us to be among those who clear for Him the Path of His True Guidance (*mahhada la-hu sabīla hudā-hu*), adapting it to be walked upon and offering it (*hadā-hu*).[60]

[Al-Tirmidhī's fifteenth question was "What is the Reason (*sabab*) of the Seal's [being so distinguished]? and what is his Significance (*maʿnā-hu*)?" In the *Jawāb al-Mustaqīm* (in *Khatm*, 163, n. 55) Ibn al-ʿArabī responded briefly:]

[The Reason is] by virtue of the perfection of [his] Station and its completion (*kamāl al-maqām wa-stifā'u-hu*). As for "his Significance," it is the distinction of a Name possessing a thing[61] which no one can obtain until after the removal of that Name.[62] So his Significance is preclusion and prohibition (*al-ḥajr wa-l-manʿ*).

[Later, in the *Futūḥāt* (II, 50 [11–24]; *Fut.-Y.*, XII, 126–29), Ibn al-ʿArabī modified this response and elaborated:]

[We say in reply that] his "Reason" (*sababu-hu*) [for being distinguished as the Seal of Sainthood] is the perfection of [his] Station, and prohibition and preclusion (*al-manʿ wa-l-ḥajr*) are "his Significance." That is because the World, even as it has a beginning and an end—[the latter being] its Seal—so God has decreed (Be He Praised!) that all that is [contained] therein according to [the World's] description should have a Beginning and a Seal.[63] Among all those things that are in [the World] is the Revelation of [the various] Divine Laws (*tanzīl al-sharā'iʿ*), and God has sealed this Revelation with the Law of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!). For "he is the Seal of the Prophets, and God is Knowing of everything!"[64]

Also among all that is in [the World] is General Sainthood (*al-walāyah al-ʿāmmah*), which has its beginning (*bad'*) in Adam, while God has sealed it with Jesus. For [Jesus] is the Seal which corresponds to the Beginning.[65] "Truly, the likeness of Jesus with God is as the likeness of Adam,"[66] for He has sealed in the likeness of what He originated: An Absolute Prophet (*nabī muṭlaq*) was the Beginning of this Affair and, so, it was sealed with one.[67]

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[60] Note the implicit claim to sealhood as well as the allusions to the role of the Mahdī.

[61] *Khuṣūṣu -sm^{in} ʿalá amr^{in}.*

[62] This rather prolix declaration is curious in that it seems to imply that the station of the Seal is obtainable by another after the present holder (as is, for example, the office of the *quṭb*); but this is not necessarily the case, and in other passages Ibn al-ʿArabī makes it clear that the sealhood is *not* inherited, but bestowed once and for all (see *infra*).

[63] "I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending," says the Revelator (in *Rev.* 1: 8). See n. 65, below.

[64] *Qur.* 33: 40.

The legal regulations (*aḥkām*) of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) in the eyes of God[68] differ from the regulations of all other Prophets and Apostles as regards the [truly] Universal Mission (*al-baʿth al-ʿāmm*) [of Islam]—the distribution of wealth[69] and the purification of the earth, making it a place of worship (*masjid*, "a place of prostration"). [The Prophet Muḥammad] was given "the sums of the Words" (*jawāmiʿ al-kalim*),[70] and he was given the Keys of the Treasuries of the Earth (*mafātīḥ khazāʾin al-arḍ*)—Prophethood being sealed by him. After [Muḥammad], the legal Authority [*ḥukm*] of each Prophet has turned into the legal Authority of a Saint. For he was sent down to the World from the Station of his Special Domain (*maqām ikhtiṣāṣi-hi*), and he is well-deserving that a Seal of his Special Sainthood (*walāyatu-hu l-khāṣṣah*) should be his Namesake (May God bless and keep him!)[71] and have his Character (*khuluqu-hu*)—although he is not the one called *the Mahdī*, known as "the Expected One" (*al-muntaẓar*). For that one is to be a direct descendent [of the Prophet], from the nearer portion of his Family (*sulālatu-hu wa-ʿitratu-hu*),[72] while the Seal is *not* a physical descendent,[73] but is of the descent of his [Spiritual-] hereditary Qualities and the [Noble] Character-traits (*aʿrāqu-hu wa-akhlāqu-hu*).

Have you not heard [how] God speaks concerning that which we have indicated: "And to every Nation is an appointed Term (*ajal*),"[74] while all the species of created beings in the World are Nations

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[65] *Cf. 1 Cor.* 15: 45, and *Rev.* 22: 13, *et al.*

[66] *Qur.* 3: 59.

[67] Both Adam and Jesus were "universal, or general, prophets" (= saints), though Jesus, at least, had also been a lawgiver, of course. As for Adam, although he, too, received revelations from God (see *Qur.* 2: 37), and there is a trad. of a "book of Adam," these were not usually believed to have been in the form of laws.

[68] *Maʿa Llāhi.*

[69] *Taḥlīl al-ghanāʾim*: lit., "the specification of booty."

[70] See above, p. 591, n. 16.

[71] That is, the name of the special, *Muḥammadan* Seal is to be "Muḥammad".

[72] The *ʿitrat al-nabī* comprises the descendents of the Prophet's paternal uncles (sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib), or, acc. to some, descendents of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter (see Lane, *s.v. ʿitrah*).

[73] *Min sulālati-hi l-ḥissīyah.*

[74] *Qur.* 7: 34.

(*umam*)?[75] And [God] has said: "Each one runs unto an appointed Term"[76] at the end of His saying, "He causes the Night to pass into the Day and the Day to pass into the Night, and he puts the Sun and the Moon to service, each one running unto an appointed Term"[77]—making for them a Seal (*khitām*), the Terminus of their appointed period. "And there is not a thing but sings His praise!"[78] Thus, there is no species [of being] but it constitutes a "Nation"—so understand that which we have made clear for you! Truly, it is of the Secrets of the [Imaginal] World preserved [in the Treasuries of the Earth],[79] which cannot be known save by way of Revelation (*min ṭarīq al-kashf*). "And God will guide" unto the Truth and "to a Straight Path!"[80]

3. Chapter DLVII of the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* (IV, 195), entitled "The Gnosis of the Absolute Seal of the Saints" (*maʿrifat khatm al-awliyāʾ ʿalá l-iṭlāq*), treating of the Sealhood of Jesus.[81]

Verily, the Seal of the Saints is an Apostle,[82]
  who, in [all] the Worlds, is without an equal:
The Spirit and the Son of the Spirit and of Mary,[83]
  —that being a Station unto which is no approach.
He will descend among us as a Just Arbiter,[84]
  though the Mandate that he has will come to an end.[85]

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[75] *Cf. Qur.* 6: 38: "No creature crawls on the earth nor bird flies on two wings, but they are nations like unto you" (*cf.* above, p. 464 at n. 21; *cf.* also *Qur.* 17: 44, quoted below).

[76] *Qur.* 31: 29.

[77] All species of being are "nations" (*umam*), each with their "appointed term" (*ajal*).

[78] *Qur.* 17: 44.

[79] That is, the *arḍ al-ḥaqīqah* (treated in Chap. 8 of the *Futūḥāt*; see above, pp. 520–21, nn. 65–67).

[80] *Cf. Qur.* 24: 46 and 33: 4 (*et al.*), which this line conflates.

[81] This chap. concludes a series of brief sections on aspects of the doctrine of the pole (*al-quṭb*). *Ms. Wien 1906* (= W) quotes it in full at the end of the *ʿAnqāʾ*-text (f. 70b).

[82] The metre of the poem is *al-ṭawīl* (catalectic).

[83] Lit., "he is the Spirit and the son of the Spirit and the mother, Mary (*al-umm Maryam*)." In *Qur.* 4: 171 Jesus is called "a spirit from God," and later Islam denominated him *al-rūḥ* (as here) and even *rūḥ Allāh* (see art., "ʿĪsá," in *E.I.* 1).

[84] *Muqsiṭ*^{an} *ḥakam*^{an}. This is an allusion to a well-known *ḥadīth* (*cf. Musnad*, VI, 75; Muslim, *Īmān*, 42; Ibn Mājah, *Fitan*, 33, *et al.* [see *Concordance, s.v. muqsiṭ*]) describing the messianic role of Jesus.

[85] The reign of Jesus will last forty years acc. to the trad. cited in the preceding note. "The mandate that he has": *mā kāna min ḥukm*^{in} *la-hu.*

He will kill the swine and triumph over falsehood,[86]
having no Guide [therein] except the Deity,[87]
Supporting him in every situation with a Sign[88]
which he beholds with his own eyes; for he is Guarantor,[89]
Making known True Guidance, the Law of the "Most-Praised,"[90]
in which there is for [Jesus] a Place of rest with [Him][91]
For [God's] Outpouring through His Sov'reignty's Mediator,[92]
—while [the Seal] is, himself, Resident in his *two* States.[93]

Know (May God grant us and you success!) that God (Exalted be He!), by virtue of the favor (*karāmah*) of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!)[94] with his Lord, has made of his Community Apostles

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[86] *Wa-yadmaghu bāṭil*^{an}. W has *yadfaʿu* (will repel) for the verb.

[87] *Wa-laysa la-hū illā l-ilāhu dalīlū.*

[88] *Yuʾayyidu-hū . . . bi-āyatī.* In *Qur.* 2: 87 & 253, and 5: 110, God is said to support Jesus with the Spirit of holiness (*ayyadnā-hu bi-rūḥ al-quds*)—which, above, Ibn al-ʿArabī has identified as Jesus's "father". In the next verse, however, it becomes apparent that the ref. here is actually to the future mission of the Prophet Muḥammad (= Aḥmad; see n. 91, below).

[89] *Kafīl*: "one who stands as surety or as guarantor for another". In *Qur.* 3: 44, the elders/angels cast lots to see who would have the honor to be the guardian [*kafīl*] of the virgin Mary. In 16: 91, God is so designated (for other refs., see *Wörterbuch, s.v.*).

[90] *Yuqīmu bi-iʿlāmi l-hudá sharʿi Aḥmadā. Aḥmad* is the sup. form of the name, Muḥammad. This I take to be a ref. to the famous "prediction" of Jesus in the Qurʾān (61: 6): "O Children of Israel! I am the Apostle of God unto you, confirming (*muṣaddiq*^{an}) what was [revealed] before me in the Torah, and bringing Good News (*mubashshir*^{an}) of an Apostle who will come after me, whose name is Most-praised (*ismu-hu aḥmad*)." Muslims cite *John* 14: 16 & 26, 15: 26 and 16: 7—mentioning the Paraclete or "Comforter" (= holy spirit of truth) who is to come—as evident reminiscences of the orig. statement of Jesus. It might also be possible to read this and the preceding hemistich: "for [God] is Guarantor, setting up the law of Aḥmad with the marks (*aʿlām*, instead of *iʿlām*) of right guidance," but it would be highly unusual to have this verb governed by "God" in the imperf.

[91] *Yakūnu la-hū min-hū laday-hi maqīlū.* Foll. my own interpretation, "with [God]" should, perhaps, rather, be understood as: "with Aḥmad [= the Muḥammadan Reality]." In any case, the ref. is apparently to God's raising Jesus up to Himself in *Qur.* 4: 158. The heart of man has been styled *maqīl al-ḥubb* (the resting-place of love) and, by the poet, al-Mutannabī, the "resting-place of wrath" (*maqīl al-ghayẓ*).

[92] *Yufīḍu ʿalay-hī min wasīlati mulki-hī*: "over which [*sci.*, the 'resting-place' of the Seal] He [God] pours [His emanation] through the medium/agent of His supreme authority." *Wasīlah*: "a means of access/coming near to/ingratiating o.s. with s.o.; an honorable rank or station with a king", *etc.* (see Lane, *s.v.*)—but I acknowledge that my reading is quite contrived. I understand the "mediator" here to be the Reality of Muḥammad (= Aḥmad).

[93] *Fī ḥālatay-hi nazīlū.* The Seal has two "natures", corporeal and spiritual (see *infra*), relating to his two "parents", human and Divine/angelic. Perhaps the *maqīl* (resting place) is itself the former (as the womb of Mary) and the spiritual "outpouring" the latter.

[94] W has, instead: "Peace be upon him!"

(*rusul*).[95] Thereafter, among [those] Apostles He distinguished him whose lineage was more than human;[96] for half of him was human and the other half a pure Spirit, an Angel (*rūḥ muṭahharah, malak*),[97] inasmuch as Gabriel gave him to Mary, a "Perfect Man" (*bashar sawī*)[98] "whom God raised up to Himself,"[99] then He shall cause him to descend [again] as a Saint, the Seal of [all] Saints (*walī, khātam al-awliyā'*), at the end of Time, who shall judge by the Law of Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) in [Muḥammad's] Community.[100] [But Jesus] will seal only the Sainthood of the Apostles and Prophets (*walāyat al-rusul wa-l-anbiyā'*), while the Muḥammadan Seal of Sainthood (*khatm al-walāyah al-Muḥammadī*) shall seal the Sainthood of the *Saints*, so that the ranks (*al-marātib*) of the Sainthood of the Saint (*walāyat al-walī*) might be distinguished from [those of] the Sainthood of the Apostles.

For if [the Seal] descends [from Heaven] as a Saint, then, verily, [that] Seal of the Saints (*khātam al-awliyā'*)[101] will be a Seal of the Sainthood of Jesus [that is, the "Universal Seal"] inasmuch as he is, in this Community, a Judge by a Law other than his own (*ḥākim^{un} bi-shar'i ghayri-hi*).[102] [For] just as Muḥammad is "the Seal of the Prophets" (*khātam al-nabīyīn*)[103] even though Jesus will come down

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[95] Evidently, "Muḥammad" here is to be understood as the *spirit* of the Prophet, the Muḥammadan Reality, and "his community" is apparently the entire class of *awliyā'*. (Otherwise, the burden of the next sentence could be applied to Ibn al-'Arabī among the other Muslims, exc. that he is presumably designated in the *Muḥammadan* Seal, mentioned later).

[96] *Ba'udat nisbatu-hu* [= *nasabu-hu*] *mina l-bashari*. Jesus is mentioned in *Qur*. 2: 253, where it is explained that God has preferred some *rusul* over others.

[97] W is wanting *malak*.

[98] In *Qur* 19: 17, Gabriel is said to have become visible to Mary (*tamaththala la-hā*) in the form of a "perfectly harmonized human figure without blemish" (= Hegel's Greek god) on the occasion of the "annunciation" (for the cognate verb, *sawwā*, "to form, put in order", see 18: 37). Here, however, the expression, *bashar sawī*, is clearly applied to Jesus. The verb in this clause, *wahaba*, is the same as the one used to denote Gabriel's giving of Jesus as a "pure child" (*ghulām zakī*) to Mary in 19: 19. W adds "upon whom be peace!" after the names of Gabriel and Mary, and the same (instead of the long benediction) after Muḥammad's name in the foll. clause.

[99] *Qur*. 4: 158.

[100] The verb, *yaḥkumu bi-*, could be taken to mean simply "shall order that [the law be implemented]."

[101] Instead of the first, W has the inf., *khatm*, meaning much the same.

[102] That is, in his second coming as the "*last* of the saints" Jesus will re-establish the *shar'* of Muḥammad; he will not bring his own, new law, and, hence, he is not to be counted as *another* prophet after their Seal.

[103] *Qur*. 33: 40.

[again] after him, similarly, Jesus has the authority (*ḥakama*) in temporal priority as concerns his Sainthood, [he being] the Seal of the Saintly office of the Saints (*khātam wilāyat al-awliyā'*)—Jesus among them.[104]

[The Seal's] Station (*rutbatu-hu*) we have indicated in our book entitled THE FABULOUS GRYPHON (*ʿAnqā' Mughrib*), in which he is spoken of as well as the Mahdī—whom [however] the Prophet (May God bless and keep him!) has [also] spoken of, so that I was able to dispense with discussing him [at length] in this book,[105] his Station (*manzilatu-hu*) being no secret. For, verily, Jesus—as [God] has declared [in the Scripture]—is "the Apostle of God and His Word (*rasūl Allāh wa-kalimatu-hu*) which He cast into Mary, and a Spirit from Him (*rūḥ^{un} min-hu*),"[106] "and God [always] speaks the Truth and shows the Way."[107]

4. Selections from the second chapter of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, devoted to the Word (*kalimah*) of Seth (Shīth).

[The following long passage dealing with the Seal of the saints *vis-à-vis* the Seal of the apostles, occurs in *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 62–64.[108] Very important as representing perhaps the latest development of Ibn al-ʿArabī's notion of the Seal, it is certainly the most problematic expression of the doctrine as far as Muslim orthodoxy is concerned.

[In what precedes our quote, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains how those who behold the Divine Self-Revelation (*al-tajallī*) are actually seeing their own form in the mirror of Reality (while the Real beholds His own attributes in the mirror of man). This is, indeed, the highest form of knowledge that can be achieved by man, beyond which is only pure nothingness (*al-ʿadam al-maḥd*). Observing, then, that the matter is complex and obscure, Ibn al-ʿArabī continues:]

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[104] The argument would appear more cogent and the point more relevant if we were to substitute "Muḥammad's sainthood," which is comparable to Jesus's prophethood. But an even more satisfying interpretation would be to understand the first mention of "Jesus" in this sentence as actually denoting the *Muḥammadan* Seal, *viz.*—Ibn al-ʿArabī himself—or, perhaps better, the descent of the spirit of Jesus upon the Ṣūfī.

[105] That is, presumably, the *ʿAnqā'*, though *hādhā* (this) would more properly be taken to refer to the *Futūḥāt* itself.

[106] *Qur.* 4: 171.

[107] *Qur.* 33: 4. This expression is frequently quoted to conclude chaps. of the *Futūḥāt.*

[108] *Cf.* Austin's trn. in *Bezels*, 65, *et seq.*

Among us [Ṣūfīs, *awliyā'*] is he who is "ignorant" regarding his Knowledge,[109] and who, therefore, maintains [with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq] that "[the realization] that one cannot attain unto Realization is [itself] a Realization."[110] [But] among us [also] is he who *does* know and, so, does not say such a thing—even though [that] is the best [possible] saying—but, rather, Knowledge instills in him silence (*al-sukūt*), not inability (*al-ʿajz*). This is the highest Knower of God (*ʿālim bi-Llāh*). No one possesses this supreme Knowledge except for the Seal of the Apostles (*khātam al-rusul*) and the Seal of the Saints (*khātam al-awliyā'*). Thus, none of the Prophets or Apostles can contemplate [this Knowledge] apart from [= except in the light of] the Prayer-niche of the Apostle-Seal (*mishkāt al-rasūl al-khātam*) [that is, the Prophet Muḥammad],[111] and no Saint may contemplate it except from the Prayer-niche of the Saint-Seal (*mishkāt al-walī al-khātam*)—so that, indeed, [even] the Apostles cannot contemplate it, when they do so, apart from the Prayer-niche of the Seal of the Saints.[112]

For Apostleship and Prophethood—by which I mean Lawgiving Prophethood and [Lawgiving] Apostleship (*nubūwat al-tashrīʿ wa-risālatu-hu*)—shall come to an end, whereas Sainthood will never end. Hence, the Apostles (*al-mursalūn* ["those who are sent"]), inasmuch as they are Saints, may not contemplate That of which we have been speaking except by way of the Prayer-niche of the Seal of the Saints—so how much more those Saints ranking below them [cannot do so]! For although the Seal of the Saints is a Subject-follower (*tābiʿ fī l-ḥukm*) of the Legislation brought by the Seal of the Apostles, this does not lessen his Station or contradict what we have maintained;

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[109] Or: "knowledge of Him (God)" (*cf.* what precedes). *Jahila* is the ant. of *ʿalima* (Fr., "saisir").

[110] *Wa-l-ʿajzu ʿan darki l-idrāki idrāk^{un}*. While this saying was commonly ascribed to Abū Bakr by Ṣūfīs and others, its historical accuracy was suspected, and was flatly denied by Ibn Taymīyah. The saying promoted a kind of agnosticism which Ibn al-ʿArabī tended to depreciate (but note that the saying is quoted in the *ʿAnqā'* with evident approval on p. 336). Here it is used to indicate the way in which the degree of *ṣiddīqīyah* is not, after all, the highest station attainable by the saints (as al-Ghazzālī had maintained), but ranks below a station of greater proximity (*qurbah*), comprising the positive knowledge of the *muqarrabūn* (those brought near to God).

[111] *Mishkāh*: "a niche in a wall in which a lamp naturally illuminates more brightly" (see *Qur.* 24: 35; for the many other interpretations of this Ethiopic loan-word, see Lane, *s.v.* [see also Jeffery, *s.v.*]).

[112] Since, *ex hypothesi*, the set of saints inc. the subsets of both the prophets and the apostles. So casually this most staggering assertion is presented! The implication is unavoidable that the Seal ranks higher than the Prophet Muḥammad.

but, indeed, while in one sense [the Seal of the Saints] is below [the Seal of the Apostles], in another sense he is *above*. This is apparent [even] in the exoteric aspect of our [Prophetary] Law (*ẓāhir sharʿi-nā*),[113] in [its recounting of] the superiority of ʿUmar's [judgment over the Prophet's] in the matter of the prisoners taken after Badr, and in the pollination of the dates.[114] It is hardly necessary that the Perfect (*al-kāmil*) be pre-eminent in everything and at every level! Rather, Ṣūfīs (*al-rijāl*) have regard only to pre-eminence in the Knowledge of God. That is their only concern. As for the passing phenomena of generated beings (*ḥawādith al-akwān*), their ideas have naught to do with them.[115] Verify the Truth of what we say!

[After this, Ibn al-ʿArabī goes on to describe a vision of the Seal of the saints, actually a kind of *re*-vision of the well-known dream of the Prophet Muḥammad in which he saw himself as the last symbolic "brick" needed to complete the "wall" of prophecy:][116]

When the Prophet likened Prophethood to a wall of bricks (*al-ḥāʾiṭ min al-labin*), complete except for the placing of one brick, he was himself (May God bless and keep him!) that one Brick (*al-labinah*). However, whereas [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!) notices the lack of only one brick, the Seal of the Saints, for whom this Vision is necessary also, shall behold the same thing that the Apostle of God allegorized, but he will see in the wall, which is of gold and silver bricks, the place of *two* [particular] bricks, and he will notice that the wall is lacking [those] two bricks, one of gold and the other silver, and it will only be completed by them. And he must see himself impressed[117] in the place of those two bricks, for the Seal of the Saints is to *be* those two Bricks. Then the wall will be complete.

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[113] Canon law may inc. the Prophetary biography (*Sīrat al-Nabī*), which documents the first instance of Muḥammad's fallibility alluded to here (see Guillaume, tr., *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 301), where ʿUmar's condemnation of the prisoners taken at Badr was thought to be confirmed by Divine revelation occurring in *Qur.* 8: 67.

[114] "The Prophet of God came to Medina when they were fecundating the date-palms, and asked what was being done. It was replied that this was the custom. 'Perhaps it would be better if you did not do it,' said he. So they left the trees as they were and the crop was deficient" (trad. quoted by Guillaume in *The Traditions of Islam*, pp. 154–55. On the process of the fertilization of the date-crop, see Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage*, vol. I, p. 403).

[115] Note that it is the Ṣūfīs, or *awliyāʾ*, who are beyond such ephemeral concerns (as the provisioning of material needs and general social intercourse—the kinds of things that are regulated by laws), not the prophets. From this we might infer that Muḥammad in the two above-cited trads. actually stands for the saints, while ʿUmar's knowledge in the allegory represents the prophets' less exalted expertise.

[116] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 63 (tr. in *Bezels*, 66–67). *Cf.* the parable of the cornerstone in *Psalms* 118: 22, *Matt.* 21: 42, *Eph.* 2: 20, and *1 Peter* 2: 5; *cf.* also the third vision of the apocryphal *Shepherd of Hermas* (Bk. I, Chap. 3, vv. 24–77). See pp. 149–50 of the intro., where I have tr. the comparable passage from the *Futūḥāt*.

The requisite cause of his being a beholder of *two* bricks is that, externally, he is a Follower of the Law of the Seal of the Apostles, and that is the place of the silver brick, that being his exterior (*ẓāhiru-hu*) and the legal ordinances (*al-aḥkām*) that he follows [in his external life], just as, in his Innermost being (*al-sirr*), he derives [directly] from God That which he appears outwardly to [merely] follow in. For he beholds the Matter just as it is, and without fail he sees it thus—that being the placing of the *golden* brick, esoterically. Hence, he derives [his Knowledge] from the same Mine (*al-maʿdin*) as does the Angel who reveals it to the Apostle. Now, if you have understood what I have alluded to, then you have acquired the Knowledge of benefit in all things![118]

[Next, Ibn al-ʿArabī returns to his incredibly bold account of the two Seals of the Apostles, on the one hand, and the Saints, on the other, their characteristic and their mutual relationships:][119]

Every Prophet, from Adam until the last of them, derives [all that he has] from the Prayer-niche of the Seal of the Prophets (*khātam al-nabīyīn*) [*viz.*, Muḥammad][120]—even though his fleshly existence (*ṭīnatu-hu*) comes last—for in his essential Reality (*ḥaqīqatu-hu*) he [was ever] existent. This is what [the Prophet] (May God bless and keep him!) [meant] in his saying: "I was a Prophet "when Adam was between water and clay"[121]—whereas the other Prophets only became such when they were sent forth. And, similarly, the Seal of the Saints was a Saint "when Adam was between water and clay,"[122] whereas each of the other Saints only became such when he had duly acquired the necessary conditions for Sainthood (*sharāʾiṭ al-walāyah*) as to its Divine Character-traits (*al-akhlāq al-ilāhīyah*), owing to God Himself (Be He Exalted!) being called "the Protecting Friend, the Praised One" (*al-Walī al-Ḥamīd*).[123]

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[117] *Tanṭabiʿu*: "stamped, imprinted" (as the seal of the builder in the wet "clay" of the bricks?).

[118] *Al-ʿilmu l-nāfiʿu bi-kulli shayʾin*. An allusion to the gold-making knowledge of alchemy symbolized by the so-called philosophers' stone?

[119] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 63–64 (*cf. Bezels*, 67).

[120] This is the only time that this authentic Qurʾānic expression (33: 40) is used in the *Fuṣūṣ*.

[121] Regarding this trad., see *Seal*, 60–61, n. 3.

[122] *Cf.* Jesus's saying in *John* 8: 58: "Verily, verily, I say to you, before Abraham was, *I am*."

Now, the Seal of the Apostles, by virtue of his Sainthood, is to the Seal belonging to Sainthood what the [other] Prophets and Apostles are to *him*[124]—for he is a Saint, an Apostle and a Prophet. The Seal of the Saints, [for his part] is the Saint/Client [and] the Heir (*al-walī al-wārith*) [of the Muḥammadan Reality], he who draws [his Knowledge directly] from the Source,[125] and who witnesses [all of] the Mystical Degrees (*al-mushāhid li-l-marātib*). He is one of the Excellences[126] of the Seal of the Apostles, Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!), the First of the Community (*muqaddam al-jamāʿah*) [of Believers][127] and Lord of the Children of Adam with respect to the opening of the Door of Intercession (*fatḥ bāb al-shafāʿah*). This is a Position (*ḥāl*) to which he is specially appointed, which is not common [to the other Apostles], and in this special Position he [even] has precedence over the Divine Names, for, indeed, the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān*) does not intercede with the Avenger (*al-Muntaqim*) on behalf of the people of Affliction, until after the Intercessors have interceded.[128] It is in this special [intercessory] Station that Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) has won Lordship (*al-siyādah*). He who understands the Degrees and the Stations will not find it difficult to accept such language as this.

[Ibn al-ʿArabī returns to the proper subject of this chapter on the wisdom of the Word of Seth, which is the knowledge of the Divine gifts. Then, stating that every spirit that articulates this knowledge has it from the spirit of Seth, he makes the single exception of the Seal of the Saints:][129]

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[123] *Qur.* 42: 28.

[124] I take the ref. to be to the Seal of the apostles (Muḥammad), but it could also be to the Seal of the saints.

[125] *Al-ākhidh ʿan al-aṣl.* This, again, is the *ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadīyah*, the *spirit* of the Prophet Muḥammad, not his historical person.

[126] *Ḥasanah min ḥasanāt.*

[127] Here the Shaykh al-Akbar begins to backtrack, effectively attributing all of the spiritual precedence that he has been at pains to establish for the Seal of sainthood over all other beings—back to the Prophet, to whom the honor goes that one of *his* followers, the Muslim, Ibn al-ʿArabī, should become the highest-ranking friend of God. In what remains of this passage, the Prophet Muḥammad's special role as intercessor for Muslims is advanced. For an account of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own claim to the power of intercession, see *Quest*, 84–85.

[128] The "intercessors" (*al-shāfiʿūn*) are such other Divine names (*e.g.*, the Pardoner [*al-ʿAfūw*], the Forgiving One [*al-Ghafūr*]) as are invoked in *Qur.* 4: 99–100, *et al.* "The people of affliction" are those who, w/o the extra Divine mercy vouchsafed the Prophet, would be justly condemned.

For the Replenishment (*al-māddah*)[130] [of the Seal] comes to him from God, not from any Spirit, whereas [the Seal's] Spirit is the Replenishment of all [other] Spirits, although he may not himself be aware of that during the time of the constitution of his elemental body.[131] He is cognizant (*ʿālim*) of all of that *essentially* (*bi-ʿayni-hi*), in his real Essence and his [exalted] Rank (*ḥaqīqatu-hu wa-rutbatu-hu*), while from the standpoint of his elemental constitution (*tarkību-hu l-ʿunṣurī*) he remains ignorant (*jāhil*) of it. Thus, he is [both] Knowing [and] Not-knowing. He is characterized by the opposites (*al-aḍdād*) even as is the Source (*al-aṣl* [*sci.*, the Muḥammadan Reality])—as the Majestic and the Beautiful (*al-jalīl wa-l-jamīl*), the External and the Internal (*al-ẓāhir wa-l-bāṭin*), the First and the Last (*al-awwal wa-l-ākhir*)[132]—this [*Coincidentia oppositorum*] being [the Seal's] essential Nature and no one else's.[133] For he knows and he does not know, he is aware and not aware, he sees with his own eyes yet does not see. . . .

[Finally, for the sake of completeness, here is the intriguing passage in which Ibn al-ʿArabī broaches the apocalyptic subject of a *third* type of Seal, the so-called "Seal of the offspring (of Adam—*sci.*, all of mankind)":][134]

It will be in the line of Seth that the last [individual] of this human Species (*al-nawʿ al-insānī*) shall come into the World (*yuwalladu*), bearing the Secrets of [Seth] (*ḥāmil asrāri-hi*). After him no [human being] will be born, for he will be the "Seal of the Offspring" (*khātam al-awlād*). A [twin] Sister (*ukht*) will be born with him, but she will emerge before him—he coming out just after her, with his head at her feet. His birth will be in China, and his language the language of the people of that country. Men and women will be stricken with sterility (*al-ʿaqm*),[135] and sexual relations not producing children (*al-nikāḥ min ghayr al-wilādah*) will proliferate. [The Seal] will call [men and women] to God, but none will answer. Then, when God (Be He Exalted!) takes him and the [other] Believers of his time [to Himself], those that remain will remain like beasts (*al-bahāʾim*)—not permitting that which is permissible [in the Law] and not forbidding that which is forbidden, behaving in accordance with the law of Nature (*ḥukm al-ṭabīʿah*), [following] Passion (*shahwah*) devoid of Intellect and Law (*al-ʿaql wa-l-sharʿ*). Then the [Last] Hour (*al-sāʿah*) will overtake them.

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[129] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 66 (tr. in *Bezels*, 68–69).

[130] In philos. jargon, *māddah* signifies "substance having extension, matter", and was used to tr. *hylē* in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 115–17). Here it more likely has one of the senses given by Lane (*s.v.*), who quotes the expressions, *māddatu baḥr*^{un} (the supply, or influx, of a sea), and *al-aʿrābu maddatu l-islāmi* (the Arabs of the desert are the means of aiding the Muslims and increasing their armies). *Māddah: ziyādah muttaṣilah* (continuous increase).

[131] *Fī zamāni tarkībi jasadi-hi l-ʿunṣurī.*

[132] All of these, exc. for *al-jamīl*, are also canonical names of God.

[133] *Wa-huwa ʿaynu-hu wa-laysa ghayru-hu* (acc. to one of the variants cited by Affifi. I take the Seal (rather than the Divine "Source") to be the referent of the prons. on the basis of the foll. sentence.

[134] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 67 (*cf. Bezels*, 70).

5. Selections from the chapter on the Word of Ezra (ʿUzayr) in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, dealing, again, with prophethood as a category of sainthood.

[The first selection explains how "General prophecy" along with *ijtihād* (independent legal judgment) remain to the saints by the grace of God even after Muḥammad's mission:][136]

Know that Sainthood is the General, All-comprehending Sphere (*al-falak al-muḥīṭ al-ʿāmm*),[137] and, for this reason, it will never come to an end, possessing, as it does, the [comprehensive function of] General Informing (*al-inbāʾ al-ʿāmm*).[138] As for Legislating Prophecy (*nubūwat al-tashrīʿ*) and Apostleship (*al-risālah*), they are terminable (*munqaṭaʿah*),[139] and, indeed, in Muḥammad (May God bless and keep him!) have come to an end. After him there is neither any Prophet—that is, either one who reveals a [new] Law or one who abides by a [previously revealed] one (*musharriʿ aw musharraʿ la-hu*)—nor any Apostle, being a Revealer of Law *par excellence.* Now this report constitutes a terrible blow to the Saints,[140] since it implies the suspension of the experience (*dhawq*) of total, perfect Servanthood (*al-ʿubūdīyah al-kāmilah al-tāmmah*). For the name relative to [perfect Servanthood—namely, "the Servant" (*al-ʿabd*)] can no longer be applied to one, whereas the Servant has no desire to share a name with his Lord (*sayyiduhu*)—that is, God.[141] [But] while God does not take the name of "Prophet" or "Apostle", He does call Himself the "Friend" [of Believers] (*al-Walī*), and He is described by this Name, for He has said: "God is the Friend of those who believe,"[142] and "He is the Friend, the Praiseworthy."[143] This Name [*al-Walī*, alone] remains to encroach upon [the domain of] mankind in This world and the Hereafter,[144] so that, indeed, with the cessation of Prophecy and Apostleship, the [true] Servant has no name remaining which is peculiar to him [alone] and not the Real.

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[135] The verb (*yusrī*) suggests that the malady will spread among mankind as a contagious (*sār*^{in}) disease.

[136] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 134–35 (*cf.* the previous trns. in *Bezels*, 168; and *Seal*, 50–51).

[137] That is, the ninth, starless (*aṭlas*) sphere of the Ptolemaic cosmos.

[138] Sainthood is tantamount to "general, or universal prophethood" (*nubūwah ʿāmmah*), although this expression is not used in the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[139] Or, possibly: "intermittent".

[140] Lit., "it breaks their backs."

But God has acted kindly to His Servants, for He has left to them the General Prophethood which comprises no Lawgiving authority[145]—and He has even caused Lawgiving (*al-tashrīʿ*) to remain in the exercise of independent Judgment (*al-ijtihād*) in establishing legal decisions, having left them with the [Prophetic] Heritage (*al-wirāthah*) concerning the Lawgiving authority, as [the Prophet] has said: "The Knowers [of God] are the Heirs of the Prophets."[146] The "inheritance" (*mīrāth*) in that is simply that they exercise independent Judgment in matters of legal decision—and, thus, they do legislate.

[Next, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains how the saintship of the prophet (not just the Prophet Muḥammad) is superior to his prophethood:][147]

Whenever you see the Prophet speaking in a mode of expression outside of his Legislative authority (*al-tashrīʿ*), that is on account of his being a Saint and a Gnostic (*ʿārif*). Thus, his Station as a Knower [of God] (*ʿālim*) is more complete and perfect than [his Station] as an Apostle or Lawgiver.[148] So if you hear one of the People of God [the Ṣūfīs] saying—or if it be related to you that one such said—that Sainthood is higher than Prophecy, then [know that] he only means what we have just said.[149] Or should one ever say that the Saint is above the Prophet and the Apostle, then, surely, he means by that *in one person.*[150] That is, the Apostle (May God bless and keep him!) is more perfect by virtue of his being a Saint than he is by virtue of being a Prophet-Apostle (*nabī rasūl*). That is not to say that the Saint who follows [the Prophet-Apostle] (*al-walī al-tābiʿ la-hu*) is higher than the latter! for the Follower can never overtake the Followed (*al-matbūʿ*) in that in which he follows him.[151] Were he to overtake him, he would not be a "Follower" to him—so understand! The authoritative Source (*marjiʿ*) of the Apostle and the Lawgiving Prophet are in Sainthood and Knowledge. Do you not see how God (Be He Exalted!) commanded [the Prophet] to seek increase in Knowledge, not anything else, when He commanded him: "Say: 'My Lord, increase me in Knowledge!' "[152] That is for you to know that the Law has to do with the obligation to perform particular actions and the prohibition against certain [other] deeds, the proper locus of which is this Abode [*sci.*, the social World], which will come to an end. Sainthood [however] is not [limited] like that, since, were it to be suspended, it would end as such, just as Apostleship has. But had it ended, then no name [proper to its possessor] would remain, whereas the name, "the Friend" (*al-Walī*), remains to God (Exalted be He!) [forever], as it does [also] to His Servants by assimilation to the [Divine] Characteristics (*takhalluq*^{an}), verification of the [Divine] Realities (*taḥaqquq*^{an}), and realization of the connection [between the Divine Names and Man's attributes] (*taʿalluq*^{an}).

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[141] The "terrible blow" to the saints is that they may not experience the perfect servanthood of the prophet, who, as "immaculate vessel" of the Divine Word, is a kind of complement to God.

[142] *Qur.* 2: 257.

[143] *Qur.* 42: 28.

[144] *Jāra ʿalá ʿibādi Llāhi dunyᵃⁿ wa-ākhiratᵃⁿ*. The names, *rasūl* and *nabī*, no longer remain in this world after the mission of Muḥammad, and these offices were never meaningful as such in the context of the Hereafter (*i.e.*, after Judgment).

[145] That is, sainthood itself.

[146] *Al-ʿulamāʾu warathatu l-anbiyāʾi* (Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, 10; Tirmidhī, *ʿIlm*, 19). Of course, the orig. purport of the word, *ʿulamāʾ* (s., *ʿālim* [lit., "knower"]), in this trad. was the religious-legal scholars (= *fuqahāʾ*), not the Ṣūfīs (*ʿulamāʾ bi-Llāh*), but I have tr. as Ibn al-ʿArabī intended. The Jewish *Tannaim* and *Amoraim* (sages of the Talmud) were said to be the heirs of the Biblical prophets.

[147] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 135–36 (*cf. Bezels*, 168–69; and *Seal*, 51–52).

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[148] *Rasūl*^{un} *aw dhū tashrī*$^{\text{ʿin}}$ *wa-shar*^{in}.

[149] See above, pp. 132–33 where ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's well-known saying to this effect is quoted (see also next note).

[150] *Fī shakhṣ*^{in} *wāḥid*^{in} (*cf.* p. 158 of the intro).

[151] *Cf. Matt.* 10: 24–25. The verb here is *adraka* (to overtake; to realize), suggesting that there may be a ref. to Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq's dictum quoted elsewhere (see n. 110, above). If so, it may be possible to maintain that this caveat does not apply to such advanced Muḥammadan heirs as have reached the *maqām al-qurbah.*

[152] *Qur.* 20: 114. Note that the context of this verse has to do with the Prophet Muḥammad's effort to be properly receptive of the Revelation.

[Elsewhere in the same chapter, Ibn al-ʿArabī accounts for the limitations of the Prophets from the social and psychological standpoints:][153]

Know that the Apostles (The blessings of God be upon them!)—in their nature as Apostles, not as Saints or Gnostics—conform to the [spiritual] level of their Communities (*umamu-hum*). They have no more Knowledge with which they are sent forth than the measure of what [any given] Apostle's Community needs—no more, no less—the Communities being various, some of them exceeding others [in virtue]. Thus, the Apostles vary with respect to the Knowledge with which they are sent (*ʿilm al-irsāl*), in accordance with the variety of their Communities, as [it is said in God's] Word (Be He Exalted!): "Some of these Apostles We have preferred over others."[154] Similarly, [the Prophets] (Upon whom be peace!) are various also with respect to the intellectual Perceptions and legal Judgments (*al-ʿulūm wa-l-aḥkām*) deriving from their own Essences (*dhawātu-hum*), in accordance with their [different] dispositions (*istiʿdādātu-hum*), as in [God's] saying: "We have surely preferred some of the Prophets over others. . . ."[155]

Since the Prophets (The blessings of God be upon them!) derive their Knowledge solely from the Divine, Special Revelation (*al-waḥy al-khāṣṣ al-ilāhī*), their minds are innocent of intellectual Speculation (*al-naẓar al-ʿaqlī*)[156] because of their recognizing the inability of the Intellect—in its speculative aspect (*naẓaru-hu l-fikrī*)—from realizing things (*idrāk al-umūr*) as they really are.

6. From Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Dīwān*: Ode on Prime Matter (= *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*).

[The following poem on the subject of the philosophical *hylē*, or *Prima materia*, for which the "fabulous gryphon" (*ʿanqāʾ mughrib*) is a standard metonym,[157] may be found in the 1855 edn. of the *Dīwān*, on

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[153] *Fuṣūṣ*, I, 132–33 (*Bezels*, 165–66).

[154] *Qur.* 2: 253.

[155] *Qur.* 17: 55.

[156] *Fa-qulūbu-hum sādhijat^{un} mina l-naẓari l-ʿaqlī.* Austin's trn.: ". . . their Hearts are simple from the intellectual point of view."

[157] *E.g.*, in *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 68: "The gryphon (*ʿanqāʾ*) is the 'fine dust' (*al-habāʾ* [not *al-hawāʾ*, 'the air', as in *Rasāʾil*, *r.* 29, p. 12]) in which God opens up/carves out (*fataḥa*) the bodies of the world."

p. 294.[158] Otherwise, I know nothing of its provenience, although it is probably not an early composition. The codices, *Vatican 292* (= V) and *Berlin 2895* (B2), as well as the first printed edn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, Q (Cairo, 1373/1934, p. 80), all conclude with this poem. The metre is *al-ṭawīl*:]

[*The Fabulous Gryphon*]

I marvel at a Being[159] which comprises every form,
  whether of celestial Angels, *Jinn* or Humankind;
Whether of this [Nether-] World or of the World-Supernal,
  of animal or vegetable or [lowly] mineral.
These are naught beside It, nor yet are they Its essence,[160]
  but in any form It wills It manifests Itself.
It is What appears,[161] by definition, to perception;[162]
  yet is It That which remains veiled from conception.[163]
For Minds[164] cannot know It by the force of their thinking,
  but *Imagination*[165] makes It manifest to sense.

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[158] The compiler of the *Dīwān* refers to this poem in the rubric as "cryptic, obscure" (*mulghaz*). *Cf.* also *Ms. Fatih 3872*, f. 202.

[159] *Mawjūd*: "s.th. which is existent, present". "Form": *ṣūrah*.

[160] *Wa-lā hiya ʿaynu-hū*. All that exists in all existents is of prime matter, or Divine substance. Even the differentiation of so-called "pure form" can only have a material (albeit "*noetic*-material") basis—as the great Platonist, Plotinus, rather reluctantly recognized (see A.H. Armstrong, tr., *The Enneads*, vol. II, p. 4 [12–197], *et al.*). Other than matter, existents are only pure spirit, or essence. But no existent provides an essence for matter, for the simple reason that primeval, chaotic matter is by def. that which precedes all organization.

[161] V and *Ms. Fatih 3872* have the plur., *wa-yabdū* (instead of *yabdu*), possibly taking the subj. to be the forms of existents.

[162] *Ilá l-abṣāri min ḥaythu dhāti-hi.* That is, it is God as *al-Ẓāhir*, the Manifest.

[163] *Wa-yakhfī ʿalá l-albābi.* Divine matter is all that appears to perception (or, rather, apperception) and, in fact, is materially all that is "known", although it cannot be known *in se.* This is important since it appears to be nearly the contrary of the stock def. for *hylē* (symbolized as the *ʿanqāʾ*) routinely given by comms. on Ibn al-ʿArabī's works as "that which is never seen but is known" (see intro., p. 188, n. 146). The real meaning of this def., I think, is that it cannot be "seen" (truly known) in itself but can be "known" (as a mere concept), rather as the chimaeral gryphon—or Bertrand Russell's unicorn—are never seen (because they do not "exist") but can be said to "subsist" in the imaginal world, where they are fabricated from known parts in accordance with a certain descriptive formula.

[164] *Al-albāb* (s., *lubb* = *ʿaql*). "Their thinking": *fikru-hā*. Positivistic thought is the opiate of the élite and the great obstacle to the *via negativa.*

[165] *Al-awhām*: lit., "the imaginative perceptions" (see Gloss., *s.v. wahm*). For most authors the term, *wahm*, generally has a distinctly negative connotation, meaning "thought, notion" at best, or "fancy, delusion, error," in Modern Arabic. Ibn al-

It is "the Living"[166] though no Life supports Its essence
  in the way that all the forms subsist in [Life].[167]
Inform me, then, Who it may be that I have indicated
  in What we have described (and cast aside conceptions):
There It is—*Concealed*, but without being absent;
  and there, again, *Envisaged*, but Hidden from vision![168]
I would like to know: Of the likes of It have you
  ever heard or no?—Inform me, then, *Who* It is![169]
But no one knows what we have adduced here except for One,
  and that is GOD. No creature[170] can ever comprehend It.
None there is like unto It, except one Personage:[171]
  I marvel at One Perfect *which He epitomizes!*[172]

ʿArabī rehabilitates the word, defining it as a kind of innate imaginal perception which, under certain circumstances, can be trusted to deliver sound spiritual knowledge, even the vision of God (see *Fut.* II, 607 [5–8], tr. by Chittick in *Path*, 209). "Sense": *al-samʿ wa-l-baṣar* (hearing and sight).

[166] *Al-ḥayy.* This is one of the canonical names of God (on the basis of *Qur.* 2: 255, *et al.*).

[167] The verb for "supports" and "subsist" here is *qāma*, which is cognate with the other Divine name featured along with "the Living" in the verse cited in the preceding note, *al-Qayyūm* (the Self-subsisting). As with God in Muslim theology, our subj. here is neither the same as, nor different from its "attributes".

[168] *Wa-hā huwa manẓūr*^{un} *wa-yukhfá ʿani l-naẓarī.* "Concealed": *makhfī.*

[169] Ibn al-ʿArabī is hinting that the above description of prime matter can only apply to the Divine subject.

[170] *Al-fiṭar* (s., *fiṭrah*): "created natures, natural dispositions".

[171] *Shakhīṣ*: "a lord, master, chief, personage". The ref. is presumably to the Reality of Muḥammad.

[172] *ʿAjabtu la-hū min kāmil*^{in} *wa-hwa mukhtaṣarī.* The Muḥammadan Reality is the microcosm of the macrocosm, which latter is, in the final analysis, Chaos (formless matter).

Glossary of Problematic Technical Terms Used in the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*[1]

Amlāk: "angels (?); angelic regents (= the Pauline *dominions*)." *Amlāk* is not generally cited as a proper plur. form of *malak*, or *malʾak* (angel),[2] but rather of *malik* (king; regent) and *milk* (property), even though *afʿāl* is a common plur. form of *faʿal* nouns (*e.g., qalam/aqlām, sabab/asbāb*). It would seem that "angels" is, nevertheless, the best rendering (*pace* Yahia) in the variant title for Ibn al-ʿArabī's *K. al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣilīyah*—viz., *Tanazzul al-Amlāk min ʿĀlam al-Arwāḥ wa-l-Aflāk* (see p. 37 of the 1986 Cairo edn.)[3]: *Fa-qawl-ī tanazzulu l-amlāki: Liʾanna-hā l-āmiratu ʿani Llāhi qulūba-nā bi-ḍurūbi l-ṭāʿāti* (. . . because they are [charged] by God to command/instruct our hearts to do various kinds of pious deeds). In the second "pearl" and corresponding "jewel" of the present work, *amlāk* appears to be syn. with *arwāḥ* (spirits)—specifically, those of a very high order (compare pp. 392 [at n. 43] and 432 [n. 38] of the trn.). *Cf.* also pp. 330 (at n. 18) and 402 (n. 136), *et al.*

Anīyah: "I-ness [of Divine Reality]", God's immanence in His creatures (as opposed to His transcendent "He-ness", or *huwīyah*). As explained in n. 25 of pp. 321–22, the Divine *anīyah* is to be distinguished from creaturely "egoism" (*anānīyah*) as well as from the term, *annīyah* ("that-ness", the mere existence of a thing, as opposed to its "what-ness", or *māhīyah* [*cf. Passion,* III, 75, at n. 150]).

Ayn: "where"; philos. "locality, place; spatiality, space". This word is typically rhymed with its conceptual antithesis, *ʿayn* (*q.v.*, below), as on pp. 255 (at n. 82), 367 (before n. 139), 384 (at n. 109) and 392 (n. 50), *et al.*, in which case it has negative connotations (as does *kawn*, "existence", on p. 494 at n. 83). On p. 474 I have tr. *ayn* as "place"; and on p. 389 (at n. 18), as "time" (= *ān*). See also p. 393 (n. 59). *Cf. Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*, for the philos. def.

ʿAyn: "essence, substance; individuality, self; source, wellspring; eye", *etc.* (see Lane's long art. on this important homonym, *s.v.*; for the philos. sense, see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 101–02). Typically, Ibn al-ʿArabī employs *ʿayn* in the sense of "fixed individual essence", as contradistinguished from the conditioned, mutable entity represented by the words, *ayn* and *kawn* (see preceding entry). On p. 270 (at n. 66) the word has the sense of "stock, substance, constituent essence (= *aṣl*)". Also, Ibn al-ʿArabī often uses the term as more or less syn. with *shakhṣ* (substance; individual, being), as on p. 240 (n. 36), *et al.* On pp. 403 (n. 149) and 447, *et al.*, it means "eye"; and on p. 454 (n. 75), "source, wellspring" (= *māddah, q.v.*).

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[1] I would emphasize the word, "problematic," and point out that most of the expressions treated here are not particularly prominent among the *termini technici* of Ibn al-ʿArabī's general teachings. Unless otherwise noted, all citations refer to the trn. of the *ʿAnqāʾ*.

[2] Although Dozy does in his *Supplément* (*s.v. malak*), so that the usage may be peculiar to the Maghrib.

[3] P. 116 of the 1961 edn.

Bikr: "a virgin; unpierced pearl" (see pp. 293 at n. 1, and 328, n. 3). Other possible trns.: "first-born; unprecedented; virgin (masc. or fem.)". In the first passage the word is applied to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (note the pun on his name) as a type of the premier, *unprecedented* successor (*khalīfah*) to the Prophet; but the second occurrence (*cf.* next entry) relates to the transcendental "gnosis of the [Divine] Essence" (*maʿrifat al-dhāt*), conceived as an atomic pearl of pure consciousness (= Skt., *atman*) in the infinite abyss of being (= *brahman*).

Ḍahyāʾ: "hermaphrodite" (lit., "a flat-breasted/infertile woman [who does not menstruate]"), as I have tr. on p. 328 at n. 3. I do not mean "hermaphrodite" in the regular usage of the word (which in Arabic is *khunthá*, "bisexual") but, rather, in the sense of "asexual", as the angels. The "hermaphrodite pearl in an obscure abyss" (see preceding entry) is a symbolic expression for the gnosis of the Divine Essence—the One Which *does not produce* another than Itself.

Furāniq: "a courier, or messenger; a guide of travellers" (= *raqqāṣ* in the Maghrib; *sāʿin* in the East). The word, which occurs in the *Dīwān* of the prince of pre-Islamic poets, Imruʾ al-Qays (1969 edn., p. 66), evidently derives from the Per., *parwānak*, meaning "a guide, escort; messenger, courier; an army general", *etc.* See p. 229 (n. 17) and pp. 457–58 (n. 104), where the word is used in the general sense of "courier, or messenger" [of God]—*i.e.*, the angel Gabriel, the "messenger of prophecy/inspiration" (*rasūl al-waḥy/al-ilhām*). In the second passage, however, the peculiar qualifier, *al-fāris*, is applied to it, and I have rendered the expression "courier of insight," relating the adj. to *firāsah* (intuitive discernment), though, more literally, it means "a horseman, cavalier", or, possibly, "Persian". In the first passage I speculated that the *furāniq Rabb-ī* may be a subtle allusion to the complex symbolism of the *ʿanqāʾ/ghirnīq*, which creature (in the former guise) is associated in Arabian mythology with the native prophet, Khālid b. Sinān (and Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān), whom Ibn al-ʿArabī seems to intend by the name, *Abū l-Fawāris* (the Knight *par excellence*) Ṣakhr [= Khālid] b. Sinān, in his *R. al-Ittiḥād al-Kawnī* (see D. Gril, ed., pp. 62–64). Thus, the *bayān* (eloquence) of the bardic *fāris* can be equated with the *ilhām* (inspiration) of the oracular *walī*, and the *furāniq/ʿanqāʾ* symbol may be intended to evoke the sense of the overwhelming power of inspiration, "mastered," as it were, by its skillful "rider," the articulate prophet-saint.

Ḥaḍrah: "presence; sphere of influence [of a particular Divine name]; level of being". The *ḥaḍarāt* are the Lullian *dignitates*, a notion deriving from the

Plotinian *parousia* (*praesentia quaedem*), as Asín Palacios pointed out in *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibn Masarrah and His Followers*, pp. 139–40 and 173–83. See also *Path*, pp. 4–6, *et al.*; and *Muʿjam, nos.* 168*sq.*

Ill (or *īl*): "God, Divinity" (see p. 494 at n. 83; and, for example, *Fut.-Y.*, III, 308 & 336 [esp. n. 16]; and *Fut.* IV, 466 [7*sq.*]). In the first passage from the *Futūḥāt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī glosses/describes *ill* as *ʿazīz* ("precious, rare [= holy]; mighty, powerful", *etc.*). The lexeme is cognate with the Heb., אל (*ʾel*), stemming from the oldest Semitic name for God. In *Qur.* 9: 8 the homonym means "pact, covenant (= *ʿahd*); blood relationship (= *qarābah, raḥim*)", so we may postulate a connection with *walāʾ, walāyah*. The adj., *illī* (Divine), is used in the preceding passage (at n. 76) in the expression, *al-maqām al-illī* (the Divine station), which occurs in *Fut.-Y.*, I, 57 (*cf.* also *ibid.*, 59 [11], *et al.*).

Jadhbah: "ineluctable attraction (as to the beloved); ecstasy, being drawn out of o.s." (see al-Qāshānī's *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah*, p. 39). On p. 312 (at n. 7) the process is graphically described. On p. 265 (n. 19), the form, *jadhb*, is used of the "attraction of the Real" (*jadhb al-Ḥaqq*). On p. 290 (n. 25), *al-jadhb* appears to have the neg. sense of "attraction, enticement" *away* from the Real, which is to be counteracted by means of a special "mantle" (*burd*) for the suspension (*kaff*) of the force.

Kawr: "a round, subcycle, or particular orbit/revolution, of a larger cycle (*dawr*); also, each particular moment/degree of the whole circle (= *dawr*)" (see Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿUqlat al-Mustawfiz*, p. 42 [14–15], explained by Nyberg, ed., in *Kleinere Schriften*, p. 172 [n. 9]; *cf.* also *Wörterbuch, s.v.*). *Kawr* seems to have s.th. like the latter sense on p. 507 (n. 28) of our present text. Otherwise, the term is used (with *dawr* or *ṭawr*) mainly in the cosmological portion of the *ʿAnqāʾ*, with little real technical significance (see, *e.g.*, pp. 395 at n. 71; and 439, n. 105).

Māddah: "matter, material substance; source of replenishment, continuous increase" (see Lane, *s.v.*). For the latter sense, see pp. 453 (at n. 66), and 427 (n. 188), in the second of which *maddah* signifies the Muḥammadan Reality itself. On the philos. notion in general, see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, pp. 115–17.

Marjānah: "a miniature pearl", the microcosmic counterpart of a principial, *macro*-cosmic "pearl" (*luʾluʾah*) in the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see p. 388, nn. 3 and 4, *et al.*). I have tr. *marjānah* as "jewel" simply to distinguish it from "pearl" as *luʾluʾah.*

Nashʾah: "arising, up-rising; emergence, evolution, development; formation, configuration; creation, origination; form, body (as person); upbringing; level, plane, world". This very interesting and important term (it occurs over two dozen times in the *ʿAnqāʾ*) merits a special study in itself (*cf. Qur.* 29: 20, 53: 47 and 56: 62). Ibn al-ʿArabī frequently pairs *nashʾah* with such words as *nuskhah*, *nuktah* (*q.v.* below), *hayʾah* and *ṣūrah*, etc.; and *nashʾ* occurs in rough parity with *shakhṣ* (in the sense of "figure"). Both forms of the term are especially associated with the idea of anthropogenesis (either hypostasized as Adam or apotheosized as the Muḥammadan Reality). *Nashʾah* has the sense of "upbringing" (= *tarbiyah*) on p. 464 (at n. 18). W glosses *nawāshiʾ* as the plur. of *nashʾ* ("rising, emerging; developing", inf.) or *inshāʾ* (causative of Form I), but I would think that it is, rather, the plur. of *nāshiʾah* (see Kazimirski, *s.v.*), as s.th. which has undergone such action (= *nashʾah* in the sense of *munshaʾ*). *Cf.* the expression on p. 358 (n. 53). B, C, E and R (all excellent ss.) gloss *nawāshī* [*l-layl*] as *al-sāʿāt*, "the hours, or divisions [of the night]", on p. 380 (n. 74); *cf.* also pp. 244–45 (n. 72); and p. 389 (n. 12).

***Naṣṣ*:** "the end, term, limit of s.th."; "a thing (or statement) plainly, or explicitly, declared, or made manifest by God and His Apostle" (Lane, *s.v.*; *cf.* p. 341, n. 15); a clear Qurʾānic expression; an ordinance indicated by scripture; a prooftext", *etc.* See pp. 515 (n. 30); pp. 524 (n. 89); and 530 (n. 28). On the latter page, at n. 35, I have tr. *naṣṣ* as "nomination" (= *taʿyīn*, *q.v.*, below).

***Nuktah*:** "a point, focus; literary meditation, subtle account; epitome, summation". In the *ʿAnqāʾ* this word usually retains its literary meaning of "a witty, subtle anecdote or mystical meditation designed to leave an impression (*nuktah*, = lit., 'a speck or mark') on the mind of the reader" (see Lane, *s.v.*). In the *Futūḥāt* (*e.g.*, in *Fut.-Y.*, I, 43 [n. 13]), however, the Prophet Muḥammad is denominated *sirr al-ʿālam wa-nuktatu-hu* (the Secret of the world and its Epitome), and this seems to be the sense, also, of the occurrence of the term on pp. 468, 494 and 505.

***Nuṣbah*:** "A stone or pole set up as a sign, often atop isolated small mountains or in deserts, to show the way to travellers (syns., *naṣb, nuṣub, naṣībah, ʿalam manṣūb*; see Lane, *s.v.; cf.* also Dozy, *s.v. naṣbah*, etc.). In *Qur.* 70: 43, نصب is sometimes voc. as *naṣb* (= *nuṣbah*), as in Arberry's trn. (waymark), but more commonly, *nuṣub*, as by Paret (Opferstein). *Mā dhubiḥa ʿalá l-nuṣub* in *Qur.* 5: 3 probably means "that which is immolated on the offering-stones", *i.e.*, sacrificed to idols; and *nuṣub*, *nuṣb* and *naṣb*, thus, came to denote "what is set up [*manṣūb*] and worshipped to the exclusion of . . . the true God" (Lane, *s.v. naṣb*). There is some uncertainty over whether *nuṣub* is plur. or the sing. of *anṣāb* ("certain stones which were set up around the Kaʿbah, over which it was customary for the name of some deity to be pronounced in the killing of animals" [*ibid.*, *s.v. nuṣub*]). The *anṣāb al-ḥaram* were "the limits (*ḥudūd*, *ghāyāt*) of the sacred precincts, *i.e.*, the signposts or stones set up there to so indicate (see *ibid.* [end]; and also *s.v. naṣb*).

In Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage in the *ʿAnqāʾ* (see p. 303 at n. 9), I have understood the expression which I tr. "the 'sublime signpost' which is with God" (*mā la-hu min ʿaẓīm al-nuṣbah*) to refer to the Muḥammadan Reality or, possibly, the Seal of the saints, as a kind of hypostatic "image of the invisible

God."[4] He goes on to justify concealing this bold doctrine from the unenlightened masses on the grounds that they would simply rush headlong into it without any real understanding of its esoteric reality (as is arguably the case in Christianity) and, thus, be led to disbelieve in the prerequisite truths of the exoteric religion (*al-sharīʿah*). This he evidently takes to be the deeper significance of *Qur.* 70: 43, where mankind is said to rise from their graves on the day of Judgment and rush to their fate "as if they were racing to a signpost."

Nuskhah: "a copy, replica, transcription; inscription (in *Qur.* 7: 154; *cf.* also 45: 29); translation" (see Afnan, *Philosophical Terminology*, p. 56, n. 5). Man, through the Muḥammadan Reality, is the "copy/image" of the transcendent Reality (*al-Ḥaqq*), while the world, or macrocosm, is, in turn, a "copy/perfect reflection" of man as microcosm (see p. 377, *et seq.*; and *cf. Fut.* II, 390 (35*sq.*). In fact, a *nuskhah* can be "an original which is copied" as well as a "copy" (see Lane, *s.v.*). As Jeffery points out (*s.v.*), *nasakha* orig. meant "to remove; tear away", and, so, is semantically related to *salakha* (*q.v.* below, *s.v. salkh; cf.* also *timthāl*). On pp. 301 (at n. 24) and 385 (n. 123) *naskh* is rhymed with *salkh* (*q.v.*, below).

Raqīqah: "subtle-ray, thread, tenuity". See Suʿād al-Ḥakīm's invaluable *Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī, s.v.*, for many attestations of this term in Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, to which refs. may be added these from the *ʿAnqāʾ*: pp. 357 (at n. 46), 367 (n. 138), 413 (n. 51), 423*sq.* and 464 (after n. 20), *et al.* The *raqāʾiq* are invisible rays, or lines of spiritual communication—what Fr. Anawati used to call "threads"—connecting all entities (= Ibn Qasī's *daqāʾiq*) to the *ḥaqāʾiq*, or "realities" (Platonic "ideas"). By these means the lower-world, like a puppet show, is controlled by the higher, but the Ṣūfī adept may use the *raqāʾiq* to manipulate the "ideal realities" as well, as Ibn al-ʿArabī explains in *Fut.-Y.*, II, 386 (tr. in App. I, 551–52), "for there is nothing in the world without an influence on man, and nothing that man cannot influence."

On pp. 424–25, the Shaykh tells of viewing the rays as they fell on the various prophets and apostles, some in the form of angelic messengers and some as direct inspiration. In their lowest, physical form, these "rays" (= *ashiʿʿat al-nūr*) are undoubtedly manifested as the astrological influence of the spheres, as the passage from the *Futūḥāt* clearly suggests. In Plate X, on p. 369, from a diagram inc. in the *Inshāʾ al-Jadāwil wa-l-Dawāʾir*, Ibn al-ʿArabī provides a schematic representation of the "subtle-rays" connecting the spheres of the various Divine names and the lower-world, *etc.* (where the *raqāʾiq* correspond to the 22 dynamic paths of the Qabalistic *Arbor vitae*). It must be kept in mind, however, that the *raqāʾiq* are actually innumerable, at least one existing for each being in the universe. Note that these are all "vertical" relations, however. Whether the "threads" that bind and pull together creatures can also be called *raqāʾiq* is a moot point. In the passage from the *Rūḥ al-Quds* tr. on p. 67 of the intro., Ibn al-ʿArabī writes that there were "paths of the realities (*masālik min al-ḥaqāʾiq*) too many to mention" between him and Abū Yaḥyá l-Ṣanhājī, the gnostic shaykh to whom the *ʿAnqāʾ* was dedicated.

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[4] *Col.* 1: 15.

Salkh (or *silkh* [lit., "skin, slough"]): "an image; paraphrase". The "image" of man is described as a *salkh* (rhymed with *naskh*, "copying, transcription") on pp. 301 (at n. 23) and 385 (n. 123), as noted above; and as being "drawn forth, or stripped off (*maslūkh*)" from the macrocosm (= "man writ large") on p. 237 (n. 3). On pp. 373 (at n. 14) and 414 (at n. 67) the [light of the] Muḥammadan Reality is said to be drawn forth (*salakha*) by God from the "night" of His ineffable Essence (*cf. Qur.* 36: 37; the beginning of *K. al-Isrāʾ*; and *Psalms* 104: 2).[5] *Salkh* may also signify a "paraphrase" (see Kazimirski, *s.v. salakha*), as Lane defines *salkh al-shiʿr*: "the substituting throughout the poetry, for the original words, other words synonymous therewith" (*s.v. salakha*), and it is in this sense that *maslūkh* can be taken as a syn. of *mansūkh* (substituting).

Sarāb: "mirage", such as appears to the thirsty (see *Qur.* 24: 39). It is a symbol of the Divine Self-manifestation (*tajall*^{in}) to rational creatures on p. 411 (at n. 38), and of man's own phenomenal existence apart from God on p. 446 (n. 9). In the latter passage the "mirage" is contrasted with the "image [of God]" (*mithl*), which is mystic man's true identity. In both cases cited above it is interesting to note that the specific content of the "mirage" (composed of the hylic "smoke/vapor", or *dukhān*, of the seventh cosmic "pearl") is said to be determined by man's own epistemic categorizing (the Hindu monist, Shankarācharya, had used the analogy of a rope which appears as a serpent due to the power of *māyā*, or illusion). In the intro. (p. 82 at n. 39) I suggested that the "image" and the "mirage" are exemplified in the two natures of Jesus, real and docetic (= Divine and human). On the term, *sarāb*, see also *Muʿjam, no.* 329.

Shakhṣ: "body; corporeal form, figure or substance". The *shakhṣ al-Ādamī* (see pp. 240 and 413 [n. 52], *et al.*) is the pristine human *form* as created by God in His image (*ʿalá ṣūrati-hi*),[6] perhaps to be understood as *before* receiving of the Spirit (see pp. 344 [nn. 41 & 42] and 414 [nn. 62 & 63]). If so, it is still not precisely the *physical* form (as the last passage cited makes clear), but rather s.th. like a "soul-body, or figure", the proper obj. of the def. of a thing, its "individuality", so to speak. On p. 314 at nn. 20 & 24, the substance, or "concrete essence" (*jusmanīyah*) of the book, the *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, is itself depicted as an angelic figure (*shakhṣ malakī*), a discrete

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[5] 103: 2 in the *Septuagint.*

[6] Rūzbihān Baqlī called Adam "the *shakhṣ*" (see M. Takeshita, *Ibn ʿArabī's Theory of the Perfect Man*, pp. 20–21*sq.*).

"drop" (*qaṭrah*) from the ocean of being-consciousness. On p. 235 (n. 52), *shakhṣ* seems to have the sense of "*physical* body". Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of this term is quite normative for its time, but one should beware of connotations more prevalent in Modern Arabic (individual, person; character).

al-Ṣiddīq: "the faithful; veracious; righteous (Gr., *dikaios*)". *Ṣiddīq* is usually rendered "strictly veracious", or "righteous" (see Jeffery, *s.v.*), *etc.*, but, as Lane notes, it could also be taken as the intensive of *muṣaddiq*: "one who accepts, or admits, the truth of what is said, or verifies," *etc.* (*s.v.*).[7] The cognate verbal noun, *taṣdīq* (Gr., *pistis*, "assent"), is only used in the Qur'ān (10: 37 and 12: 111) to signify the confirmation of a former scripture. As applied to Abū Bakr, the prototypical "successor", *ṣiddīq/muṣaddiq* would signify: "he who confirms/enforces the truth [of the Prophet's revelations]". With some reluctance I have opted to tr. *ṣiddīq* in most cases with the rather inadequate "faithful one" *par excellence*, in the first place because such an interpretation is borne out by Ibn al-ʿArabī's representation of the station of *ṣiddīqīyah* (as ranking below the *maqām al-qurbah*), and, further, since it is generally consonant with the Qur'ānic usage of this and cognate terms.

Notwithstanding, the most notable instance of *al-ṣiddīq* in the Scripture is the least supportive of my option. Thus, in *Qur.* 12: 46 the term, applied to Joseph as dream-interpreter, is invariably tr. as s.th. like "truthful one" (Pickthall),[8] as seems inevitable in that context. Without going into the complexities of the issue, however, I would point out that it is at least possible to read this epithet as indicative of the same "pre-prophetic" status that can arguably be discerned in the two other Qur'ānic instances of *ṣiddīq* (19: 41 & 56), applied to Abraham and Idrīs (who, acc. to some, was a saint [= *ṣiddīq*] in his youth and a *nabī* in maturity).[9] The only other person to be specified by this appellative in the Qur'ān is Mary, the mother of Jesus (in 5: 75), in whom the feminine, passive *faithfulness*[10] of the notion is best exemplified in a comparison of the virgin's trusting reception of Gabriel's message in *Qur.* 3: 42–47 (and 19: 16–22) with Zechariah's more questioning, incredulous reaction in 3: 38–41 (and 19: 2-10), leading to his temporary dumbness.

As a *walāyah*-grade, the *Ṣiddīq* ranks above the Mahdī (= the "Sun of the West") and below the Seal of the saints (see p. 294 at n. 18, *et seq.; cf.* also pp. 336 at n. 80; 418, n. 109; and Chodkiewicz, *Seal*, 57–58 and 114, n. 27). On pp. 397–98, n. 97, the rank of *Ṣiddīq* is styled the "eleventh station," which evidently stands for sainthood (*walāyah*) in general (see n. 93), as prophethood is the twelfth station. (For some further refs., see *Muʿjam, no.* 396).

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[7] It is tr. by Arberry as "veracious believer" in *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, p. 43.

[8] Or: "Juste" (Blachère); "Wahrhaftiger" (Paret). Arberry's "true man" is uncharacteristically gouache.

[9] *Cf. Heb.* 11: 5. The "faithfulness of Abraham" is a standard tenet of Pauline moral teaching (in *Rom. 4*).

[10] "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word" (*Luke* 1: 38).

al-Tābiʿ: "the follower" (= *khalīfah* [of the Prophet]), which signifies, as one would expect, the *Ṣiddīq* (*q.v.*, above) on p. 397 at n. 96. On all other occasions, however, the term, *al-tābiʿ*, refers to the Seal of sainthood (see pp. 281, n. 6, and 330, n. 20); and on p. 527 (n. 6) the adj. is applied to the sacred "fourth century," symbolizing the time of the Mahdī (*cf.* also *Fut.* III, 335 [30]). Similarly, on p. 519 (n. 55) the Seal/Mahdī is called by the syn., *al-tālī* (*cf.* p. 281, n. 6 [end]); and on p. 527 (n. 1), the "pearl" standing for the Seal is called *al-lāḥiqah* (following/joined to) *vis-à-vis* the Muḥammadan Reality, which is "precedent" (*al-sābiqah*).

Tamkīn: "empowerment, enablement, establishment". The term is paired with *taʿyīn*, "specification; appointment, nomination (= election?)", on pp. 297–98 (at nn. 47–48), 305 (n. 32), and 406–07 (n. 177) and 415 (n. 70*sq.*). On p. 436 (at n. 76) *tamkīn* is contrasted with *talwīn* (variegation, changeableness, inconstancy) in a way which suggests the traditional inferiority of the latter. In *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 66, however (which was written much later than the *ʿAnqāʾ*), *talwīn*, signifying the mystic's constant transportation through the various states (*aḥwāl*), is said by Ibn al-ʿArabī to be superior to the less dynamic *tamkīn* in his view. Thus, while *tamkīn* is associated with the Seal's greater(?), *left-* hand authority in the first passage cited above, in the third passage the term seems to denote a *lesser* grade of accomplishment than that of *taʿyīn*. And whereas in the *ʿAnqāʾ*, an early work, *tamkīn* is above *talwīn*, in the *Iṣṭilāḥāt* the reverse is the case.

Timthāl: "pattern, model, prototype upon which s.th. is based". On pp. 421 (n. 134) and 451 (n. 49), *timthāl* is paired with *mithāl* (which I have tr. "example" in the specific sense of a *sample* from a prototype). In the first passage, the Muḥammadan Reality is the "model" of which we are [distinct] instantiations, or specimens. On p. 278 (n. 10) the adj., *mithālī*, means s.th. like "exemplary, representative".

Ufūl:[11] the "setting" of a celestial body, as in *Qur.* 6: 76–78,[12] where, successively, the star, moon and sun set (*afala*), causing Abraham to realize that they were not, as he had thought, his Lord: "I love not things that set (*al-āfilūn*)." Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of the cognate inf., *ufūl*, "setting" (on pp. 277 and 451), is based on this passage from the Qurʾān—so that, in one sense, the *ufūl* of the "Sun of guidance" (= the Seal/Mahdī) is described as the cessation of polytheism (*al-ishrāk*) in the *Via negativa*. But, as in the mystical "annihilation" of *fanāʾ*, the negative is complemented and transcended by a positive "abiding" (*baqāʾ*) in the place of setting, styled "the Occident of the Unseen" (*maghrib al-muʿammá*). Elsewhere, the reader is expressly advised to attain unto "the Divine Light" of the Seal/Mahdī "before its setting" (see pp. 280 and 310 at n. 28), and, unless I am mistaken, it appears that Ibn al-ʿArabī may understand the *ufūl* of a star to denote its time of greatest apparent brightness (see p. 445 at n. 163). Thus, the light of the Seal/Mahdī "shines in the darkness,"[13] so that the stark "monotheism" of the exoteric interpretation of the story of Abraham and the three luminaries is, in effect, mitigated.

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[11] In Q2, this word is regularly misread as *uqūl* (?).

[12] *Cf.* also *Qur.* 53: 1.

Unbūb (pl., *anābīb*): "node; channel", *etc.* (see p. 416 at n. 84; and *cf.* pp. 419 [n. 114], 426 [n. 182] and 455 [n. 84]). For the connotations in Modern Arabic, see H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, *s.v.* In Per., the word means "bed, cushion, mat" (*cf.* p. 416 at n. 82). I am not certain of the precise significance of this word for Ibn al-ʿArabī, but in all of the contexts cited above it seems to connote a kind of container (= alembic?).

Wahm: "instinct; imaginative intuition; fantasy" (see *Muʿjam, no.* 701). Regarding the purport of this word, see p. 469, n. 69, where I have pointed out that Ibn al-ʿArabī's usage of the term underwent some modification over the years, from being below the faculty of *khayāl* (imagination) in the *ʿAnqā'*, to ranking *above* it in some texts from the *Futūḥāt.* This ambivalence may be reflected in a passage from the latter concerning a disagreement among the Ṣūfī's themselves as to whether God discloses Himself in His acts or not, where the Shaykh concedes that the difference of view will never be resolved, since "each has been established in his belief by God"—so that even in the Hereafter "He will preserve [the one] in his imaginal perception (*wahmu-hu*) that He reveals Himself to him in His acts, while the other He will preserve in his knowledge that He does *not* reveal Himself in His acts" (*Fut.* II, 607 [5–8]; *cf. Path*, 209). May we not infer from this apparent development in his usage of the term, *wahm*, that Ibn al-ʿArabī came to esteem the epistemic value of imagination more in his mature thought?[14]

Zand (or *zind*): "a fire-starter", made up of two "fire-sticks" (*zandān*) of *markh* and *ʿafār*-wood (see p. 324, and n. 44). Ibn al-ʿArabī uses the metaphor of a fire-starter for the operation of contemplating the meaning of his words.

Zubdah: "cream; quintessence", *etc.* (see p. 308 at n. 12). The term is cognate with *zabd*, "gift" (= *tuḥfah*; see *ibid.* at n. 15), and *zabad* (sea-foam, Meerschaum)[15] and *zubad* (see *ibid.*, n. 17 [end]).

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[13] *John* 1: 5; *cf.* also *Luke* 1: 79.

[14] On this question, see my forthcoming art., "Your Old Men Shall Dream Dreams."

[15] A symbolic image also found in the *Bayān al-Farq* (p. 52), attr. to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (but probably a work of the Akbarian school).

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K. al-Jalāl wa-l-Jamāl: in _*Rasāʾil, r._ 2.

K. al-Jamʿ wa-l-Tafṣīl fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-Tanzīl: see p. 77 at n. 9.

K. al-Jawāb al-Mustaqīm ʿan-Mā Saʾala ʿan-hu l-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm: inc. in the _Futūḥāt_, vol. II, pp. 39–139.

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K. Kunh Mā Lā Budda li-l-Murīd min-hu (ed. anon.). Cairo, 1924.

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K. al-Kutub: in _*Rasāʾil, r._ 21; and in _Ms. Fatih 5322_, ff. 74–84. Copied 1540 (947).

K. al-Maʿārif al-Ilāhīyah: Ms. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 2348/2.

_K. al-Mabādīʾ wa-l-Ghāyāt bi-Mā Tataḍammana-hu ʿalay-hi Ḥurūf al-Muʿjam min al-ʿAjāʾib wa-l-Āyāt: Ms. Dār al-Kutub 24551/_1 (_cf._ also Yahia, _*Histoire et classification_, p. 347 [_no._ 380], for other refs.).

Al-Maḥajjah al-Bayḍāʾ fī l-Aḥkām al-Sharʿīyah: Ms. Yusuf Ağa 4986 (_5216_)/1, pp. 1–325 [incomplete]. Copied 1203–04 (600) in Mecca. _See *Histoire et classification, no._ 392.

K. Mashāhid al-Asrār al-Qudsīyah wa-Maṭāliʿ al-Anwār al-Ilāhīyah (= _Las Contemplaciones de los misterios_, S. Hakim and P. Beneito, eds. and trs.). Murcia, 1994. _See also_ Taher, H. (ed.) [in Bib. II].

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[Attr.]: _Miftāḥ al-Ghayb: see_ S. al-Ḥakīm, _Al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī_, p. 867.

K. al-Mīm wa-l-Wāw wa-l-Nūn: in _*Rasāʾil, r._ 8.

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_K. al-Mubashshirāt: Ms. Yusuf Ağa 5624/_15, pp. 688–701. Copied during the lifetime of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 1274).

Mubāyaʿat al-Quṭb fī Ḥaḍrat al-Qurb: see *Histoire et classification, p. 395 (_no._ 487).

Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Akhyār, vol. I (Muḥ. M. al-Khūlī, ed.), Cairo, 1972; vol. II (ed. anon.), Cairo, 1906.

Mulakhkhaṣ Ibṭāl al-Qiyās wa-l-Raʾy wa-l-Istiḥsān wa-l-Taqlīd wa-l-Taʿlīl [of Ibn Ḥazm] (S. al-Afghānī, ed.). Damascus, 1960; rep., Beirut, 1969.

Nasab al-Khirqah: in _Ms. Esad Efendi 1507_, ff. 87–98b. Copied from an orig. dated 1235–36 (633).

Naẓm al-Futūḥ [or _al-Fatḥ_] _al-Makkī_: in _Ms. Aḥmadīyah_ (_Aleppo_) _774_, ff. 1–120. Copied 1232–33 (630).

K. al-Quṭb wa-l-Imāmayn (= _K. Manzil al-Quṭb wa-Maqāmi-hi wa-Ḥāli-hi_): in _*Rasāʾil, r._ 19.

*Rasāʾil = _Rasāʾil Ibnu ʾl-ʿArabī_ (Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīyah, eds.). Hyderabad-Deccan, 1948. For the most part, this invaluable edn. is quite dependable.

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K. al-Sabʿah (= K. [Ayyām] al-Shaʾn): in **Rasāʾil, r.* 5.

[Attr.]: *K. Shaqq al-Jayb*: in *Majmūʿ al-Rasāʾil al-Ilāhīyah* (Muḥ. B.D. al-Naʿsānī, ed.), pp. 52–84. Cairo, 1907.

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[al-]Aṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn: *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (= *Le Langage des oiseaux*, G. de Tassy, tr.). Paris, 1982.

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